

A HISTORY OF BRAJABULI LITERATURE

Being a study of the Vaisnava Lyric Poetry
and Poets of Bengal

BY

SUKUMAR SEN, M.A.

LECTURER, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY



PUBLISHED BY THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
1935

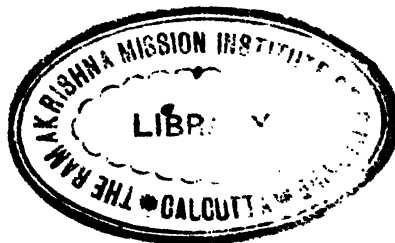
**PDF Creation and
Uploading by:
Hari Parshad Das
on 27 March 2014**

A HISTORY OF BENJABULI LITERATURE

PRINTED BY BHUPENDRALAL BANERJEE,
AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS, SENATE HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|--|---------------------|--|
| ✓✓ | | RMIC LIBRARY | |
| ✓ | | Acc. No. 150658 | |
| ✓ | | Class No. 891.111.5 | |
| | | Date 15.3.89 | |
| Reg. No. 642B—August., 1935.—E | | Ch. No. 26. | |
| | | Class. ✓ | |
| | | Cat. ✓ | |
| | | No. Card 554 | |
| | | Checked Cer. | |

Presented by Mr. Rabite Sen



To
The loving Memory of
My Grandfather
ANNADAPRASAD SEN

PREFACE

Vaiṣṇava lyric poetry, the most prolific and important branch of pre-modern Bengali literature, has been an object of study and enquiry by the educated Bengali ever since the early sixties of the last century. Much valuable work has been done by *litterateurs* and scholars in this field, among whom Jagadbandhu Bhadra stands pre-eminent. It is now time that the works of the pioneers should be revised, systematized and supplemented. As a matter of fact quite a number of new poets have been discovered in recent years, and fresh materials have considerably accumulated since the publication of the *Gaurapadatarāṅgiṇī* by Jagadbandhu Bhadra in 1310 B.E. The present work is an attempt in that line. In it I have discussed near about four hundred poets and their poems, some of whom and which are presented here for the first time to the public. I have also identified, or tried to do so, most of these three hundred and odd poets. To make the treasury of pre-modern Bengali lyric poetry easily approachable for non-Bengali readers I have ventured to publish this work in an English garb and have given all quotations in Roman transliteration.

The present work is rather an outcome of growth, and it shows three or more distinct strata. In its original form it treated solely of the poets that wrote in the mixed literary dialect known as "Brajabuli." It then consisted of Chapters I-XII only. Chapters XIII-XV came in as a supplement. Then to make it a complete survey of Bengali Vaiṣṇava lyric poetry, the poets that were left out simply because they did not happen to write any poem in Brajabuli or because their Brajabuli poems

have not survived the ravages of time, were included in this treatise. Accordingly Chapters XVI-XXI were added. As the work progressed through the press (which, by the way, has taken a considerable time, the first proof sheets being seen in February, 1932) fresh materials and new information came to hand. In Chapter XXII and in Additions and Corrections I have included these materials. Chapters XXIII and XXIV furnish the necessary historical background, and so they properly belong to the introductory section.

In representing the poetry of the several poets I have quoted, as far as practicable, not fragments but complete poems. Incidentally, therefore, the present work is a representative anthology of Bengali Vaiṣṇava lyric poetry. For the convenience of Bengali readers who may be very much unfamiliar with Roman transliteration, I have collected, in the form of an appendix, the complete poems cited in the text in Bengali typography as an anthology with the title *Padamañjarī*. Some variations in reading in *Padamañjarī* will be noticed. Here I have tried to avoid the wrong spellings and palpably bad readings of the Manuscripts so that the Bengali readers may find the poems in a familiar form. The standard spelling of all *tatsama* words has been adopted in Roman transliterations also.

To those readers who may lack the patience of going through all these poems numbering about three hundred but who would nevertheless like to have the best of it I recommend the following poems some of which have undoubtedly reached the high-water mark in Bengali lyric literature :

Yaśorāja-Khān 23f. (1) ;¹ Rāmānanda-Rāya 25 (2) ;
Murāri-Gupta 30f., 31 (4, 5) ; Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa 36* (9) ;
Govinda-Ghoṣa 39 (11) ; Nayanānanda 46 (25) ; Mādhava-
dāsa 54f. (30) ; Locana 66f. (37) ; Jñānadāsa 70, 71, 72f.
(40, 41, 43) ; Ananta-dāsa 74!(44) ; Balarāma-dāsa 78, 78f.

¹ The first number denotes the page in the text, and the number in brackets the serial number in *Padamañjarī*.

(47, 48); Jagannātha-dāsa 83f. (52); Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya 94f. (64); Narottama-dāsa 98 (66); Govindadāsa Kavirāja 109f., 110f., 117, 119f., 120f., 122, 124f., 125f., 128f. (73, 74, 82, 85, 86, 88, 90, 91, 94); Govindadāsa-Cakravarttī 137f. (101); Rāya Vasanta 140f. (102); Śekhara 149 (108); Kavivallabha 163 (120); Vidyāvallabha 165 (121); Yadunandana-dāsa 181, 222f., 225f. (135, 136, 137); Rāmacandra 203f. (153); Nṛpa Vaidyanātha 209f. (157); Jagadānanda-dāsa 237f. (165); Premānanda 268f. (185); Ghanarāma-dāsa 272f. (186); Narahari-Cakravarttī 280f., 282 (188, 189); Ananta Baṛu Caṇḍīdāsa 393 (63); Candrasekhara-dāsa 396f. (18); Uddhava-dāsa 299 (203); Dīnabandhu 310 (211); Gokulacandra 313f. (215); Candrasekhara 324, 325 (220, 221); Śaśīśekhara 327, 328 (223, 224); Kamalākānta 345f. (238); Pratāpa-nārāyaṇa 352 (246); 'Mādhavendra-Purī' 362 (254); Vāsudeva-dāsa 364f. (256); Yadunātha-dāsa 470 (258); Vira-Hāmbīra 406 (260); Rāghavendra-Rāya 408 (261); Rāma-candra-Mallika 414 (265); Udayāditya 425 (271); Dvija Bhīma 429 (274); Yādavendra 433 (227); 'Pratāparudra' 449 (282); Nasir Māmud 462 (286).

Under the influence of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism lyric poetry on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme had a phenomenal growth during the three successive centuries following the birth of Caitanya-deva. It cannot be gainsaid that quite a lot of the writers of Vaiṣṇava lyrics were good poets, and a few even great poets. But the largest number of them could not have much pretensions to poetic inspiration or mastery over language. However much we may deplore such 'lyricescence' when everybody who professed Vaiṣṇavism and at the same time had some amount of education, thought himself quite competent to write poetry, it must not be forgotten that these poems were some sort of religious exercise and they were mostly never intended for publication or any wide circulation. There is no doubt that a considerable portion of the output of such pretenders to poetry has been lost irretrievably. For these lost poets and poetry we certainly have every regret. Still our consolation is

that Time has handed down to us most of the poems that form a worthy heritage for the people of Bengal.

To us Bengalis the subject-matter of the Vaiṣṇava lyrics needs no special apology since we are accustomed to accept them as religious literature. But to non-Bengali, especially to non-Indian readers some of the aspects of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa love-story may appear a little bewildering, if not actually repelling, from the point of view of conventional morality and good taste. I should also warn the readers who may search for Freudian motives that it will be idle to find suppression, repression or any of the "complexes" in these poems and songs. A great deal of the language of Vaiṣṇava poetry or for the matter of that of any poetry belonging to any school, is only conventional "patter."

Notwithstanding my best care this work has gained considerably in bulk from what was a modest treatise. It is needless to prolong the preface further. I wish only to state that in the following pages will be found a sincere attempt to identify and locate in their time and in their proper *milieu* some three hundred and odd Bengali poets of the period 1500-1800 A. C., who may be said to belong to the most important group or branch in the domain of Bengali literature.

I offer my grateful thanks to our Vice-Chancellor and President Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., M.L.C., Barrister-at-Law, for without his very kind interest this work would not have come out in its present form. Part of this work was written under the guidance of my teacher, Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A. (Cal.), D.Lit. (Lond.), Head of the Department of Comparative Philology in the University. Professor Chatterji has all along given me much valuable help. To him I acknowledge my grateful thanks. I am highly obliged to Dr. Panchanan Mitra, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of Anthropology in the University, for supplying me information about the poets Pītambara (ii) and 'Saṅkarsaṇa,' who were ancestors of Dr. Mitra, and also for supplying the photographs of the portraits of the two poets. Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri,

M.A., Ph.D., Offg. Head of the Department of Ancient History and Culture, and Mr. Jitendranath Banerji, M.A., of the same Department have obliged me by giving me some historical references. My thanks are due to Pandit Harekrishna Mukhopadhyay, Sahityaratna, who had kindly placed at my disposal his notes from the unique manuscript of the *Gītacandrodaya* deposited in the State Library, Tipperah. Mr. Sajani Kanta Das has laid me under obligation by allowing me to utilize an important manuscript in his possession and also by permitting me to publish a photograph of a page from the same. I am indebted to Mr. Sibratan Mitra who had very kindly supplied me some notes from the MS. of *Mukundānanda* belonging to his own collection. I am also indebted to Babu Phanibhusan Mukherji, B.A., for kindly obtaining for me the negative of the Kunjaghata portrait of Caitanya-deva and his Companions from Babu Sorasikumar Majumdar and also for securing the permission from Kumar Debendranath Ray of Kunjaghata to publish the same. I am highly obliged to Mr. Jogeschandra Chakravorti, M.A., Registrar of the University for his unfailing courtesy, and to Mr. Atulchandra Ghatak, M.A., Superintendent of the University Press, and to his able staff for kind co-operation.

Finally, I owe an apology to my Vaiṣṇava readers. I have subjected in the following pages an essentially religious literature to ordinary, historical treatment meted out to secular poetry. This may justifiably seem barbarous, or even sacrilegious to the devout. To them I apologize in the words of the great Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja :

madāsyamarusañcārakhinnāṃ gāṃ gokulonmukhīm ।
santaḥ puṣṇantv imāṃ snigdhaḥ karpakāsārasannidhau ॥

ASUTOSH BUILDING,
CALCUTTA :
June 1, 1935

SUKUMAR SEN

CONTENTS

| | PAGES |
|------------------------|---------|
| PREFACE | vii-xi |
| CONTENTS | xii-xiv |
| LIST OF PLATES | xv |
| ABBREVIATIONS | xvi |
| TRANSLITERATION | xvii |

CHAPTER I

| | |
|---------------------------------------|------|
| Origin and Nature of Brajabuli | 1-10 |
|---------------------------------------|------|

CHAPTER II

| | |
|--|-------|
| The Philosophy of Bengali Vaiṣṇava Literature | 11-18 |
|--|-------|

CHAPTER III

| | |
|--|-------|
| Classification of the Vaiṣṇava Lyrics | 19-22 |
|--|-------|

CHAPTER IV

| | |
|--|-------|
| Contemporaries and Followers of Caitanya-deva | 23-44 |
|--|-------|

CHAPTER V

| | |
|--|-------|
| Younger Contemporaries as well as Disciples of Caitanya-deva's Companions | 45-92 |
|--|-------|

CHAPTER VI

| | |
|--|--------|
| Śrinivāsa-Acārya and his Colleagues | 93-104 |
|--|--------|

CHAPTER VII

| | |
|--------------------|---------|
| Govindadāsa | 105-189 |
|--------------------|---------|

CHAPTER VIII

| | |
|---|---------|
| Disciples of Śrīnivāsa and Narottama and their Contemporaries | 140-212 |
|---|---------|

CHAPTER IX

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century Poets | ... 213-253 |
|--|-------------|

CHAPTER X

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century Poets | ... 254-274 |
|---|-------------|

CHAPTER XI

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Early Eighteenth Century Poets: Poets occurring in Early Eighteenth Century Anthologies ... | ... 275-322 |
|---|-------------|

CHAPTER XII

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Late Eighteenth Century Poets: Poets occurring in the late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century Anthologies and Manuscripts ... | ... 323-367 |
|--|-------------|

CHAPTER XIII

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Nineteenth Century: Modern Revival of Brajabuli | ... 368-374 |
|---|-------------|

CHAPTER XIV

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Brajbhākhā Poems in Vaiṣṇava Anthologies ... | ... 375-379 |
|--|-------------|

CHAPTER XV

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| Sanskrit Lyrics by Vaiṣṇava Poets ... | ... 380-387 |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|

CHAPTER XVI

| | |
|--|---------|
| Bengali Lyrics in the Early Sixteenth Century (or Earlier) ... | 388-403 |
|--|---------|

CHAPTER XVII

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Poets in Bengali: Late Sixteenth Century ... | ... 404-413 |
|--|-------------|

CONTENTS

xv

PAGES

CHAPTER XVIII

| | | |
|---|-----|---------|
| Poets in Bengali : Seventeenth Century or Earlier | ... | 414-427 |
|---|-----|---------|

CHAPTER XIX

| | | |
|--|-----|---------|
| Poets in Bengali : Early Eighteenth Century or Earlier | ... | 428-448 |
|--|-----|---------|

CHAPTER XX

| | | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| Poets from Undated or Late Manuscripts and from Modern Anthologies | ... | ... | ... | ... | 444-461 |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|

CHAPTER XXI

| | | | | | |
|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| Mohammedan Poets | ... | ... | ... | ... | 462-464 |
|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|

CHAPTER XXII

| | | | | | |
|---------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| Supplementary | ... | ... | ... | ... | 465-471 |
|---------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|

CHAPTER XXIII

| | | |
|--|-----|---------|
| Historical Development of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa Legend | ... | 472-481 |
|--|-----|---------|

CHAPTER XXIV

| | | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| A Brief Survey of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa Literature prior to the Sixteenth Century | ... | ... | ... | ... | 482-488 |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS | ... | ... | ... | ... | 489-499 |
|---------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|

| | | | | | |
|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| APPENDIX (PADAMANJARI) | ... | ... | ... | ... | 503-591 |
|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|

| | | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| GENERAL INDEX (OF POETS DISCUSSED AND WORKS REFERRED TO) | ... | ... | ... | ... | 593-600 |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|

LIST OF PLATES

| | | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------------|
| Caitanya-deva | ... | ... | ... | ... | frontispiece |
| (Detail from the Kunjaghata portrait) | | | | | |
| Caitanya-deva with his Followers at Nilāchala | | | | ... | facing p. 28 |
| (The Kunjaghata portrait) | | | | | |
| Pitāmbara Mitra | ... | ... | ... | ... | facing p. 331 |
| Janamejaya Mitra | ... | ... | ... | ... | facing p. 368 |
| A Dance of Dervishes | ... | ... | ... | ... | facing p. 380 |
| (From the Court Painters of the Grand Moguls by Binyon and Arnold) | | | | | |
| Jiva-Gosvāmin | ... | ... | ... | ... | facing p. 384 |
| (Detail from "A Dance of Dervishes") | | | | | |
| Das Manuscript | ... | ... | ... | ... | facing p. 423 |

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------------|--|
| A. C. | After Christ. |
| APR. | <i>Aprakāṣita-padaratnāvali</i> . |
| B. E. | Bengali Era. |
| B. S. | Bengali <i>Sāl</i> (year). |
| bh. | <i>bhaṇitā</i> (poets' name appearing in a poem). |
| bhs. | <i>bhaṇitās</i> . |
| c. | <i>circa</i> . |
| CC. | <i>Caitanya-caritāmṛta</i> . |
| CU. MS. | Calcutta University Manuscript. |
| Das MS. | Manuscript in possession of Mr. S. K. Das. |
| DU. MS. | Dacca University Manuscript. |
| GPT. | <i>Gaurapadatarāṅgiṇi</i> (First Edition). |
| KGR. | <i>Kīrttanagītaratnāvali</i> . |
| KPS. | <i>Kṛṣṇapadāmṛtasindhu</i> . |
| Kṣaṇadā | <i>Kṣaṇadā-gītacintāmaṇi</i> . |
| MS. | Manuscript. |
| MSS. | Manuscripts. |
| MVLH. | <i>Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān</i> . |
| PKT. | <i>Padakalpataru</i> . |
| PKL. | <i>Padakalpalatikā</i> . |
| VSP. | Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad. |
| VSP. Cat. MS. | Catalogue of Manuscripts published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad. |
| VSP. MS. | Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Manuscript. |
| VSP. | Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā. |

TRANSLITERATION

VOWELS

a[অ] ā[আ] i[ই] ī[ঈ] u[উ] ū[ঊ] r[ঋ] e[এ]
o[ও] ai[ঐ] au[ঔ]
ā[ঐ] ā[ঐ] i[ই] ū[ঊ] ṛ[ঐ] ṛ[ঐ]

CONSONANTS

k[ক] kh[খ] g[গ] gh[ঘ] ṅ[ঙ] c[চ] ch[ছ] j[জ]
jh[ঝ] ṇ[ঞ] ṭ[ট] ṭh[ঠ] ḍ[ড] ḍh[ঢ] ṇ[ণ] t[ত]
th[থ] d[দ] dh[ধ] n[ন] p[প] ph[ফ] b, v[ব] bh[ভ]
m[ম] y[য;=j (জ) initially] r[র] ṛ[ড়] ṛh[ঢ়] l[ল]
ś[শ] ṣ[ষ] s[স] h[হ] ṁ[ং]



Caitanya-deva

A HISTORY OF BRAJABULI LITERATURE

CHAPTER I

ORIGIN AND NATURE OF BRAJABULI

Brajabuli is a *Mischsprache*. Maithil is the basic part, while Bengali, with oddments of Hindi and Brajbhāṣā, forms the superstructure. Brajabuli is really a dialect—only it is literary—of Bengali, and in the sense that it had originated and developed in Bengal and had been cultivated exclusively by Bengali poets. Another form of Brajabuli, almost indistinguishable from that of Bengal, originated in Assam at about the same time. But there the growth of Brajabuli was extremely restricted, and as the Assamese speech is just a member of the Bengali-Assamese group of dialects the Brajabuli dialect of Assam does not require any special treatment. On this we shall speak later on. What we have just said about the Assamese Brajabuli is applicable *mutatis mutandis* to the Brajabuli of Orissa. It should be mentioned here that in the two extreme provinces Brajabuli remained unproductive. Assamese Brajabuli seems to have developed independently through direct connexion with Mithilā, but in Orissa we can legitimately expect Bengali influence in the matter.

The origin of Brajabuli happened in Bengal in this way. For a long time after the conquest of Bengal by the Turks Mithilā continued to enjoy independence under Hindu kings who were reputed patrons of Sanskrit learning and scholarship. The initial fury of the Turki conquest affected Sanskrit learning along with other departments of Ancient Indian culture, and indigenous studies suffered. We can recall what happened at Nalanda. For this reason Sanskrit students from Bengal, desiring higher education, especially in *Nyāya* and *Smṛti*, had to resort to Mithilā. When they returned home they brought with them, along with their Sanskrit learning, popular vernacular songs, mostly dealing with love in a conventional way, that were current in Mithilā. These songs were the composition of Vidyāpati and his predecessors, and because of the exquisite lyric charm and the appeal of the music of an exotic dialect, soon became immensely popular among the cultured

community, possibly for no other reason than that they were characterised by the terseness, and breathed the flavour of Sanskrit lyrics and *udbhata* poetry. They then filtered down to the masses.

Very soon the Bengal scholars with a poetic turn of mind began to compose songs on the model of the imported lyrics. They borrowed the metre as well as the language. Now the Maithil songs were not entirely based upon the Kṛṣṇa legend. But the origin of Brajabuli in Bengal synchronized with the revival of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal which culminated with the life of Caitanya-deva. So the theme of these songs modelled after the Maithil ones was solely the Kṛṣṇa legend. This evolution of Brajabuli in Bengal happened sometime during the second half of the fifteenth, very probably in the last decades of that century, or in the first of the next. The earliest Brajabuli poem connected with Bengali literature is one written by Yaśorāja-Khān. Though we do not know who or what he was yet we can fix the time of the poet. The poem is dedicated to Husain Shah, the king of Gaur (Bengal). So it must have been composed sometime between 1493 and 1519 A. C. The earliest Brajabuli poem written in Orissa seems to be the poem of Rāmananda-Rāya. As this poem is dedicated to Pratāpa-rudra of Orissa, and as the poet had read it to Caitanya-deva when the latter visited him at Vidyānagara on the Gōdāvarī river in 1511 or 1512 A. C., it, therefore, must have been written sometime in the first decade of the sixteenth century. Śaṅkara-deva, the earliest writer of Brajabuli in Assam, died in 1568 A. C. So the evolution of Brajabuli in Assam may have happened sometime in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

The knowledge of Maithil of the first writers in Brajabuli was necessarily very limited. So the language of their songs could be nothing but a hybrid, an odd mixture of Maithil and Bengali, the Maithil element being on the model of the songs already current. In the course of development of this mixed speech, Bengali forms and idioms crept in more and more, until, a couple of centuries later, there were but the thinnest vestiges of the old Maithil language.

There is no wonder that a big literature grew up in Brajabuli which is a mixed and artificial language. Artificial languages have always played an important part throughout the history of Indo-Aryan literature. The Ṛgveda, as we all know, is written in a *Kuntisprache*, and the Vedic literature followed suit. Pāli too is a *Mischsprache*, and it can very well be called an artificial language, although it is based on a local dialect. The Vedic language, however, if not actually based on a current dialect

or dialects, was very closely connected with the current speeches of the time, and as such, it is not so much an *artificial* language as a *literary* language. The artificial language *par excellence* of the early Middle Indo-Aryan period was the Gāthā language which is generally known as Buddhist Sanskrit. This Gāthā language has fully shown how much even an artificial language can do. The entire canonical texts of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism were rendered in this highly artificial *Mischsprache*. Sanskrit also is, at the best, an extreme form of literary language. The Prakrits of literature form a conspicuous example of an artificial speech, one largely the work of grammarians. Similar is the history of Apabhraṃśa, which is but the latest stage of Middle Indo-Aryan. Avahatṭha, a corrupt and vernacularised form of late Western (or Sauraseni) Apabhraṃśa, was once the fashionable literary language of the whole of Northern India, from Gujarat to Bengal. Vidyāpati, the great Maithil poet, wrote his *Kirtti-latā* in this language.

The question arises why this artificial language was given the name of Brajabuli. The reason is quite simple. Some of the companions and immediate followers of Caitanya-deva were the first writers in Brajabuli, and the entire literature was the outcome of the efforts of Neo-Vaiṣṇavites of Bengal. The entire literature is devoted to the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme. What is then more natural than to call it the speech (बुलि [buli=Hindi boli]) of the land sanctified by the presence of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (ब्रज [Braja])? The term Brajabuli, however, should not be confused with the name Brajbhāṣā or Braja-bhāṣā. The latter is the name of the actual spoken language, a form of Western Hindi of the district round about Muttra (Mathurā).

SOURCES OF BRAJABULI LITERATURE

The Brajabuli literature consists entirely of short lyrics. These were really lyrical, as they were actually sung, and the bulk of them was written for that very purpose. The extent of this lyrical literature is quite noteworthy. The poems published as yet—and these appear to be at most a major part of the entire output—number about five thousand. Some portion of the literature is of course irretrievably lost, but as the search for manuscripts has not yet been either complete or exhaustive, a further number of these songs are expected to see the light of publication.

The extant poems of the Vaiṣṇava lyrical literature of Bengal, and, for that matter, those of Brajabuli literature, are found in two kinds of repositories: (1) the anthologies of Vaiṣṇava lyric poems, or *padas*

(१७) as they are called in Bengal, and (२) the works on poetico-philosophical doctrines of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism as propounded by Rūpa-Gosvāmin in his *Uj्ज्वाला-nīla-maṇi* and *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* as well as in works of a historical nature. The inclusion of poems or *padas* in these works is merely incidental. They are either quoted to illustrate a particular point, or to narrate some event of historical or sentimental interest. We shall now give a short description of works under each of these two heads.

1. VAIṢṆAVA ANTHOLOGIES

The following are the known and published anthologies of Vaiṣṇava lyric poetry. The order is chronological.

Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi (The Wishing Stone of Festal Songs). This is the earliest known anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyrics. It was compiled by Viśvanātha-Cakravartin, whose pen-name was 'Harivallabha', was a celebrated Vaiṣṇava philosopher. Viśvanātha completed his commentary on the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa at Vṛndāvana in Śaka 1626 (= A.C. 1704), and he died soon after. The work in question was undertaken sometime in about 1700 A.C., as the author appears to have died before completing the collection. The existing portion is only the first part (*pūrva-vibhāga*) of the projected work. The *Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi* has been published from the Baṭ-talā press, as well as from the Devaki-nandana, Yantrālaya (Press) of Brindavan. The latter edition, though a great improvement upon the former, leaves much to be desired as regards textual criticism and interpretation.

Kṣaṇadā is divided into thirty sections, called *kṣaṇadā* ('festivity,' 'night of festivity,' 'night'), and in all contains three hundred and fifteen poems by about forty different authors. Poems of Caṇḍīdāsa are conspicuous by their absence. In the matter of fixing the chronology of Vaiṣṇava poets this work gives great help. The compiler's own poems number only fifty-one. There are thirty Sanskrit lyrics in this work.

Padāmṛta-samudra (The Ocean of the Nectar of Lyrics). This compilation was made by Rādhāmohana-Thākura, a great-great-grandson of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, sometime towards the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Rādhāmohana was the *guru* of Mahārāja Nandakumār. In this anthology Rādhāmohana has compiled seven hundred and forty-six poems of which two hundred and twenty-eight

are his own composition. He has also added a running commentary in Sanskrit. This anthology has been published by the Rādhā-ramaṇa Yantra (Press) at Khāgrā, Berhampore, Bengal.

Pada-kalpa-taru (The Wishing Tree of Lyrics). The original title of this work seems to have been *Gīta-kalpa-taru* (The Wishing Tree of Songs). The compiler was Gokulānanda-Sena (pen-name Vaiṣṇava-dāsa). This compilation was made about two decades after his *guru* Rādhāmohana's compilation. The total number of *paḍas* collected herein exceeds three thousand. These three thousand poems are taken from more than one hundred and thirty different authors. The compiler contributed twenty-six poems only. The *Pada-kalpa-taru* is divided into four sections (*śākhā*). The first section or branch (*śākhā*) is divided into eleven sub-sections (*pallava*), the second into twenty-four, the third into thirty-one, and the fourth into thirty-six. This work can be said to be the most representative and exhaustive anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyrics—a veritable Veda of Beagali Vaiṣṇava religious poetry. The importance of the work cannot be overrated. It has been published in several editions. But the standard edition is that of the late Satīśacandra-Rāya, published from the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, in five volumes (1322-38 Bengali Era=1915-31 A.C.). All important variants have been noted by the learned editor.

Kīrttanānanda (The Joy of Praise). The compiler of this work, Gaurasundara-dāsa, was possibly an elder contemporary of Gokulānanda, the compiler of the *Pada-kalpa-taru*, as the latter seems to have included a few songs of the former in his anthology. The *Kīrttanānanda* contains about six hundred and fifty songs, some of which do not occur in the *Pada-kalpa-taru*. This work had been published from Berhampore (Bengal), but is now long out of print.

San̄kīrttanāmṛta (The Nectar of United Praise). The compiler of this collection, Dinabandhu-dāsa, seems to have flourished in the middle of the eighteenth century. The only MS. from which the printed and published text has been prepared bears the date of copying, 5th *Vaiśākha* (April-May), Śaka 1693 (=A.C. 1771). This work contains four hundred and ninety-one poems of about forty different authors. Some of the authors are known from no other sources. Caṇḍīdāsa is absent, and this is rather remarkable. The compiler's own contributions run so high as two hundred and seven poems. The *San̄kīrttanāmṛta* has been published, only recently, and for the first time, by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta (1336 Bengali Era=1929 A.C.).

Before we pass on to the modern anthologies of Vaiṣṇava lyrics, a few words are necessary on the pre-modern anthologies known in MSS. only.

Narahari-Cakravartī, the author of the *Bhakti-ratnākara* (The Gem-holding Ocean of Devotion), is reputed to have compiled a big anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyric poetry under the title *Gīta-candrodaya* (The Moon-rise of Songs). This compilation must have been made at least two decades from the compilation of the *Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi*, because the compiler of the latter work was the *guru* of Narahari's father. A copy of this anthology is said to have been preserved at the State Library, Tipperah.

The *Pada-rasa-sāra* (The Essence of the Flavour of Lyrics) of Nīmaṇanda-dāsa was compiled after the model of the *Pada-kalpa-taru* sometime towards the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Of the two thousand and seven hundred poems compiled in this work some six hundred and fifty songs are not to be found in the *Pada-kalpa-taru*. The original MS. seems to have been lost. A copy of the same was in possession of the late Satisācandra Rāya [*vide* VSPP., Vol. 21, No. 1].

The *Pada-ratnākara* (The Gem-holding Ocean of Lyrics) of Kamalākānta-dāsa was compiled at Burdwan in year 1213 B. S. (=1806 A. C.). The original MS. of this work is preserved in the library of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta. This work is divided into forty-three sections (*śaraṅga*) and has a total of thirteen hundred and fifty-eight lyrics. Of these about a score only are the compiler's own composition [*vide* APR., Introduction, pp. 5-7]. Several songs from the *Pada-ratnākara* and the *Pada-rasa-sāra* have been incorporated in the *Aprakāśita Pada-ratnāvalī* of Satisācandra Rāya, the learned editor of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad edition of the *Pada-kalpa-taru*.

A MS. in possession of Mr. Sajani-Kānta Dās, the editor of the *Śaṁbarer Cithi*, is of great interest. It seems to be the oldest known anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyrics. The MS. is in book form. A few initial pages have been destroyed. A unique feature of this MS. is that each page bears the year of writing.* Pages from 1 (?) to 77 were written in San 1060 (=1653 A. C.), pages 78-97 in San 1061 (=1654 A. C.), and from page 98 in San 1063 *et seq.* This collection, bearing no title, is not a systematic collection. It contains poems of several authors who are otherwise unknown.

Modern anthologies of Vaiṣṇava lyric poetry are very many. As the school selections, or selections for general readers have no concern with us, we shall discuss only those collections which are intended to

supplement the pre-modern anthologies and which supply fresh material in print.

Pada-kalpa-latikā (The Wishing Creeper of Lyrics). This rather small work was published for the first time by its compiler Gaura-mohana-Dāsa from Calcutta in 1849 A. C. This work contains many poems of writers later than Vaiṣṇava-dāsa (Gokulānanda), such as Śaṣi-śekhara and Candra-śekhara. The later editions of this work do not seem to agree *in toto* with the first issue.

Gaura-pada-taraṅginī (The Wavy River of Lyrics about Gaura or Caitanya). This compilation, the work of the late Jagadbandhu Bhadra, contains about a thousand and a half poems purely on Caitanya-deva and some of his followers. This work was published by the Vaṅṅīya Sāhitya Pariṣad in 1903 A. C., but is now out of print. The issue of a second edition has been undertaken (1931).

Aprakāśita Pada-ratnāvalī (Unpublished Lyric Gems). This work of Satīśacandra Rāya contains more than six hundred poems taken mostly from unpublished sources. It forms a valuable supplement to his edition of the *Pada-kalpa-taru*. A most informative introduction, and a glossary of difficult words, in this work are very helpful.

Besides the above works, scores of fresh poems have appeared from time to time in the pages of the Journal (*Patricā*) of the Vaṅṅīya Sāhitya Pariṣad. The biggest collection of poems which bear the signature of Vidyāpati was published (1912 A. C.) by the Vaṅṅīya Sāhitya Pariṣad under the editorship of Mr. Nagendranāth Gupta. This edition is now out of print.

2. WORKS OTHER THAN ANTHOLOGIES

In several works on Vaiṣṇava poetics and history poems have been quoted in full. Besides supplying us with fresh material, such works help us a great deal in the matter of fixing the date of a particular poet. The following are the more important works of this type.

Śrī-śrī-rādhā-kṛṣṇa-rasa-kalpa-vallī (The Wishing Creeper of the Love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) or simply *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*. This work has not yet been published, but a detailed analysis of it, together with all the poems quoted therein, has been published by Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa Sāhitya-ratna in the pages of the Journal of the Vaṅṅīya Sāhitya Pariṣad [VSPP., Vol. 37, No. 2], with further notes on it by Nalinī-Kānta Bhaṭṭaṣṭhī and Pandit Harekṛṣṇa (VSPP., Vol. 38, No. 3). The value

of this work is very great. It in fact contains, probably after the MS. of Mr. Sajani-Kānta Dās noted above, the earliest known collection of Vaiṣṇava lyrics. Besides quoting more than a dozen poems in full, it cites scores of poems in fragment. What is more important, the author Rāmāgopāla-dāsa, or simply, Gopāla-dāsa, has very often mentioned the author of every particular poem or fragment of a poem. The *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* is a Bengali work on Vaiṣṇava Rhetoric of the school of Rūpa-Gosvāmin. The particular aim of this work is to furnish the description (in Bengali) of the different aspects of the hero (*nāyaka*), the heroine (*nāyikā*) and their love-making. The work was commenced (in the language of its author) in the Śaka year *vāṇa aṅka śara brahma*, which would mean 1595. This would be A.C. 1673.

The poets quoted in the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* are these—Kavirāja-Ṭhākura (= Govinda-dāsa), Kavi-rañjana, Kavi-śekhara, Govinda-Cakravartī, Govinda-Ācārya, Jñāna-dāsa, Nṛsiṃha Bhūpati, Vallabha-Caturdhuṛiṇa, Ratipati-Ṭhākura, Locanānanda, Śrī-śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, Nṛpa Udayāditya, Gopāla-dāsa (the author himself), Narottama-Ṭhākura, Baḍu Caṇḍīdāsa, Vidyāpati, Yadunātha-dāsa, Rādhā-vallabha-Cakravartī, and Sivaṇanda-Ācārya. The poems or fragments which the author could not identify, have been quoted under the head *mahājana*. This term *mahājana* (great men) is used to denote the Vaiṣṇava lyric poets in general, with an implication that they were inspired and saintly beings. In the above list of poets we come across names which are never found anywhere else. The author has not forgotten to give particulars about himself, which we shall discuss when we shall deal with him in the category of a lyric poet.

Rasa-mañjarī (The Flowering Sprigs of Poetic Beauty). This very small work of Piṭāmbara-dāsa, the son of Gopāla-dāsa (the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*), is really an amplification of a particular chapter of his father's work. The *Rasa-mañjarī* quotes some poems of which a few are the compiler's father's composition. The most important poem which this work contains is that with the *bhāṇitā* of Yaśorāja-Khaṇ. So far as we know, this poem seems to be the earliest Brajabuli poem of which we have obtained cognisance in Bengal.

The *Rasa-mañjarī* was the second publication (B.S. 1306 = 1899 A.C.) of the Vāṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad. It is long out of print.

Bhakti-ratnākara (The Ocean of Devotion). This work, which is a big one, deals with the history of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, Narottama-Ṭhākura

and *Syāmaṇanda*. Incidentally it throws good light upon the history of the contemporary Vaiṣṇava world in Bengal. The author *Narahari-Cakravartī* (also called *Ghaṇaśyāma*), was the son of *Jagannātha-Cakravartī* who was a disciple of *Viśvanātha-Cakravartin*. The work seems to have been composed towards the middle of the eighteenth century. It has been published, in two successive editions, both from the *Rādhā-ramaṇa Yantra, Khāgrā, Berhampore, Bengal (B.S. 1318)*.

The *Bhakti-ratnākara* contains three hundred and fourteen poems by about thirty different authors. This work seems to contain a good many poems of *Narahari-Sarakāra (Sarkār)*. Besides there are two Sanskrit lyrics in this work.

Siddhānta-candrodaya (The Moon-rise of the Doctrine). This is a work of the type of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*, but it contains much which is purely religious and philosophical. The author, *Mukunda-dāsa*, professes himself to be a favourite disciple of *Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Kavirāja*. He is certainly different from *Mukunda-deva*, as this *Mukunda-deva*, who is reputed by tradition, both written and oral, to have been the only disciple of the *Kavirāja*, was a native of Upper India, and so it is unlikely for the latter to have written an entire book in Bengali.

The eighth chapter (*prakaraṇa*) of the *Siddhānta-candrodaya* contains sixty-one poems of eight different authors, *Govinda-dāsa*, *Vidyāpati*, *Syāmaṇanda*, *Taruṇī-ramaṇa*, *Jagannātha-dāsa*, *Locana*, *Jñāna-dāsa* and *Sekhara-Rāya*. Of these poets *Taruṇī-ramaṇa* alone is responsible for forty-three poems. From this the conclusion seems to be irresistible that *Taruṇī-ramaṇa* was very probably the pen-name of the author, *Mukunda-dāsa*, or was one of his great friends.

The *Siddhānta-candrodaya*, edited by *Rāsa-bihārī Sāṅkhyatīrtha*, was published by the *Kasimbazar Raj (Murshidabad)* in 1905 A.C. It is now out of print.

Nāyikā-ratna-mālā (The Gem-necklace of Ladies-in-love). This is a very small treatise dealing with the sixty-four aspects of the *nāyikā* or lady-in-love. Each aspect or type is illustrated with one lyric poem. This work contains in all sixty-five poems of seven different authors, *viz.*, *Govinda-dāsa*, *Candra-śekhara*, *Jayadeva*, *Vasu Rāmānanda*, *Manohara*, *Śaśi-śekhara*, and 'Sanātana' (*Rūpa-Gosvāmin*). Of these poets *Candra-śekhara* has contributed the biggest number of poems, forty-five. Next comes *Śaśi-śekhara* with fourteen songs. *Manohara* has only two poems to his credit, and the rest one poem each. The number of Sanskrit lyrics is only three.

The *Nāyikā-ratna-mālā* seems to be the work of the brothers Candra-śekhara and Saśi-śekhara. Its chief interest lies in the fact that it is the only authentic collection of the poems of the Śekhara brothers. The work had been edited by the veteran scholar, the late Satīśacandra Rāya, and has been published from the Bhakti-prabhā Kāryālaya, Ālāṭī, District Hugli, in 1928 A. C.

CHAPTER II

THE PHILOSOPHY OF BENGALI VAIṢṆAVA LITERATURE

A clear and full understanding of Vaiṣṇava lyrics is impossible without a knowledge of the fundamentals of the philosophy of Gauḍīya or Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism—of Vaiṣṇavism as developed in Bengal. We shall here give a brief sketch of these fundamental concepts of this post-mediaeval development of Vaiṣṇava philosophy.

The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* is the greatest authority in pre- or post-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism. Now the Kṛṣṇa legend in the *Bhāgavata* has one aspect which is not found in the earlier works of the same school, like the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, the *Hari-vamśa*, and others. This new aspect presented by the *Bhāgavata* as a sectarian work is *līlā* or divine sports of Kṛṣṇa among the milk-maids and other people of Vṛndāvana. Though the loves of Kṛṣṇa with the *Vraja-gopīs*, the girls of the cowherds of Vraja, are fully dealt with in it, no names of individual girls appear in the *Bhāgavata*. Stray references to Rādhā possibly occur early, e.g., in the Prakrit *Gāthā-sapta-śatī*; and probably in art, e.g., the Paharpur bas-reliefs (North Bengal, 6th cen.), we have a personification of the supreme Gopī in Rādhā. In the book of Jayadeva (*Gīta-govinda*) the premier Gopī is already a well-established figure. In Bengal the next literature of this type is the *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-kīrttana* of Capidāśa (circa 1380 A. C.). Here also Rādhā is present, and no Gopīs are mentioned individually, except an old woman called *Baḍāyī* or 'old mother', Skt. *jaratī*, who acts as the intermediary between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-kīrttana* gives the impression that Kṛṣṇa is an incarnation of Viṣṇu. In spite of his divine nature being frequently harped upon, he is in this primitive work of Vaiṣṇavism just a country swain, who makes crude overtures to Rādhā, and Rādhā is but a beautiful but simple village girl related to Kṛṣṇa as his aunt-in-law (wife of Aihana, or Abhimanyu, his maternal uncle). Rādhā repulses Kṛṣṇa at first but at last gets to love him. The author of the *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-kīrttana* is no doubt a master poet, but the atmosphere of the entire poem is essentially one of frank love-making and, we might

say, rather crude love-making on the part of Kṛṣṇa. No lofty or religious feeling could be evoked in the mind of ordinary readers. Kṛṣṇa is of course the god of gods, but we are surely not to emulate him in his amorous sports,—this seems to be taken for granted by the audience of Candīdāsa's *Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana*; yet its real appeal was, and was intended to be, only sensuous and erotic. No emotional appeal, as in the songs on the Behulā-Lakṣmī story, no devotional enthusiasm as in the chanting of the Purāṇas, can be looked for from this early song-narrative on Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The same remarks apply to the songs of Vidyāpati also. These songs were highly literary in their technique and purely dealing with secular love in their content. Between this state of the Kṛṣṇa legend in pre-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism and its exalted and sublimated position in Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism there is an immense gulf. The bridging of this gulf began just a generation before Caitanya-deva. The cement of this bridging up was the idea of *ahelukī bhakti* (devotion without any motive) and *prema* (love). In primitive Vaiṣṇavism Kṛṣṇa was looked upon as God, and the duty of man was to respect Him from afar—God of majesty to be obeyed and worshipped. For man the final goal was either a life of enjoyment in celestial regions, or emancipation from the tentacles of birth and death. The new outlook, however, was to respect Kṛṣṇa the Deity for no end whatsoever, and to love Him, as a father or mother loves his or her son, a boy loves his playmate, a woman loves her husband, a girl loves her lover.

This outlook of *prema* (pure love) which we find systematised already in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* but which does not seem to have affected popular conceptions of Kṛṣṇaism in Bengal up to the 15th century A.C., we first come across in Bengal in the life of Mādhavendra-Puri who was the *guru* of Advaita-Ācārya, Īśvara-Puri and other elder contemporaries of Caitanya-deva. Īśvara-Puri was the *guru* of Caitanya-deva. So it might be said that the spirit of Mādhavendra passed into Caitanya-deva to be developed into a wonder of the world. The intensity of the pain of separation (*viraha*) from the Beloved, which we meet with only in the later life of Caitanya-deva, was found in the later life of Mādhavendra also. On his death-bed Mādhavendra composed this following verse in Sanskrit, embodying his yearnings for Kṛṣṇa his Beloved, of whom he cannot catch a glimpse and whom he approaches in the spirit of the love-lorn Rādhā.

ayi dīna-dayārdra-nātha he

mathurā-nātha kadāvalokyase ;

hrdayam tvad-aloka-kātarām
dayita bhrāmyati kim karomy aham ।

[Padyāvali, 334].

«O Lord of Mathurā, O my Lord who art ever compassionate to the wretched, when shall I have a sight of thee? My heart, pining without a sight of thee, is wandering; what shall I do, O my Beloved?»

On this verse Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kavirāja comments as follows in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*.

ghaṣite ghaṣite yaiche malayaja-sārṣ ।
gandha bhāre taiche ei slokerṣ bicarṣ ॥
ratna-gaṇṭh-madhye yaiche kaustubh maṇi ।
rasa-kāvya-madhye taiche ei ślokerṣ gaṇi ॥
ei ślokerṣ kariyāchenṣ Rādhā-ṭhākuraṇi ।
tārṣ kripāyṣ sphuriyāche Mādhavendra-vāṇi ॥
kibā Gaura-candra ihā kare āsvādanṣ ।
ihā āsvādite āṣ nāhi cauṭha janṣ ॥
śeṣṣ kāle ei ślokerṣ paṭhite paṭhite ।
siddhi-prāpti haila purīṣ śloka sahite ॥ [ii. 4.]

«Just as the fragrance of the best kind of sandal wood increases with rubbing, so are the beauties of this verse revealed afresh with fresh discussion. The position of the diamond *Kaustubha* among the precious stones is held by this *śloka* among works of *rasa-kāvya*. This verse is indeed the composition of Rādhā herself, and through her grace only it has been revealed through Mādhavendra's speech. Moreover, it is Gaura-candra (Caitanya-deva) who enjoys this *śloka*. There is no fourth person to appreciate it fully. At his last stage while uttering this *śloka*, Mādhavendra attained *siddhi* along with this *śloka*.»

Caitanya-deva and his immediate predecessors (who were his chief companions in his early life) were thus the disciples, direct and indirect, of Mādhavendra. Mādhavendra was probably a saint and scholar from Orissa, which at that time was more intimately connected with its sister-province Bengal than now; and he in his turn received it from his master or masters who seem to have belonged to South India. Caitanya-deva brought two treatises with himself from the South, the *Brahma-Saṁhitā* and the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, two works of fundamental importance for the

study of the later Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal. This fact is very significant indeed.

That the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend inspite of all its association of love and erotics is a grand poetic imagery and a beautiful allegory of the highest truth, the eternal relation between man (*jīva*) and God (*brahman*)—has been proved by the life of Caitanya-deva himself, unquestionably the greatest son of Bengal and one of the greatest saints and mystics of the world. The life of the Master is almost a poem. For this the reader must be referred to the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* and the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. In the fewest words the main concepts of Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism—as expounded by the Master to his intimate companions—amount to what is being given below. Fuller details can only be gathered from the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, a work which is on a par with the Upaniṣads, if we consider the profundity of the conceptions.

Jīva (human soul) is of the same nature as *Brahman* (Supreme Being), and everything that exists is but the manifestation of *Brahman*. The relation between *Brahman* and *Jīva* is that of the sun and its reflections upon so many crystals. *Jīva's* love for *Brahman* is inherent in it, and the various joys it feels or seeks are only eluding visions of that divine love. *Jīva's* highest aim is not *mukti* (deliverance) or *nirvāṇa* (annihilation) but the perpetual and transcendental bliss which it feels only when it realises its relation with *Brahman* and thereby joins in the latter's eternal cycle of sports. The universe with its manifestations (*samsāra*) is not illusion (*māyā*). It is real in the sense that the God-in-man is the participator thereof. But it is never the ultimate reality which is *Brahman* alone. If *Jīva* discovers its real relation with *Brahman*, it may remain in the world and may participate in its daily routine, viewing with bliss that it is *Brahman* that is disporting itself in and through all and everything. All human and social relations will have then new meanings for *Jīva*. Thus alone can it enter into the cycle of *Brahman's* sports.

The Vaiṣṇava philosophers did not much use the term *Brahman*, and the term *Jīva* also was used very seldom. In their terminology the name *Kṛṣṇa* stands for *Brahman*, and *Gopī* for *Jīva* which has entered into the sportive cycle of *Kṛṣṇa* (*Brahman*). The term *Rādhā* stands for *Jīva* when viewed as the passive element of *Brahman* (Kṛṣṇa). In *Brahman* (Kṛṣṇa) the two aspects are inseparably connected, like the two pages of a leaf—*Brahman* the knower, the enjoyer and *Brahman* the known, the enjoyed; in other words, *Brahman* the active and *Brahman* the

passive. *Brahman* the active, or the enjoyer, is Kṛṣṇa, and *Brahman* the passive, or the enjoyed, is Rādhā. *Jīva* is of the nature of *Brahman* the passive. Hence Rādhā is the head of the *Gopīs*, and *Radhā-hood* is the finality of *Jīva*.

When the nature of Supreme Bliss is to be expressed in words and thereby rendered intelligible to human understanding it can be expressed only in analogy of the highest form of human bliss, that is love as existing between a girl and her lover. Love between husband and wife is delicious enough, but it lacks the poignancy and intensity of extra-marital love. This is the idea underlying the term *parakīyā prema* (extra-marital love), a term which is used by the Vaiṣṇava philosophers to express the nature of the mutual love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. In this connection the following verse which Caitanya-deva had addressed to Sanātana and Rūpa when they, still serving Husain Shah, had written to the Master for instruction as to what they should do, should be noted.

para-vyasaninī nārī vyagrāpi gṛha-karmasu |
tad evāśvādayaty antar nava-saṅga-rasāyanam || [CC. ii. 1].

«A woman, who has a liaison, though engrossed in her household duties, always thinks within herself of the ambrosia of a fresh meeting (with her lover).»

As all types of human affection are but the faint images of the different phases of Divine Love, the latter is classified, showing the different attitudes of the devotee towards the Supreme Being. These aspects of humanized Divine Love, called the *rasas* (sentiments), are roughly five, viz., *śānta* (calmness), *dāsyā* (servility), *sakhya* (friendship), *vātsalya* (parents' love), and *madhura* (sweet or conjugal love). The *śānta rasa*, or the sentiment of calmness, is the attitude of devotees who look upon Kṛṣṇa (*Brahman*) as the impersonal Supreme Being. The *dāsyā rasa*, or the sentiment of servility, is the attitude of the devotee who looks upon Kṛṣṇa as the master and himself as the servant. The *sakhya rasa*, or the sentiment of friendship, is adopted by those devotees who look upon Kṛṣṇa as a friend or playmate. The *vātsalya rasa*, or the sentiment of parental affection, is the attitude of the devotees who think of Kṛṣṇa as their child (cf. the Christ-child, and the cult of the Bambino). Finally the *madhura rasa*, or the sentiment of conjugal love, is the attitude of the devotees who look upon Kṛṣṇa as their lover and

themselves as girls (*gopī*) who seek the love of Kṛṣṇa. All these sentiments, with the exception of the first, imply personal relations with God-head.

Brahman in its incarnation as Kṛṣṇa had sported with Rādhā and the *gopīs* at Vṛndāvana (or the Vraja) on the bank of the Yamunā. This *Vraja-līlā* (sports at the Vraja)—with the *gopīs*, with the boys and with the parents, Nanda and Yaśodā—typifies (allegorically) the Eternal Sports of *Brahman*. This *Vraja-līlā* is the main subject-matter of the Vaiṣṇava lyric poems. The other subject-matter, though equally important but with lesser ramifications, is the life-story of Gaurāṅga (Caitanya-deva) who was and is believed to be an incarnation of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in union. Devotional prayers and odes to the principal companions of Caitanya-deva also form a subsidiary subject-matter.

That with such limited subject-matter Vaiṣṇava lyric poetry attained very high excellence is indeed a great wonder. It will not surely be too much to say that in the Vaiṣṇava literature of Bengal some forms of lyric poetry have come to perfection. To the general reader a good number of Vaiṣṇava lyric poems may appear fantastic and laboured. But when one understands their philosophy and finds out that the world of imagination of these poets was peculiarly their own though as real to them as this world is to us, one can appreciate the sincerity, the depth of feeling, and the spontaneity of real devotion that the poems breathe. The sincerity of the Vaiṣṇava poets is unquestionable; their faith is unimpeachable; and the appeal of their poetry is universal, if only one can enter into the spirit of this type of devotional poetry by approaching it sympathetically. The faithful delineation of a lover's psychology, which we find in these poems, has hardly been excelled anywhere. The devotional thread which runs through all these poems raises them far above the ordinary lyric or amorous literature, and has a personal appeal which is irresistible to the open-minded reader or audience.

It should never be forgotten that these poems were actually lyric. They were intended to be sung only, and they were, and are even now, sung. The style of music, which the poets themselves evolved to be set to their songs, is known as the *kīrtāna*. This *kīrtāna* music is wonderfully soft and melodious, and unless one listens to Vaiṣṇava lyrics sung in the right *kīrtāna* style, one can never do full justice to these songs and to their writers. It is wonderful to contemplate how a single man—Caitanya-deva—was responsible for a profound relig-

movement, which besides giving the Bengali people its final cast, brought in such magnificent evolution in literature and music. But we are not concerned here with the influence of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism in the making of Mediaeval and Modern Bengal.

Vaiṣṇava poets, in their attention to lyric literature only, had once again restored the main current of the literary tradition of Aryan-speaking India. The *Kunst-epos* of Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa notwithstanding, the main efforts of poets—from the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier—were for 'lyric' poems, both in Sanskrit and in Prakrit literatures. Even the dramas were no exceptions. Some of the most interesting portions of the dramas were the isolated verses, which are of the nature of lyric poetry. This tendency towards lyricism became more and more prominent, and from the *śālokas* we come finally to *udbhata* poetry. The Apabhraṃśa literature took this up, and handed it over to its next generation, the old vernaculars. In the Bauddha (Sahajiyā) *caryās*, which are the oldest specimens of Bengali, and for the matter of that of any other Indo-Aryan vernacular, we find the attempt of the Sahajiyā teachers in formulating the philosophical doctrines of their cult in the form of lyric poems. These are really the earliest prototypes of Vaiṣṇava lyric literature. Vidyāpati's Maithili poems are true descendants of Sanskrit *udbhata* poetry, and their importation into Bengal served to strengthen the old tradition of the Vajrayānist and other teachers of allied cults, which seems to have become weakened in Bengal. Thus though the Brajabuli poems appear in a hybrid form, it should never be looked upon as a 'foreign' or parasitical growth in mediaeval Bengali literature. Their tradition may have died out as regards the external form, but their influence continues even now, and is to be found in the best writings of Rabindranath.

The insertion of the poet's name (or any name he chooses, whether a *nom de plume* of himself or the name of his *guru*) appears to have been practised in the old and mediaeval periods throughout the length and breadth of upper India. This insertion of the *bhaṇitā* (name) we find in the Old Bengali *caryā-padas*. In some Sanskrit lyrics of the pre-Muhammadan period this practice is noticeable. It seems to have been a development of the practice of the earlier Sanskrit poets to insert in the poem or stanza the name of the metre in which it is written, as *double entendre*.

It is clear that Vaiṣṇava lyricism is the outcome of the lyric tendency of Sanskrit literature. The latter, especially in the form of works such as the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, the *Gīta-govinda*, the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*

and the like, continued to exert influence on it in its formal and material aspects. The Maithili poems of Vidyāpati were no doubt a standing inspiration. But the biggest and by far the profoundest inspiration that was derived by the poets was the divine career of the Master Caitanya-deva. When such a life, tender and sweet to the extreme, was unfolded before their eyes, saints and poets had feasts enough. From a study of the Vaiṣṇava lyrics (which were written during a period of about three centuries and a half) it will be clear what profound and lasting influence the life of Caitanya-deva exerted on the minds of the poets for many generations.

The history of Brajabuli can be traced down uninterruptedly up to the end of the eighteenth century. That its influence during its entire history has been very great upon the other branches of Bengali literature is undoubted. Even Bhārata-candra, who as a poet was furthest from the Vaiṣṇava lyricists, could not help inserting Brajabuli poems of his own composition in his *Annadā-maṅgala* and *Vidyā-sundara*. Brajabuli received a learned revival towards the close of the nineteenth century. Baṅkima-candra wrote a few poems in Brajabuli, which are to be found in his *Mṛṇālīnī*. Several other poets followed suit, until we come to Rabindranath whose *Bhānu-siṃha-Ṭhākura Padāvalī* is entirely written in the language and spirit of the Vaiṣṇava Brajabuli poets.

CHAPTER III

CLASSIFICATION OF THE VAIṢṆAVA LYRICS

According to the rhetoricians poetry is nothing but a set of expressions which contains *rasa* (sentiment). In the philosophy of Vaiṣṇava rhetorics *rasa* is the particular attitude or sentiment of a devotee to his God. These *rasas*, as said before, are five in number—*śānta*, *dāsyā*, *sakhya*, *vātsalya* and *madhura* or *śṛṅgāra*. But the first two attitudes are closely allied, and so the Vaiṣṇava lyrics can be classified broadly under four heads—(i) poems which are prayers or odes to Kṛṣṇa and his *avatāras* (incarnations), or to saints and *gurus*, (ii) poems which deal with the boyish sports of Kṛṣṇa in herding cattle, or of Gaurāṅga (Caitanya-deva) with his playmates, (iii) poems which treat of the birth and infancy of Kṛṣṇa and Gaurāṅga, and (iv) poems which are concerned with the love of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā (seldom with the other *gopīs*). A few poems on Gaurāṅga should also be classed under this last head, the poems which deal with the supposed sports of the Master with his companion Gadādhara, whom one sect of Bengal Vaiṣṇavas regards as an incarnation of Rādhā.

The sentiment of *śṛṅgāra* has great ramifications, and the poems concerned, the poems which we have classed under the head (iv), can accordingly be divided and sub-divided under sub-classes and sub-sections. The following are the ramifications of the sentiment of love (*śṛṅgāra* or *madhura*).

Śṛṅgāra has two aspects—(A) *sambhoga* (enjoyment or union), and (B) *vipralambha* (disappointment, that is disunion or separation). Each of these two aspects of the sentiment of love has four forms. (A) *Sambhoga* has the forms—(a) *samkṣipta* (brief), (b) *samkīrṇa* (narrow), (c) *sampanna* (prosperous), and (d) *samṛddhimān* (resplendent). (B) *Vipralambha* has the forms—(a) *pūrva-rāga* (dawning love), (b) *māna* (the attitude of sulk on the part of the offended girl), (c) *prēma-vaicittya* (love's dementia, or the profound sentiment of the lovers who in ecstasy of love think themselves as if still separated), and (d) *pravāsa* (sojourn or separation).

Each form of (B) *vipralambha* corresponds to, or rather is followed by, the respective form of (A) *sambhoga*. As (A) *sambhoga* presupposes (B) *vipralambha*, the latter shall be discussed first.

(a) *Pūrva-rāga* (the stage of dawning love or falling in love) can be caused either from (i) sight (*darśana*), or from (ii) hearing (*śravaṇa*). Sight (*darśana*) of the beloved can be direct (*sākṣāt*), or from pictorial representation (*citra-pāṭa*), or in dream (*svapna*). Hearing (*śravaṇa*)—of the beauty and virtues of the beloved—can come through the speeches of a friend (*sakhī*), an emissary (*dūtī*), or an old Brahmin (*bhaṭṭa*), or from description of a bard, or from the sweet notes of the lover's flute (this last in the case of the girl only).

(b) *Māna* (the girl's attitude of sulk) may be either (i) with grounds (*sa-hetu*), or (ii) without grounds (*nir-hetu*). The grounds may be either actually seen (*dṛṣṭa*), or heard (*śruta*), or inferred (*anumita*). *Nir-hetu* (groundless) *māna* may be purely whimsical (*akāraṇa*), or may have some imaginary cause (*kāraṇābhāsa*).

(c) *Prema-vaicittya* or *anurāga* (ecstatic state) are of three types—(i) *rūpānurāga* (ecstasy in beauty), (ii) *ākṣepānurāga* (ecstatic accusation to Kṛṣṇa, his flute, his messenger, her friends, and her own self), and (iii) *rasodgāra* (reminiscence of past joys and pleasures).

(d) *Pravāsa* (sojourn) may be either at a short distance (or very brief—*adūra*), or at a long distance (*dūra*). These are the occasions of Kṛṣṇa's short sojourn—*kālīya-damana* (vanquishing the serpent Kālīya), *go-cāraṇa* (cow-herding), *Nanda-mokṣaṇa* (obtaining the release of Nanda), *kāryā-nurodha* (temporary business), and *rāsāntardhāna* (disappearance from the *rāsa* dance). The stages of the long sojourn are three—(i) *bhāvin* (future or impending), (ii) *bhavan* (present or actually happening), and (iii) *bhūta* (past) when the lover has returned after the expiry of the fixed term.

Now we come to the discussion of (A) *sambhoga* aspect of the sentiment of *śṛṅgāra*, of which, we have already seen, there are four forms, each following the respective forms of (B) *vipralambha* *śṛṅgāra*.

The (Aa) *saṃkṣipta* (brief) form of *sambhoga* follows (Ba) *pūrva-rāga*. Here both the lover and the beloved meet for the first time, and as such they are shy and constrained considerably, and so it is necessarily short. The following are the occasions for the meeting—childish sports (*bālya*), cattle tending (*goṣṭhā*), milking (*gavi-doha*), and mutual meeting (*mīṭhaḥ saṅgama*), and the pleasures are mainly kissing (*cumbana*), touching (*sparsana*), snatching at the hem of the skirt (*vastrāpakaṣaṇa*), and obstructing the way (*paṭha-rodha*).

The (b) *samkīrṇa* (narrow or incomplete) form of *sambhoga* follows (Bb) *māna*. Though the girl has given up her attitude of indifference or anger and is once more happy in the company of her lover, yet the after-taste of previous sorrow does not make her happiness complete. Her feeling is mixed; it is compared to the chewing a bit of hot sugar-cane. The following are the pleasures or occasions for *samkīrṇa sambhoga*—the big *rāsa* dance (*mahārāsa*), water-sports (*jala-kriḍā*), pavilion sports (*kuñju-lilā*), pretending toll-collection (*dāna*), stealing of the flute (*vamśī-caurya*), boating sports (*nanu-vilāsa*), drinking wine (*madhu-pāna*), and worshipping the sun (*arka-pūjana*).

The (Ac) *sampanna* (prosperous or complete) form of *sambhoga* follows (Bc) *prema-vaicittya* (love's dementia). The following are the occasions of such pleasure—sight from a distance (*śudūrād darśana*), the swing festival (*dola*), the spring festival (*holī*), solving conundrums (*prahelikā*), playing at dice (*dyūta-kriḍā*), small talks and confidential chats (*rasālasa-vinodana*), feigning (*dhūrtta*), and sleep (*nidrā*).

The last or the (Ad) *saṃpradhimān* (resplendent) form of *sambhoga* follows (Bd) *pravāsa*. Here the meeting of the lovers is very scarce and is brought about by sheer chance. So there is not the slightest restraint, and the happiness is perfect. The following are the pleasures or occasions—dream (*svapna*), meeting at Kuru-kṣetra, incoherent talks (*jalpana*), return to the Vraja, eating, sleeping, and doing anything at will (*svādhīna*).

Every different *rasa*, as well as every section and subsection of the *śṛṅgāra rasa*, has appropriate poems about Caitanya-deva. One of such poems must be sung at the commencement of the regular Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa series. This overture or opening poem with reference to Caitanya-deva is known as *Gaura-candrikā* (pertaining to Gaura-candra). Sometimes a similar song on Nityānanda also follows the *Gaura-candrikā*.

In connection with the discussions on the *rasas* we should also say something about the different states and aspects of the heroine. These are only eight—(i) *abhisārikā*, (ii) *vāsaka-sajjā*, (iii) *utkaṇṭhitā*, (iv) *vipralabdā*, (v) *khaṇḍitā*, (vi) *kalahāntarītā*, (vii) *proṣṭa-bhartṛkā*, and (viii) *svādhīna-bhartṛkā*.

The girl when going out fully dressed to meet the lover is called *abhisārikā*. She is known as *vāsaka-sajjā*, when she waits for her lover, fully dressed, in her own well-decorated home. She is *utkaṇṭhitā* (anxious) when the expectation of her lover results in despondency. When the lover wilfully forgets to keep an appointment with his girl, she is known as

vipralabdā (cheated). The girl waits for her lover throughout the whole night; he, on the other hand, passes the night in company of another. She is naturally extremely offended, and is therefore known as *khaṇḍitā* (transgressed against). *Kalahāntarītā* (separated in quarrel) is she who is cross with her lover. When the lover is sojourning elsewhere, the girl is known as *proṣita-bhartṛkā* (one whose husband is away). When the girl is the absolute master, and the lover is her willing slave, she is called *svādhīna-bhartṛkā* (one whose husband is her slave).



Caitanya-deva with his Followers at Nilācala

CHAPTER IV

CONTEMPORARIES AND FOLLOWERS OF CAITANYA-DEVA

Yaśorāja Khān.

In his *Rasa-mañjarī* Pītāmbara-dāsa has quoted a Brajabuli poem with the *bhāṣitā* of Yaśorāja Khān. The poem mentions that the poet's patron was Husain, the ruler of Gauṛ. Now Husain Shah reigned in Bengal from A.C. 1493 to 1519. So this poem appears to be the earliest extant Brajabuli poem written in Bengal. Rāmānanda-Rāya's famous Brajabuli poem (see *infra*), beginning with the words 'pahilahi rāga,' must have been composed some time in the first decade of the sixteenth century; and it must be remembered that he was an Oṛiyā. So Rāmānanda-Rāya's poem should be more properly reckoned as the earliest Brajabuli poem written in Orissa. Thus Yaśorāja Khān gets the unique distinction of being the earliest Bengali writer of Brajabuli poetry that has come down to us. The poem in question is quoted below. The reading of the poem is corrupt, and I have adopted it with some emendations in the printed text.

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| eka payodhara | candana-lepita |
| āre sahajaī gaura | |
| hima-dharādharma | kanaka-bhūdhara |
| kole milala jora | |
| mādhava, tuā daraśana-kāje | |
| ādha pada-cāri | karīṇā sundari |
| vāhira-dehali mājhe | |
| dābhina locana | kājare rañjita |
| dhavala rahala vāma | |
| nila-dhavala | kamala duicāda ³ |
| pūjala koṭi kāma ⁴ | |

¹ Printed text has 'pada-cāṇana.'

² Printed text has 'rahala kara vāma.'

³ Should probably be 'kamala yugala.'

⁴ Printed text has 'kata koṭi.'

Rāmānanda-Rāya.

Rāmānanda-Rāya, or Rāya Rāmānanda, was the political officer or local governor at Vidyā-nagara on the Godāvari, under the Gajapati king Pratāpa-rudra of Orissa who ruled from 1504 to 1532 A.C. Rāmānanda's father Bhavānanda, and his four brothers Vāṇinātha, Gopinātha, Kalānidhi and Sudhānidhi, were all under the patronage of the king.

When Caitanya-deva started on his pilgrimage to the peninsular India, he was requested by Vāsudeva-Sārvabhauma, one of the most reputed Bengali scholars of the time, to meet Rāmānanda at Vidyā-nagara. Rāmānanda had good reputation as a fine scholar and a mystic poet. The Master and the mystic met on the bank of the Godāvari, and they were mutually attracted. At evenfall they had a meeting at the house of the official when ensued a very interesting and remarkable discourse. This interview and discourse has had an able, brilliant and full treatment by the masterly pen of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in the eighth chapter of the Second Book of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. Caitanya-deva asked Rāya what was the ultimate aim and true ideal of Vaiṣṇava religion and philosophy. Rāmānanda gave the obvious answer, but of course the Master was not to be satisfied. Skilfully led onwards by the clever and penetrating questions of the latter, Rāmānanda was at last unable to express himself any further with the help of any quotations from scriptures or otherwise. Then he asked the Master's permission to express his sentiments through a poem he had written. Hardly two lines had been recited when Caitanya-deva was greatly moved and stopped further progress of the recital. So far as contemporary evidence goes this poem is the earliest Brajabuli composition handed down to us, with the only exception of the poem by Yaśorāja Khān.

pahilahi rāga nayana-bhaṅga bhela |
 anudina bāṛhala avadhi nā gela ||
 na so ramaṇa na hāma ramaṇi |
 duhū mana manobhaba peśala jani ||
 e sakhi so saba prema-kahāni |
 kānu-ṭhāme kahabi bichuraha jāni ||
 na khōjalū doti na khōjalū āna |
 duhūka milane madhyata pāca-vāṇa ||
 ava so virāge tubū bheli doti |
 supurukha-premaka aichana riti ||
 varddhana rudra-narādhipa-māna |
 rāmānanda-rāya kavi bhāṇa ||

[CC. ii. 8; PKT. 576.]

• ‘ Our first love was through the expressions of the eye ; it has increased day by day, but the limit has not been attained. He is not a man, nor am I a woman ; but our hearts, as it were, have been crushed by the god of love. My friend, do please tell Kṛṣṇa everything about our love-story, do not forget. I have not sought a messenger nor have I sought for others’ help ; between us the five-arrowed god of love is the intermediary. Now in this disaffection of his you are the messenger. That is the way of a good man’s love ! ’ Increasing the prestige of the king (Pratapa)-rudra, the poet Rāmānanda-Rāya speaks so. •

This meeting with Caitanya-deva settled the future career of the poet. By the time when the Master returned to Puri, Rāmānanda had retired from service and come to live at home near him. Caitanya-deva held him in high esteem and great affection, and he once remarked that between them there was the difference of body only.

rāmānanda saha morṣ deha-bheda mātṛa [CC. i. 10].

Rāmānanda had written, before he met the Master, a Sanskrit drama in five acts, entitled the *Jagannātha-vallabha-nāṭaka*, or better known as *Rāmānanda-saṅgīta-nāṭaka*. This drama, dealing with the first love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, contains twenty-one songs composed in imitation of Jayadeva. This work of no mean poetic merit was no doubt appreciated at the time, but subsequently its importance was considerably enhanced on account of the compliment paid to it by Caitanya-deva by way of enjoying the songs with his appreciative friends and companions.

The songs imbedded in the drama were written in Sanskrit and in imitation of the songs of the *Gīta-govinda*. Though we miss in them the earlier poet’s mellifluousness and picturesqueness, we certainly come in with undoubted sincerity and better taste. We quote here two songs as specimen.

Rādhā says to her friend

vidalita-sarasija-dala-caya-śayane |
vārita-sakala-sakhi-jana-nayane ||
valati mano mama satvara-racane |
pūraya kāmam imam śaśi-vadane ||
abhinava-visa-kisalaya-caya-valaye |
malayaja-rasa-pariṣevita-nilaye ||
sukhayatu rudra-gajādhipa-cittam |
rāmānanda-rāya-kavi-bhaṇitam ||

[Act ii.]

• 'My mind is extremely anxious to have a bed prepared at once. The bed should be made of petals of full-blown lotuses, strewn with fresh stalks of the lotus plant, and there should blow gently the southern breeze, but it should be done all unknown to my other friends. Sasi-vadanā, do please fulfil this desire of mine.' May this song of the poet Rāmānanda-Rāya delight the heart of the Gajapati king (Pratāpa)-rudra. •

Rādhā speaks to her aunt about her extreme love-sickness

mañjūta-guñjad-ali-kuñjam ati-bhīṣaṇam |
 manda-marud-antara-ga-gandha-kṛta-dūṣaṇam ||
 sakalam etad Iritam |
 kiñca guru-pañcaśara-cañcalam mama jīvitam ||
 matta-pika-datta-rujam ujjvalādhikaram vanam |
 saṅga-sukham aṅgam api tuṅga-bhaya-bhājanam ||
 rudra-nṛpaṃ āśu vidadbātu sukha-saṅkulam |
 rāma-pada-dhāma-kavi-rāya-kṛtam ujjvalam || [Act iii.]

• 'This summer house has taken a terrible aspect because of the bees setting up a more charming humming, and because of its being fragrant with sweet breeze blowing within. All is said (thereby). In short, my life is rendered unstable with the mortal arrow-shots of the god of love. The woodland around has become a sickness to me, and the notes of the amorous cuckoo causes feverishness. My person which is essential for enjoying (the lover's) company, has only become a source of great apprehension.' May this bright (song) of the king of poets named Rāma (or, of the poet named Rāma-Rāya) bring immediate happiness to the king (Pratāpa)-rudra. •

The verses in the drama are not infrequently very fine. One is quoted below.

prema-coheda-rujo 'vagacchati harir nāyaṃ na ca prema vā
 sthānāsthānam avaiti nāpi madano jñāti^o no durbalāḥ |
 anyo veda na cānya-duḥkham akhilam no jīvanam vāsraṇam
 dvitrāṇyeva dināni yauvanam idam hā hā vidhe kṣ gatiḥ || [Act iii.]

Rādhā speaks to Madanikā about her helplessness :

• Hari has no experience of the sickness of the interruption of love, nor does love care for propriety of occasion. Even the god of love does not know us to be weak. One cannot also be aware of the entire sufferings of another. Life is under nobody's command, and the young age lasts for a day or two. Alas, alas ! What help is there ? •

In the *Pada-kalpa-taru* there is a poem [2844], with the name Rāma-Rāya in the colophon, which was probably composed by our poet. There are traces of Hindi influence in this poem.

In the Vaiṣṇava anthologies there is no scarcity of poems having the *bhaṇitā* of Rāmānanda. These poems however cannot be attributed to our poet in view of the fact that there were several poets of the name of Rāmānanda, and that our poet never subscribed himself otherwise than with his surname or title 'Rāya.' But the Hindi song [PKT. 2844] with the *bhaṇitā* of 'Rāma-Rāya' is very possibly a composition of our poet. The short *bhaṇitā* 'Rāma-Rāya' is found in some of his Sanskrit songs in the *Jagannātha-vallabha-nāṭaka*.

Murāri-Gupta.

Murāri-Gupta was born in Sylhet. His family, like that of Caitanya-deva and others, left their native place and settled at Navadvīpa. Murāri's people were next-door neighbours to that of Caitanya-deva. Murāri was a senior fellow-student of Caitanya-deva in the *Catuṣpāthī* of Gaṅgādāsa. Murāri (and his fellow-student and colleague Mukunda-datta) was a particular butt to the smart raillery and haughty sarcasm of the young Caitanya, and as such this amiable and gentle senior avoided the haunts of the latter. But at heart Murāri had great affection for that handsome, naughty but tender-hearted boy. On his return from Gayā the young Caitanya became a different man altogether, when Murāri, along with all other good and pious people of Navadvīpa, was strongly attracted by, and afterwards surcharged with his magnetic personality and superhuman, universal tenderness.¹

In the galaxy of Caitanya-deva's companions and immediate followers there were several who were the very flowers of amiability, tenderness, courageousness and wisdom. Even among them Murāri was pre-eminent. In a very brief but true sketch Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja has drawn a fine picture of this poet and devotee.

śri-murāri-gupta śākhā premerṣ bhāṇjārṣ |
prabhurṣ hṛdaya drabe śuni daiṇya yārṣ ||
pratigraha nā kare nā lay kāra dhanṣ |
ātma-vṛtti kari kare kuṭumba-bharanṣ ||
cikitsā karenṣ yāre haiyā sadayṣ |
deha-roga bhava-roga dui tārṣ kṣayṣ ||

[CC. i. 10.]

¹ Murari's Journal (Kāraṇā), ii. 7. 8-18; 12. 8-11.

• Murāri-Gupta, a branch (of the Caitanya tree), is a veritable treasure of love. His piteous confessions melt the heart of the Master. He does not accept any gift, ceremonial or otherwise, but runs his household by his professional practice. He, for whom he feels pity and undertakes treatment, is freed from the disease both of the body and of the mind. •

Murāri wrote a Sanskrit poem in the right epic style dealing with the early life of Caitanya-deva. This poem, the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, better known as the Journal (*kaṛacā*) of Murāri-Gupta, was completed in A.C. 1513 (= Śaka 1435), that is when the Master was only 28 years old. This journal contains by far the most authentic account of the early and family life of Caitanya-deva, and so it has been drawn upon by all of the later biographers. The poem is divided into four sections of seventy-eight cantos with a total of 1,919 stanzas. The verses are quite smooth and are not often devoid of intrinsic merit.

Murāri had written a few songs in vernacular [*cf.* *Kaṛacā* ii. 4. 22-23], of which about twelve are now known to us. Of these songs only two are written in Brajabuli. The following are the *bhaṇitās* which Murāri used in his songs—*Murāri-Gupta*, *Murāri*, *Gupta* and *Gupta-dāsa*. Most of these songs or poems deal with the life of Caitanya-deva, and they are among the earliest poems of this *genre*.

The following is quoted as a specimen of Murāri's Brajabuli composition.—

| | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|
| tapata kirāṇa yadi | aṅga nā dagadhala |
| ki karaba jala-abhiṣeke | |
| duḥkha-bhare prāṇa | vāhire yava nikasaba |
| ki karaba auṣadha-viṣekhe | |
| mānini atae samāpahā māne | |
| mṛdu mṛdu bhāṣe | sambhāṣaha vara-tanu |
| eka-vāra deha jīu dāne | |
| sundara-vadane | bihasi vara-bhāmini |
| racaha manohara vāṇī | |
| kuca kanayā giri | madhi gabi rākhaha |
| nija bhuje āpana jāni | |
| adhara sudhārāsa- | pāna deha sakhi |
| hṛdaya juṣāyaha mora | |
| tuyā mukha-indu- | udaya heri vilasata |
| tirapita nayana-cakora | |

nija guṇa heri paraka dekhi parihari
 tejaha hṛdayaka rokha |
 bhaṇai murāri prāṇa-pati saṅginī
 purukha-vadha bahu dokha || [Kṣaṇadā 252.]

• [Kṛṣṇa to Rādhā:] 'When the hot rays (of the sun) have indeed scalded the body, what can sprinkling of water do? When life shall depart (being oppressed) with the load of misery, what can the application of a particular dose of medicine do? O angry one! do thou then give up thy anger. O lovely one! accost me with thy soft speech, and so, just for once, give me my life back. O precious girl, raise up a smile in thy lovely face, and recount nice words. Take me up, as thy own, in thy arms, and place me against the golden hills of thy breasts. Give me a drink of thy nectarian lips, O my friend, and so soothe my heart. Beholding the rise of thy moonlike face, my eyes like a pair of cakoras are delighted and have become sportive. Remembering thy own goodness and thereby dismissing other's faults, do thou give up the anger of thy heart.' So adds Murāri, the companion of thy dearest lover, that killing a man is a great sin. » 150658

The above Brajabuli poem is a very indifferent writing at the most. But Murāri was really a good poet, and this will be a news to the general reader of Bengali literature. It is really strange that no writer on Bengali literature, especially on Vaiṣṇava poetry, has yet drawn any attention to the vernacular poems of Murāri. I cite here only two of his Bengali poems which are certainly two of the best lyrics in the entire field of Bengali literature, both modern and old.

sakhi he phiriyā āpana ghare yāo |
 jīyante mariyā ye āpanā khāiyāche
 tāre tumi|ki āra bujhāo ||
 nayana-putali kari lailō mohana-rūpa
 hiyāra mājhāre kari prāṇa |
 pirti-āguni jvāli sakali porāiyāchi
 jāti kula śīla abhimāna ||
 nā jāniyā mūṛha loke ki jāni ki bale moke
 nā kariye āravāṇa-gocare |
 arota-bithāra jale e tanu bhāsāiyāchi
 ki karibe kulera kukure ||

khaite suite raite āna nāhi lay cite
 bandhu bine āna nāhi bhāy |
 murāri-gupate kahe pirtti emati haile
 tāra yaśa tinḍa loke gāy || [PKT. 751.]

« My friend, you just return to your home. What else can you explain to one who has died though alive and who has brought about her own ruin? His beauty I have taken in as the apples of the eyes, and my life in my heart. My high birth and parentage, good name, prestige—my all I have burnt down in the flame of my love. I do not know what the stupid folk, not knowing the truth, speak of me, and I do not care to lend my ears to that. I have floated this body of mine in a broad stream. What can the dogs of the propriety do? In eating, in sleeping and in rest I have no other consolation, nothing but the thought of my friend soothes me down. Murāri-Gupta says, when love comes to such a head it excites the admiration and applause of the three worlds. »

ki ohāra pirtti kailā jīyante badhiyā āilā
 bhācite sāmśaya bhela rāi |
 śaphari salila bina gonāiba kata dina
 śuna śuna niṭhura mādhai ||
 ghr̥ta diyā eka rati jvāli āilā yuga-bāti
 se kemane rahe ayogāne |
 tāhe se pavane puna nibhāila bāsō hena
 jhātḥāsi rākhaha parāṇe ||
 bujhilāma uddeśe sākṣāte pirtti toṣe
 sthāna-chārā bandhu vairi hay |
 tāra sākṣi padma-bhānu jala chārā tāra tanu
 śukhāile pirtti nā ray ||
 yata sukhe bār̥hailā tata dukhe porāilā
 karilā kumuda-bandhu bhāti |
 gupta kahe eka māse dvipakṣa chārila deśe
 nidāne haila kuhu rāti || [PKT. 1699.]

Rādhā writes to Kṛṣṇa who is at Dvārakā mentioning her plight on being separated from him.

« What a terrible love you have made! You have killed me alive, and I, your Rādhā am now in a critical condition. Like a petty fish without water how many days shall I pass? Listen to me, my cruel one. With

only a drop of ghee you have left lighted an aeon-lamp; ¹ how can it keep on burning without fresh supply? Moreover, it appears to me that it is about to be put out by the wind. So do you come soon and save my life. I have learnt indirectly that love is delightful at sight only, and that a friend remaining away becomes an enemy. An instance of this is the case of the lotus and the sun; when taken out of water the lotus withers, and the love is gone too. You have caused me grief in measure of the happiness you had brought upon me; you have adopted the manner of the friend of the lily (*i. e.* the moon). (Murāri-)Gupta says, 'In a single month the moon is gone, and the crisis has synchronised with the new-moon.'²

Narahari-dāsa (i) [A.C. ? 1478-1541]

In the Vaiṣṇava lyric literature there are two Narahari-dāsas. One, Narahari-Sarkār, or simply Sarkār-Ṭhākura of Śrīkhaṇḍa, the other, Narahari-Cakravartī, or Ghanaśyāma, the author of the *Bhakti-ratnākara*. The poems by the latter poet by far outnumber the productions of the former; but in fact the writings of these two authors have been so hopelessly mixed up that we are very often unable to assign a particular poem to its proper author. The criterion which can be safely adopted in some of the cases to distinguish between the writings of the two poets is this. The earlier poet's theme was the life and character of Caitanya-deva, and most of his poems were written in Bengali. Only a few poems seem to have been written in Brajabuli. Narahari-Sarkār's language is simple and direct; it does not contain a vast amount of *tatsama* words as that of the later poet. Narahari-Cakravartī on the other hand wrote mostly in Brajabuli, and these poems are rather artificial, verbose and complex.

Narahari-Sarkār was born in Śrīkhaṇḍa in the district of Burdwan in about *śaka* 1400 (=1478 A.C.). He came of a very distinguished Vaidya family. His father was Nārāyaṇadeva-Sarkār. Narahari's elder brother Mukunda was a physician to the Pathan king at Gauṛ.

Narahari was a fair-complexioned, handsome person. He never married. After Caitanya-deva became a *sannyāsin*, Narahari became his disciple. He installed six images at his place, of which two were of Caitanya-deva and Nityānanda-prabhu respectively. He died in *śaka* 1463 (=1541 A.C.).

¹ 'Yuga-bāti'—a lamp which goes on burning for ages.

² According to Āyurveda if the critical stage of a patient happens on the New-moon, the patient generally does not survive the day.

Narahari was a good Sanskrit scholar; he was the author of the two works, *Bhakti-candrikā-paṭala* and *Bhaktāmṛtāṣṭaka*. Narahari was perhaps the first poet to write poems in vernacular about the life of Caitanya-deva. He himself has said in one of his poems

gaura-līlā daraśane icchā baṛa hay mane
 bhāṣy likhiyā saba rākhi |
 muṇi to ati adhama likhite nā jāni krama
 kemana kariyā tāhā likhi ||
 e grantha likhibe ye ekhana janme nāi se
 janmite vilamba āche bahu |
 bhāṣy racanā haile bujhibā loka sakale
 kabe vāñchā purābena pahu ||
 gaura-gaḍādhara-līlā ādrava karaye śilā
 kāra sādhya karibe varṇanā |
 sārādā likhena yadi niranantara niravadhi.
 āra sadāśiva pañcānana ||
 kichu kichu pada likhi yadi ihā keha dekhi
 prakāśa karaye prabhu-līlā |
 narahari pābe sukha ghucibe manera dukha
 grantha gāne darabibe śilā || [GPT., pp. 11-12.]

• On seeing the activities of Gaura there comes over a great desire to put them in vernacular writing. But I am extremely dull, and I do not know the proper order of writing. How can I then write it out? The person who will write this book is yet to be born, and he will be born in a much later time. If written in vernacular it will be intelligible to all. When will the Master fulfil this desire? The activities of Gaura and Gaḍādhara melt even stone. Who can describe them fully except when Sārādā and the five-faced Sadāśiva go on writing incessantly and for ever. I write a few poems, so that some one on reading them might publish the life of the Master. Then Narahari will be immensely delighted, and all his sorrows will vanish. Even stone will melt when the book will be sung. •

From this poem we can gather that Murāri had probably written his Journal before this, and no biography of Caitanya had yet been composed in the vernacular.

In the *Kṣapadā Gīta-cintā-maṇi* there is one Brajabuli poem with the *bhāṣitā* of Narahari. Now as Viśvanātha-Cakravartin, the author of *Kṣapadā*, was the preceptor of the father of the second Narahari-

dāsa, it is improbable that the author of the poem can be the later Narahari. We cite the poem below, as it is the only Brajabuli poem which can be safely assigned to the authorship of Narahari-dāsa (i). The reading seems to be corrupt at places.

| | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| rāika vipatti śuni | vidagadha-śiromaṇi |
| puchai gada-gada bhāṣā | |
| nija mandira tyaji | calu nava-nāgara |
| punaḥ punaḥ paraśai nāsā | |
| bichurala caraṇa- | raṇita maṇi-mañjira |
| bichurala muralika randhre | |
| bichurala veśa | vasana bhela vigalita |
| vigalita śikhi-puccha-candre | |
| malayaja parimale | daśa-diśa (ā)modita |
| yāminī bahe ati puñje | |
| lālasa daraśa- | paraśe duhū ākula |
| ciradine milala kuñje | |
| duhū mukha herai | athira bhela duhū tanu |
| paraśite bhuje bhuje kāpa | |
| narahari-hṛdi mājhe | aparupa jāgala |
| jaladhara vidhu-vara jhāpa | [Kṣaṇadā 141.] |

• On hearing the distress of Rādhā the prince of the gallants asked (about it) in faltering words. Leaving his home the youthful lover went forth, brushing his nose again and again. He forgot (to put on) the jewelled anklets that jingle at every step, he forgot (to blow at) the orifices of his flute. He forgot to dress up (properly); his clothes flapped, and his peacock's feather drooped. All the quarters were fragrant with the sweet scent of sandal paste, which the night scattered about in masses. The two, who were greatly longing after a sight and touch of each other, met after a long time in the pavilion. Looking at each other they two were overwhelmed, and they trembled when they clasped each other in their arms. In the heart of Narahari a fine vision appeared, namely, the cloud covered up the moon. •

Narahari has given full description of the two marriage ceremonies of Caitanya-deva. This description is a faithful picture of the true scenes, and is full of poetic charm. Locana-dāsa, the author of the *Caitanya-maṅgala* and a disciple of Narahari, drew upon these poems of his *guru* when dealing with the same subject. For simplicity and directness of

style Locana's work is remarkable. But these qualities, as we find, he inherited from his *guru* Narahari-Sarkār.

According to the evidence of Śekhara-Rāya [GPT., p. 456, song 13] Narahari-dāsa (i) had written, before the birth of the Master, songs on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme.

Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa.

Vāsudeva and his brothers Govinda and Mādhava were born at Buṛana or Buṛaṅgi in Sylhet, which was probably the place of their mother's people. Their father settled at Kumārahaṭṭa, but the brothers shifted their residence to Navadvīpa. The Ghoṣa brothers were all companions and followers of Caitanya-deva. All of them were sweet-voiced and poetically gifted. The three brothers were the leaders of three bands of Sāṅkīrtana singers under Caitanya-deva.

Vāsudeva's muse busied herself solely with the life-story of the great Master. The poet was a close companion of Caitanya-deva throughout his home life, and this has rendered his poems important from the historical standpoint. Later on he was asked by the Master to attend Nityānanda-prabhu in his missionary tours in Bengal. It is mentioned in the *Vaiṣṇavācāra-darpaṇa* that in his later life Vāsudeva settled at Tamluk.

About Vāsudeva's poetry Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja has made the following remark in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*.

vāsudeva gīte kare prabhura varṇane |
kāṣṭha pāṣāṇa drave yāhāra śravaṇe || [i. 11.]

« Vāsudeva in his songs describes the activities of the Master, on hearing which even (the hearts of) wood and stone melt away. »

To a great extent this appreciation of the Kavirāja is justified. Vāsudeva probably followed the foot-steps of Narahari-Sarkār in dealing with the theme of Caitanya-deva's life.¹

Out of his numerous poems extant (numbering about eighty) about a dozen only are written in Brajabuli. One such typical poem is quoted below.

¹ śrī-sarkār ṭhākurer padāmṛta pāne |
 padya prakāśibe balli icchā kaila mane |

“On drinking the sweet poems of Śrī-Sarkār-Ṭhākura I have made up my mind to publish poems” [Pada-samudra, quoted in GPT., Introduction, p. 126].

Vāsudeva tried to describe the life of Caitanya-deva in exact imitation of the story of Kṛṣṇa. So he had to imagine the corresponding 'dāna,' 'naukā' and other sports which Kṛṣṇa enjoyed in company of the *gopīs*. Such songs of course are not his best.

Mādhava-Ghoṣa was a brother of **Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa**, and a companion of **Caitanya-deva**. Though the brothers were all exquisite singers and fine musicians, **Mādhava** was pre-eminent among them. Of him **Vṛndāvana-dāsa** has said in the *Caitanya-bhāgavata*

[illegible]

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| kāṭara-nayane | nehārite`dubhū dubhā |
| uthalala prema-taraṅga | |
| muruchala rāi | muruchi paṇu mādharma |
| kava haba tākara saṅga | |
| lalitā sumukhi | sumukhi kari phukarata |
| rāika kore āgora | |
| sahacari kānu | kānu kari phukarata |
| !harakata locana-lora | |
| kathi geo aruṇa- | kiraṇa-bhaya dāruṇa |
| kathi geo lokaka bhīta | |
| mādhava-ghoṣa | ava-hu nāhi samujhala |
| udabhaṭa mugadha-carita | [PKT. 660.] |

• When about to start for their respective homes they two, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, looked at each other's face, at which the sea of love heaved in their bosoms, and tears fell down thickly from their eyes. (Rādhā said,) 'Mādhava, now I bid good-bye at your feet. I shall return again for (the attraction of) your love, but now I am not to have any further sight of you.' On looking at each other with sorrowful eyes the waves of love ran high. Rādhā swooned away, so did Kṛṣṇa, on thought, 'When are we to meet?' Lalitā took her up in her lap and cried in concern, 'My beauty, O my beauty!' Kṛṣṇa's companion cried, 'Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa!', and she was shedding tears. Where is now gone the fear of the light of day, and where indeed the fear of people? Mādhava-Ghoṣa has yet to understand the nature of the lovers. •

There is a tradition that Mādhava-Ghoṣa settled at Dāihāṭ near Katwa, after the *sannyāsa* of the Master. Mādhava, like his brother Vāsudeva, remained a bachelor to the last day of his life.

Govinda-Ghoṣa.

Govinda-Ghoṣa was the brother of Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa and Mādhava-Ghoṣa. The full names of the brothers appear to have been Govindānanda, Mādhavānanda, and Vāsudevānanda. [Cf. the colophon of song 23 (p. 389) of GPT. ; PKT. 2234.]

Hardly half a dozen of Govinda-Ghoṣa's poems have come down to us. Of these few poems none are written in Brajabuli. In poetic capacity Govinda does not seem to be inferior to his brother Mādhava.

The following short lyric is undoubtedly a master-piece of vivid description and intensity.

hede re nadiyā-vāsi kāra mukha cāo |
 bāhu paśāriyā gorā-cādere phirāo ||
 to-sabbhāre ke āra karibe nija kore |
 ke yāciyā dibe prema dekhiyā kātare ||
 ki śela hiyāy hāy ki śela hiyāy |
 parāṇa-putali navadvīpa chāri yāy ||
 āra nā yāiba morā gaurāṅgera pāsa |
 āra nā kariba morā kīrttana-vilāsa ||
 kādāye bhakata-gaṇa buka vidariyā |
 pāṣāṇa govinda-ghoṣa nā yāy miliyā || [PKT. 1622.]

« O people of Nadiyā, whom are you looking up to? Go, stretch your arms and bring the Golden Moon (Gaurāṅga) back. Who else will take you up in his arms? Who else will bestow love unasked to every distressed person? What a great shock to the heart, indeed what a great shock! The idol of the heart is leaving Navadvīpa for good! No more shall we go to Gaurāṅga, no more shall we enjoy the sport of Kīrttana! The followers and devotees are weeping, bursting their heart; but Govinda-Ghoṣa is really made of stone, he does not melt away. »

Govinda settled at Agradvīpa where he installed the image of Gopinātha.

Rāmānanda-Vasu.

Rāmānanda-Vasu was son or grandson of the celebrated Mālādhara-Vasu, a zamindar of Kulīna-grāma in the district of Burdwan. Mālādhara was the author of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-vijaya*, which is a Bengali adaptation of the tenth book of the *Srimad-Bhāgavata*. This work became very soon famous. He got the title 'Guṇarāja Khān' from the appreciative Pathan ruler of Bengal. Rāmānanda possibly inherited his poetic temperament from him.

It is possible that Rāmānanda had the title 'Satyarāja Khān.' The general opinion has been that Satyarāja was the father of Rāmānanda-Vasu. I have shown elsewhere that Satyarāja Khan was identical with Rāmānanda Vasu, at least if we are to believe in the authenticity of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* [VSPP., Vol. 38, p. 156 f.]. Rāmānanda was a staunch follower of Caitanya-deva. He met the Master every year at Puri when the Master's followers in Bengal assembled there during the time of the car festival.

Details are to be seen in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. Caitanya-deva was very fond of the natives of Kulīna-grāma, as that place came early under the influence of Vaiṣṇavism.

The number of the known poems of Rāmānanda-Vasu does not exceed a dozen. In the anthologies there are several poems with the *bhāṣitā* of Rāmānanda-dāsa, or simply Rāmānanda, but all these poems cannot be ascribed to our poet, nor to Rāmānanda Rāya, because the earlier writers subscribed themselves generally with their full name. It is of course quite possible that a few of them belong to Rāmānanda-Vasu.

The following is the only Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of Rāmānanda-Vasu.

malayaja-milita yamunā-jala-śītala
 vāṃśī-vaṭa niramāṇa |
 nikaṭahi nīpa kadamba-taru kusumita
 kokila bhramara karu gāna ||
 tāra tale tiribhaṅga taruṇa-tamāla-tanu
 vāme rasavati rāi |
 eka nava jaladhara kore bijuri thira
 kāñcana ratana miśāi ||
 duhū tanu eka-mana niviṣa śliṅgana
 duhū jana eka-i parāṇa |
 vasu rāmānanda bhāṇe tulaṇā nā hay mane
 rūpera nichani pāca-vāṇa || [PKT. 652.]¹

• Cool with the sprays of the Yamunā mixed with the southern breeze the *Vāṃśī-vaṭa* grows. Close by there is a *nīpa* tree in blossoms ; on it, cuckoos are singing and bees are humming. Under the tree is standing in a reclining posture a person supple as a young *tamāla* tree ; on his left is standing the affectionate Rādhā. A newly formed cloud, and a streak of steady lightning, (as fine a sight as) a composition of gold and precious stones. In close embrace the two bodies have a single mind ; the two persons have the same life. Rāmānanda-Vasu says, 'No analogy occurs (to me), even the god of love is nothing to that beauty.' •

Rāmānanda-Vasu wrote a few poems on Caitanya-deva. All these poems bear the stamp of simplicity of the earlier writers.

A very fine Bengali poem of Rāmānanda-Vasu [PKT. 145] was worked upon and amplified by Jñānadāsa [PKT. 144]. In the *Pada-rasa-*

¹ Cf. *Aprakāśita-padaratnāvalī*, 414.

sāra however, this amplified poem also bears the *bhaṇitā* of Vasu Rāmānanda, and the *bhaṇitā* of Balarāma-dāsa occurs in the same poem in the *Pada-ratnākara* [PKT., Vol. i, p. 102].

There are a few Brajabuli [PKT. 1277, 1711, 2060, 2096, 2162, 2163, 3057] and a few Bengali poems [Kṣaṇadā 148 ; PKT. 1417, 2248, 2257, 2615] with the *bhaṇitā* of 'Rāmānanda.' With the exception of PKT. 1417 and 2162, all these songs can very well be ascribed to Rāmānanda-Vasu. Rāmānanda-Rāya could not have composed these Brajabuli songs because they are all reminiscent of the early family life of Caitanya-deva, and the Bengali songs are out of the question.

The Bengali song, PKT. 2615, has great similarity of language and thought with a Bengali song of Rāmānanda-Vasu [Bhakti-ratnākara, p. 952]; and this Bengali song and the Brajabuli song, PKT. 1711, seem to be the composition of a person who was contemporary with, and a companion of the Master. Moreover it should be remembered that no third Rāmānanda has yet been discovered in the field of vernacular Vaiṣṇava literature.

Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa [A. C. ? 1503-1578].

Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa was one of the six *Gosvāmins* who remained at Vṛndāvana at the order of Caitanya-deva and preached Vaiṣṇavism there both through their immaculate and pious lives and by writing books in Sanskrit. These six *Gosvāmins* were Sanātana, Rūpa, Jīva, Raghunātha-Bhaṭṭa, Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa, and Raghunātha-dāsa. Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa was the son of Venkāṭa-Bhaṭṭa of Bhaṭṭamāri, whom Caitanya-deva met in course of his tours in South India. Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa was the compiler of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, which is a standard work on Vaiṣṇava *Smṛti*.

There are two poems in PKT., with the *bhaṇitā* of Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa [1088, 2833]. To these must be added the song 2966. The latter contains the *bhaṇitā* of Gopāla-dāsa. We know one Gopāla-dāsa who was an altogether different person. But the language of this song, like that of the former two, is Brajabhākhā and not Brajabuli. So this song also must be attributed to Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa. Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa was a man from South India, and he passed his life at Vṛndāvana, so it was very unlikely that he could have written poems in Brajabuli.

As the poems of Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa are written in Brajabhākhā (where of course some corruptions have crept in) we need not discuss them any further here.

Raghunātha-dāsa (i) [A. C. ? 1506-1582].

Raghunātha was the son of Govardhana-dāsa, a very rich landholder of Saptagrāma near Hugli. In his early youth he gave up worldly life and went to meet Caitanya-deva at Puri. The Master placed him under the spiritual guidance of Svarūpa-Dāmodara. Later on he came to Vṛndāvana and lived there till his death. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja was a disciple of Raghunātha-dāsa. Raghunātha-dāsa was one of the finest characters in the galaxy of Caitanya-deva's companions and immediate followers. In him the devotional spirit of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism had attained perfection. His fascinating life can be found in some detail in the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* and the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*.

There are only three poems with the *bhaṇitā* of Raghunātha-dāsa in PKT., of which one is written in Brajabhākhā [2869], and the other two in Brajabuli [2387 (Jayadeva-vandanā), 2467 (description of Rādhā)]. Raghunātha was a good poet, as is evidenced from his several Sanskrit works such as the *Stavāvalī*, the *Vilāpa-kusumāñjali*, etc. The song 2387 does not seem to be the work of Raghunātha-dāsa, as it is totally lacking in brilliance which is found in song 2869 and to some extent also in song 2467.

Vaṁśīvadana-dāsa [Born ? 1494 A. C.].

Vaṁśīvadana was the son of Chakṛi-Catṭa who was a very well-to-do *kulīna* Brahmin dwelling at Kuliyā-pāhār, a village adjacent to Navadvīpa. After the *sannyāsa* of Caitanya-deva Vaṁśīvadana lived with the Master's family as its guardian. In later life he shifted his residence from Kuliyā-pāhār to Bilva-grāma. Vaṁśī was born in A.C. 1494 [GPT., Introduction, p. 123].

In PKT. there are five Brajabuli poems with the *bhaṇitā* of Vaṁśīvadana, and another five with the *bhaṇitā* of simple Vaṁśī. That Vaṁśīvadana used both the short and the long form of his name in the *bhaṇitā* is clear from the sequence of the Bengali poems [PKT. 121, 122 ; 543, 544, 546, 550, 551 ; 1385, 1387, 1388 ; etc.].

There was a later poet Vaṁśī-dāsa who was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Kṛṣṇānanda, i ; Bhakti-ratnākara, x]. To this poet, who does not appear to have written much, must be ascribed the Bengali poem in GPT. [p. 5].

The following is a specimen of Vamśivadana's Brajabuli composition :

dhātu prabāla-dala nava guñjā-phala
 vraja-bālaka sañge sñje |
 kuṭila-kuntala beṇi maṇi-mukutā jhuri
 kaṭi-taṭe ghuṅgura bāje ||
 nācata mohana bāla gopāla |
 baraja-vadhū meli deai kara-tāli,
 bolai bhāli re bhāla ||
 nanda sunanda yaśomati rohiṇi
 ānande suta-mukha cāy |
 aruṇa dṛgañcala kājare rañjita
 hāsi hāsi daśana dekhāy ||
 vamsī kahai saba vraja-ramaṇi-gaṇa
 ānanda-sāyare bhāsa |
 heraita paraśite lālana karaite
 stana-khīre bhigala vāsa || [PKT. 1154.]

• The child Gopāla is bedecked with metal (gold), coral and bright-new *guñjā* berries, along with the other boys of the Vraja. Round his curly hair there is a tiara of diamonds and pearls, and a girdle tinkles at his waist. The child Gopāla is dancing bewitchingly, and all the women of the Vraja are beating time with their hands and are saying, 'Fine, O really fine !' Nanda, Sunanda, Yaśodā and Rohiṇi are joyfully looking at the child's face. The red corners of his eyes are tinged with collyrium, and he shows his teeth when smiling. Vamśī says that the women of the Vraja are bathing in a sea of bliss ; and when seeing, touching or fondling him, their upper garments are quite wet with the milk of their breast. •

Vamśivadana's Brajabuli poems are commonplace. The poet's fame must rest on his Bengali writings which are often not devoid of poetic imagination and real merit. Vamśivadana witnessed many of the incidents of the Master's life, and he was for some time the guardian of the Master's household. So his songs about Caitanya-deva also possess much historical interest.

The following Bengali poem would not be unfit for the pen of a master poet :

āra nā heriba prasara kapāle
 alakā-tilaka-kāca |
 āra nū heriba sonāra kamale
 nayana-khañjana-nāca ||
 āra nā nācibe śrīvāsa-mandire
 bhakata-cātaka laiyā |
 āra ki nācibe āpanāra ghare
 āmarā dekhiba cāiyā ||
 āra ki du-bhāi nimāi nitāi
 nācibena eka-ṭhāñi |
 nimāi kariyā phukari sadāi
 nimāi kothā-o nāi ||
 nidaya keśava- bhūratī āsiyā
 māthāy pūṛila bāja |
 gaurāṅga-sundara nā dekhi kemane
 rahiba nadiyā-mājha ||
 kebū hena jana ānibe ekhana
 āmāra gaura-rāy |
 śāśuṛi-vadhūra rodana śuniyā
 vapsī gaṛṅgaṛi yāy || [PKT. 1855.]

Sacī laments on her son's renunciation of home life :

‘No more shall we see the sandal decorations on that broad forehead, no more shall we look at the dance of the *khañjāna*-like eyes on the golden lotus of his face. No more he will sing and dance in the house of Śrīvāsa in the company of his *cātaka*-like followers ; no more he will sing and dance in our own house, so that we may look and see. Will the two brothers Nimāi and Nkai ever dance together? I am always shouting for Nimāi, but he is to be found nowhere. The relentless Keśava-Bhāratī came and hurled a thunder over our head. How can I live at Nadiyā without seeing my beautiful Gaurāṅga? Where is the man who can bring me back my prince Gaura?’ On hearing such laments of the mother and her daughter-in-law Vapsī rolls on the ground (for grief).-

CHAPTER V

YOUNGER CONTEMPORARIES AS WELL AS DISCIPLES OF CAITANYA-DEVA'S COMPANIONS

Nayanānanda (i) [c. A. C. 1583].

Nayanānanda was the son of Vāṇīnātha-Miśra, the younger brother of Paṇḍita Gadādhara, one of the most prominent followers of Caitanya-deva. It is generally believed that Dhruvānanda was another name of Nayanānanda [GPT., Introduction, pp. 103f.]. But this view is incorrect, inasmuch as Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja has distinctly mentioned them as separate persons [CC. i. 12], and we are bound to respect the Kavirāja's opinion in these matters.

Nayanānanda was the beloved disciple of the Paṇḍita, and when he left home for good, and went to live at Puri where he followed the Master, he left Nayanānanda in charge of his deity Gopīnātha. Nayanānanda married, and his descendants are still living at his place at Bharatpur in the Kandi subdivision of the district of Murshidabad. Nayanānanda was present in the great festival of Khetari (A. C. 1583 or 1584).

Nayanānanda wrote his poems solely upon the Caitanya topic. There is not a single poem of his existing to this day, which was written about the Kṛṣṇa legend. In PKT. his Brajabuli poems number five only [2, 1449, 1495, 2115, 2116].

Some of his poems, Bengali or Brajabuli, are remarkably good. Their diction is always irreproachable in cadence and choice of words. The following poems may be accepted as his masterpieces of Brajabuli and Bengali composition respectively :

o rūpa sundara gaura kiśora |
heraite nayane āraṭi nāhi ora ||
kara pada sundara adhara su-rāga |
nava anurāgiṇī nava anurāga ||
lola vilocana lolāṭa lora |
rasavati-hṛdaye bādhala prema-ḍora ||
paratekha prema kiye manamatha-rāja |
kāñcana-giri kiye kusama-samāja ||

achu prema-lampāṣa śrī-gaurāṅga rāya |
 śiva śuka ananta dheyāne nāhi pāya |
 pulaka-paṭala-valayita saba aṅga |
 premavati-āliṅgane lahari-taraṅga ||
 tacbu pada-paṅkaja-ali-sahakāra |
 kaha nayanānanda cīta vihāra || [PKT. 2115.]

• That charming beauty of Gaura the Young, when seen with eyes brings no limit to the desire (to see him again and again). Fair hands and feet, and lovely rosy lips: he is like the early love of a girl in love. Tears well up through his dancing eyes, which, like a twine of love bind the hearts of loving women. Is he love visualised, or the god of love the king, or a golden hill, or a mass of flowers? Such is Gaurāṅga the king who thirsts for love: Śiva, Śuka-deva and Ananta (Balarāma) cannot sight him even in contemplation. His entire body is bedecked with horripilations of joy, and these are the waves (of joy) due to the embrace of the Loving One (Rādhā). Says Nayanānda: 'May my heart find joy with those who are like bees round his lotus-feet (*i.e.*, his devotees).'

gorā mora guṇera sāgara |
 premera taraṅga tāy uṭhe nirantara ||
 gorā mora akalaṅka śaśī |
 hari-nāma-sudhā tāhe kṣare divā-niśī ||
 gorā mora himādrī-śikhara |
 tāhā haite prema-gaṅgā bahe nirantara ||
 gorā mora prema-kalpa-taru |
 yāra pada-chāye jīva sukhe vāsa karu ||
 gorā mora nava jaladhara |
 baraṣi śītala yāhe kare nāri-nara ||
 gorā mora ānandera khani |
 nayanānandera prāṇa yāhāra nichani || [GPT., p. 31.]

• My Gorā is an ocean of virtues: in him the waves of love are always surging up. My Gorā is a stainless moon, and from him the nectar of the name of Hari is ever dripping. My Gorā is a Himalayan peak: from him is flowing eternally the Ganges of love; and under his feet creatures live in bliss. My Gorā is a new dark cloud: he rains down and refreshes men and women. My Gorā is a mine of bliss: the heart of Nayanānanda is an offering to him (to avert all evil). •

Vṛndāvana-dāsa [? 1507-1589].

Vṛndāvana-dāsa was the son of Nārāyaṇī, the daughter of a brother of Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita, one of the premier followers of Caitanya-deva. He is said to have been born in 1507 A.C. But there are some difficulties in accepting this date.¹ Vṛndāvana was present in the festival of Khetari. He died in 1589 A.C.

Vṛndāvana was a disciple of Nityānanda-prabhu, and from the latter he had come to learn many true facts and incidents of the life of the Master. Vṛndāvana settled at Denur, a village in the district of Burdwan and about 14 miles west of Navadvīpa.

Vṛndāvana was a great poet. His *magnum opus*, the *Caitanya-bhāgavata*,² is a recognised masterpiece of Bengali literature. In this work the early life of Caitanya-deva has been brilliantly described. Vṛndāvana-dāsa was a good Brajabuli poet too. In the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* there occur several Brajabuli forms, lines and couplets.

The following Brajabuli poem, which is one of the best of its kind, will justify Vṛndāvana's position as a good writer of Brajabuli poetry:—

| | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| kaiche caraṇe kara- | pallava ṭhelali |
| milali māna-bhujāṅge | |
| kavale kavale jiu | jari yaba yāyaba |
| tavahi dekhaha iha raṅge | |
| mā go kiye iha jidda apāra | |
| ko achu vīra | dhīra mahābala |
| pāñari utāra paṛa | |
| śyāmara jhāmara | malina nalina-mukha |
| jhara-jhara nayanaka nīra | |
| pītāmbara gale | padabi loṭāyala |
| hiyā kaiche bādhali thira | |
| sādhī sādhi charame | gharāme mahāvikala |
| ghana ghana dīgha niśāsa | |
| manamatha-dāha- | dahane mana dhasi geo |
| rokhe calala nija vāsa | |

¹ G. P. T., Introduction, p. 129.

² The date of composition of this work is variously given as 1535, 1549, 1557 or 1573 A.C. The later dates are more probable.



baiṭhala rādhā nāgara kāna |
 duhū-jana cira abhi- -lāṣa paripūrala
 parijana maṅgala gāna ||
 kālindī-tīra nikūñja manohara
 bahata-hi malaya-samīra |
 kata parihāsa rabhasa rasa-kautuka
 duhū-para duhū-jana gīra ||
 vṛndā-devī samaya bujhi kuñjahī
 sevai kata parakāra |
 o rasa-sāyare ora nū pāola
 debakīnandana āra || [PKT. 2011.]

« At the end of *viparīta rati* the lotus-faced girl had her garments wet with perspiration. The attending maid-servant was fanning her with a *chowrie*, and another was serving water to drink. Then Rādhā and her lover Kṛṣṇa took their seat. They had their long-felt desire satisfied at last; and their companions were singing songs of joy. In that charming garden by the Yamunā there blew the South breeze, and they both were joking and talking intimately, and amusing each other. Knowing the proper time Vṛndā Devī served them in that place in a thousand and one ways. And Devakīnandana found no limit to that ocean of bliss. »

Vṛndāvana-dāsa's *Caitanya-bhāgavata* was already known to the poet when he wrote the *Vaiṣṇava-vandanā*.

Sivānanda-(Ācārya) Cakravartī [c. A.C. 1583].

In PKT. there are three poems, one in Brajabuli [1851] and two in Bengali [2127, 2355], with the *bhaṇitā* of Sivānanda. In the *Bhakti-ratnākara* there is another Brajabuli poem with the same *bhaṇitā* [pp. 944-45]. There are also further six poems in PKT., one in Brajabuli [2354] and the rest in Bengali, with the *bhaṇitā* of Sibāi. That both these sets of poems come from the same pen is clear from the fact that the song [PKT. 2355] and the song in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* both of which bear the *bhaṇitā* of Sivānanda, as well as song [PKT. 2354] which is with the *bhaṇitā* of Sibāi, agree in describing Gadādhara sporting with Gaurāṅga in the same manner as Rādhā sporting with Kṛṣṇa. This aspect of Gaurāṅga theme is found only among the followers and disciples of Gadādhara Paṇḍita (who was believed to have been the incarnation of Rādhā). Moreover in the poem from the *Bhakti-ratnākara*, Gadādhara has been mentioned as the poet's 'spiritual master' (*paṇḍu*).

It is universally believed that these poems, especially the poems bearing the *bhajitā* 'Sivānanda,' must be ascribed to Sivānanda-Sena, a follower of Caitanya-deva, who used to escort annually the pilgrims from Bengal to Caitanya-deva at Puri during the 'Ratha-yātrā.' But this theory cannot be maintained in the light of two salient facts. First, there is the mention of one Sivānanda-Ācārya among the disciples of Gadādhara Paṇḍita [CC. i. 12]. Second, in the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* of Gopāla-dāsa, one of the earliest works known in which any collection of Vaiṣṇava lyrics had been attempted, there are two quotations from two distinct poems, one in Brajabuli and the other in Bengali, ascribed to 'Sivānanda-Ācārya Thākura.' Now this latter cannot be Sivānanda-Sena who was a Vaidya by caste. So he must have been Sivānanda-Cakravarti, the disciple of Gadādhara Paṇḍita. This Sivānanda was present at the festival at Khetari (A.C. 1583 or 1584).

Of the only two known Brajabuli poems of Sivānanda the following is quoted as a specimen :

holi khelata gaura-kīśora |
 rasavati nārī gadādhara-kora ||
 sveda-vindu mukha pulaka śarīra |
 bhāva-bhare galata-hi locane nīra ||
 vraja-rasa gāyata narahari saṅge |
 mukunda murāri vāsu nācata raṅge ||
 khene khene muruchai paṇḍita-kora |
 heraita sahacara sukhe bhela bhora ||
 nikunja-mandira prabhu kayala bithāra |
 bhūme paṇi kahe kāhā murali hāmāra ||
 kāhā govardhana yamunāko kūla |
 kāhā mālati yuthi campaka-phula ||
 sivānanda kahe pahū śuni rasa-vāpi |
 yāhā pahū gadādhara tāhā rasa-khāni ||

[Bhakti-ratnākara, xii.]

« Young Gaura is enjoying the *holi* sport. (He has held) Gadādhara, a clever girl as it were, between his arms. Drops of perspiration (have appeared) over his face: his limbs have hairs standing on their end; and, in ecstasy, tears are flowing from the (corners of his) eyes. He is singing, along with Narahari, about the love stories of the Vraja; and Mukunda, Murāri and Vāsu, are dancing in great delight. Now and

then he swoons away into the arms of the Paṇḍita, on seeing which his companions are intoxicated with pleasure. Then the Master initiates the Vraja sports. He falls to the ground and cries, 'Where is my flute? Where is Govardhana? Where are the banks of the Yamunā? And where are *mālatī*, *yūthī*, and *campaka* flowers?' On hearing these sportive words of the Master, Śivānanda replies: 'Where there is Gadādhara there is sport in its entirety.' »

Śivānanda-Sena [c. A.C. 1512].

The following autobiographical poem is undoubtedly of the authorship of Śivānanda Sena [see *supra*, p. 50] :—

dayāmaya gaura-hari nadiyā-līlā sāṅga kari—
 hūy hūy ki kapāla manda |
 gelā nāthṇ nīlācale e dāsere ekā phele
 nā ghucila mora bhava-bandha ||
 ādeśa karilā yūhā nīścaya pāliba tāhā
 kintu ekā ki-rūpe rahiba |
 putra parivāra yata lūgibe viṣera mata
 tomā vinā ki-mate goṇāba ||
 gauṛīya yātrika sane vatsarānte daraśane
 kahila yāite nīlācale |
 kirūpe sahiyā raba sarṇvatsara kāṭāiba
 yuga-śata jñāna kari tile ||
 hao prabhu kṛpāvān kara anumati dānṇ
 nīti nīti heri pada-dvandva |
 yadi nā ādeśa kara ohe prabhu viśvambhara
 ātma-ghāti habe śivānanda || [GP I., p. 382.]

« Gaura-hari the merciful has put an end to his career in Nadiyā. Alas, alas, what ill-luck! The lord has gone to Nīlācala after having left this servant of his alone. My worldly ties have not yet been unfastened. I must do what he has commanded; but how can I remain here alone? My children and my family—they would appear as bitter as poison; how shall I pass my days without you? You have told me to come to Nīlācala at the end of a year along with the pilgrims from Bengal; but how shall I have the patience to stay and pass a year, when a moment to me is as long as a hundred *yugas*? Be merciful, Master mine, and allow me to have a daily sight of your feet; and if you do not, O my master Viśvambhara, Śivānanda will slay himself. »

Yadunandana-dāsa (i) [c. A. C. 1583].

Yadunandana-Cakravartī, or Yadunandana-dāsa (i), was the disciple of Gadādhara-dāsa (not Gadādhara Paṇḍita) who was one of the prominent followers of Caitanya-deva and was subsequently a companion of Nityānanda in his later life. Yadunandana lived at Katwa, and in the month of Kārttika (October-November) of A.C. 1583 or 1584, on the occasion of the anniversary of his master's death and immediately after the return of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya from Vṛndāvana *viā* Viṣṇupura, he held a festival in which all the leading Vaiṣṇavas of the day participated [Bhakti-ratnākara, ix].

This Yadunandana was a poet, and according to the testimony of the *Bhakti-ratnākara*, he composed poems upon Caitanya-deva [*op. cit.*, pp. 592-93]. Yadunandana-Ācārya, a prominent disciple of Advaita-Ācārya, was a contemporary of our poet. But there is nothing to prove that he had written anything by way of poems or songs.¹ There was also a third Yadunandana, Yadunandana-dāsa, who was a Vaidya by caste, and a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya as well as of his daughter Hemalatā-Devī. This Yadunandana-dāsa will be dealt with later on.

It appears that Yadunandana-Cakravartī wrote poems with *bhs.*, Yadunandana, Yadu, Yadunātha and Yadunātha-dāsa. These same *bhs.* were used by the later poet Yadunandana-dāsa (ii) also. This is no doubt perplexing. But there is a good criterion of finding out the poems of the earlier poet. This poet was a devoted disciple of Gadādhara-dāsa, and as such, it will be quite safe to ascribe to him those songs which deals with his *guru* Gadādhara. The later poet did not belong to the school of Gadādhara, and therefore it is quite unlikely that he was the author of these poems. Moreover these poems bear the stamp of realism and sincerity which can be expected from one who has actually seen the characters concerned.

Adopting the above criterion we find only two Brajabuli poems which can be ascribed to Yadunandana-Cakravartī [PKT. 2180, 2182]. His Bengali songs in PKT. number about ten. The author of the *Bhakti-ratnākara* mentions one Bengali poem (PKT. 1947, where the

¹ The compiler of GPT. is totally wrong in identifying the poet Yadunandana referred to in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* with Yadunandana-Ācārya. He is also mistaken in ascribing the *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-rasa-līlā-kadamba* to the latter [*vide* GPT., Introduction, p. 156].

last couplet with the *bh.* is lacking] as the work of Yadunandana-Cakravartī [*latrādan śrī-dāsa-gadādhara-ṭhakkurasya śiṣya-śrī-yadunandana-cakravartī-kṛta-gīte yathā* : Bhakti-ratnākara, p. 904].

The following Brajabuli poem is given as a specimen composition of the poet :

| | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|
| gaura gadādhara | duhū tanu sundara |
| aparupa prema bithāra | |
| duhū duhū haraṣe | paraṣe yaba vilasaye |
| amiyā barikhe anivāra | |
| dekha dekha aparupa duhū-jana-neha | |
| ko achu bhāva | premamaya cāturi |
| nimajiyā pāoba theha | |
| kare kare nayane | nayane yo-i mādhuri |
| so saba bujhaba ki hāma | |
| aparupa rūpa | heri tanu camakita |
| akhila-bhuvane anupāma | |
| amiyā-putali kiye | rasamaya-mūratī |
| kiye duhū prema-ākāra | |
| heraite jaga-jana- | -tanu-mana bhūlaye |
| yadu kiye pāoba pāra | [PKT. 2182.] |

« Gaura and Gadādhara, both are handsome persons ; their (mutual) love is wonderful in its extent. When they disport themselves joyously in each other's company, it seems as if nectar rains down in torrents. Look at the wonderful mutual love of the two ! Who can plunge into and gauge the depth and the playfulness of it ? The sweetness (which is manifested when their) hands (touched and their) eyes (met) is beyond my comprehension. On looking at the extreme loveliness of their persons, which is unsurpassed in the world, (I feel) dazed. Are they images made of sweetness only ? Are they made of *rasa* ? Or, are they two love incarnate ? On beholding (them) the mind and body of all persons in this universe are moved and attracted. How can Yadu fathom it ? »

[Gadādhara-dāsa, like Gadādhara Paṇḍita, was also an incarnation of Rādhā, but only partially. Hence in this fancied picture Gadādhara has been attributed with the function of Rādhā.]

It should be mentioned in this connection that the poems which contain the *bh.* of Yadunātha are generally ascribed to the authorship of

one Yadunātha Kavicandra who has been mentioned in CC. among the followers of Nityānanda. It is needless to say that there is no evidence whatsoever, except the title *Kavi-candra* 'the moon among poets,' that can connect him with the authorship of those or any other vernacular poem. In those days, it must not be forgotten, these titles were bestowed for Sanskrit scholarship only. The only exception however was Govinda-dāsa Kavirāja, but then he was an exceptionally brilliant and prolific poet. So we are obliged to dismiss Yadunātha Kavicandra.

Mādhava-dāsa [c. A. C. 1583].

The poet Mādhava-dāsa was very probably the same as Mādhava-Ācārya, the author of the *Śrīkrṣṇa-maṅgala*. Mādhava's father was Kālidāsa-Miśra, a Vaidika Brahmin of Navadvīpa. This Kālidāsa was the younger brother of Sanātana, the father-in-law of Caitanya-deva. His mother was left a widow when Mādhava was a mere child of eight years. But the boy was a prodigy. In a few years he had learnt a great deal and won the title of 'Ācārya.'¹ The Master and his followers loved young Mādhava who got his spiritual initiation from Advaita-prabhu at the instance of Caitanya-deva. His *Śrīkrṣṇa-maṅgala*, a free and very poetic translation of the tenth and eleventh books of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, established his fame as a poet. In his poems Mādhava subscribes himself as Mādhava-dāsa, Dvija Mādhava or simply Mādhava. Mādhava was present at the festival at Khetari.

There was another Mādhava-Ācārya who was the husband of Gaṅgā-Devī the daughter of Nityānanda-prabhu. But we do not know whether he had written any songs or not.

The following poems will show that Mādhava's Brajabuli verses have considerable poetic merit and metric charm :—

śārada-sudhākara kiye mukha-śobhā |
 kuṅkuma-kāñcana- bijuri-gorocana-
 campakā-haraṇa barāṇa mana-lobbhā ||
 dekha dekha rādhā-rūpa apārā |
 madana-mohana bābite anukhana
 lāvṇī-prema-amiyā-rasa-dhārā ||
 śira-paṇa kusama-kbacita vara-veṇī |
 lambita hṛdi-paṇa moti-māla vara
 sumeru bbediś janu bahata triveṇī ||

¹ From the *Prema-vilāsa* quoted in GPT., Introduction, pp. 145 f.

kanaka-karabha-kara bhuja-vara sâje |
 keśari-khiua-kaṭi maṇi-kiṅkiṇi-taṭi
 gati gaja-rāja-manohara rāje ||
 thala-paṅkaja pada-śobhā |
 nakhara-mukura maṇi- mañjira raṇa-raṇi
 mādhaba-nayana-bhramara-cita-kṣobhā || [PKT. 2461.]

«What loveliness of face, like the autumnal moon! Her complexion, which has stolen the charms of saffron, gold, lightning-flash, yellow pigment and the *campaka* flower, carries away the heart. Just look at the great beauty of Rādhā! It is a stream of loveliness, and of the nectar of love, to be rowed over by the Charmer of the god of love (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa). On her head there is a fine coiffure embellished with flowers : against her heart dangles a glorious necklace of pearls, as if the three-streamed river flows through the Mount Sumeru. Her lovely arms look as beautiful as the trunk of a golden elephant-calf; around her waist, as thin as the loin of a lion, there is a girdle of jewels; and her gait is as rhythmic as the stepping of a big elephant. The beauty of her feet resembles that of the *sthala-padma* flower, the beauty of her toe-nails defy mirrors, and her jewelled anklets tinkle. (The sight of) this (beauty) charms the heart of the bees that are but the eyes of Mādhava.»

jaya nāgara-vara-mānasa-hamsa |
 akhila-ramaṇi-hṛdi-mada-vidhvamsa ||
 jaya jaya jaya vṛṣabhānu-kumārī |
 madana-mohana-mana-paṅjara-śārī ||
 jaya yuvarāja-hṛdaya-vana-hariṇī |
 śrī-vṛndāvana-kuñjara-kariṇī ||
 kuñja-bhavana-sirphāsana-rāṇī |
 racayati mādhaba kātara-vāṇī || [PKT. 2665.]

«Glory be to the swan in the Mānasa (the heart or the lake) of the great lover, who sweeps away the pride in the heart of the entire women-folk. Thrice blessed be the daughter of Vṛṣabhānu, who is the parrot in the cage of the heart of the Charmer of the god of love. Glory be to the doe of the woodland of the Prince's heart, who is also the mate of the elephant of the glorious Vṛndāvana. She is the queen on the throne of the garden pavilion. Mādhava composes this with all humility.»

Dvija Haridāsa [c. A. C. 1533].

There were several Haridāsas among the followers of Caitanya-deva. Our poet, Haridāsa, or Dvija Haridāsa as he frequently mentions himself, was one of them. Our poet Haridāsa-Ācārya's native place was Kāñcana-gaṇḍyā, but in his advanced age he lived at Vṛndāvana. At his request Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya initiated his two sons, Gokulānanda and Śrīdāsa [PKT. 17 ; Bhakti-ratnākara, i, vi].

Dvija Haridāsa's *Nāma-saṅkīrtana*, a poem containing one hundred and eight different names of Śrīkṛṣṇa, the Supreme Being, is daily recited even now in every devout Vaiṣṇava home in Bengal. Besides that poem there are about half a dozen lyrical poems or songs of his in the anthologies. Of these four are written in Brajabulī [PKT. 129, 298, 1468, 1469].

The Brajabulī poems of Haridāsa are not absolutely stale. Thus—

dūti-mukhe śunaite aichana rita |
 saba-aṅga pulakita, camakita cīta ||
 kahaite gada-gada kaṇṭhahi bola |
 sakhi-mukha nirakhaī antara dola ||
 iṅgita jāni banāyala veśa |
 sindūra deyala bādhala keśa ||
 saba sakhi-gaṇa meli kayala payāna |
 nisabade calalihu, ko-i nā jāna ||
 calaite pada dui thara-thari kāpa |
 heraita pantha nayana-yuga jhāpa ||
 aichane milala nāgara-pāśa |
 pahila-milana kahe dvija haridāsa || [PKT. 129.]

• On hearing of such conduct (on the part of Kṛṣṇa) from the messenger, the entire body (of Rādhā) horripilated and her heart was wonder-struck. When going to speak her voice choked, and when looking up at her friend her heart misgave her. Knowing her heart her friend dressed her up; she painted her forehead with vermilion, and did her hair. Then all friends went out together. They walked so silently that none could perceive them. When walking forward a step or two she trembled violently, and when looking forward for her way she shut both her eyes. In this manner she came to her lover. So Dvija Haridāsa speaks of their first meeting. •

e dhani m̃anini m̃āna nibāro |
 ābire aruṇa śyāma- aṅga-mukura-para
 nija pratibimba nehāro ||
 tuhū eka ramaṇi- śiromaṇi rasavati
 kouna aiche jaga-māha |
 tohāri samuke śyāma-saṅge bilasaba
 kaichana rasa-niravāha ||
 aichana saha-carī- vacana śravaṇe dhari
 sarame bharama mukha pheri |
 ṭṣata hāsi mane m̃āna teyāgala
 ulasita dohō dohā heri ||
 puna saba-jana meli karaye vinoda-keli
 picakāri kari nija-hāte |
 dvija hari-dāsa ābira yogāyata
 sakala sakha-gaṇa-sāthe || [PKT. 1469.]

During the Holi sport Rādhā saw her own reflection on Kṛṣṇa's person which behaved like a mirror, being thoroughly besmeared with red dust (*ābira*). She mistook it for another woman in his embrace, and therefore became cross. Then a friend speaks to her thus :

• ‘O you offended girl, away with your temper! Just look at your own image on the mirror-like body of Śyāma, red with *ābira* dust. You are the only lovable jewel of a girl: who is there another such in the world, who dares flirt with Śyāma in your presence? How can there be any joy?’ On hearing these words of her friend she turned her face away, being ashamed of her mistake, and smiling aside, she gave up sulk. Both of them were glad and gazed at one another. Once again they all took up syringes and resumed their sport. Dvija Haridāsa, along with the boy friends, supplied them with *ābira* dust. •

In the colophon of one of his Bengali songs the poet says :

ante śrīnivāsa-padā sevā-yukta ye sampad
 se sampaderā sampadī ye hay |
 tāra bhukta-grāsa-śeṣe kibā gaṇa-vraja-vāse
 dante-ṭṭṇa haridāse kay || [PKT. 5014.]

This proves conclusively that our poet is the same as Dvija Haridāsa who had settled at Vṛndāvana.

‘Mādhavi-dāsa.’

We have already dealt with two Mādhavas, Mādhava-Ghoṣa and Mādhava-dāsa. Now comes ‘Mādhavi-dāsa.’ ‘Mādhavi-dāsa’ is generally identified with Mādhavi, the sister of Śikhi- and Murāri-Māhiti, two Oriya followers of Caitanya deva.¹ But why should Mādhavi a woman mention herself as ‘dāsa’ instead of the proper form ‘dāsī?’ To this the theorists say that she was a very learned and competent person, and so people respected her as much as if she were a man. But the theorists forget that Mādhavi was a devout Vaiṣṇava, and it is the esoteric practice of Vaiṣṇavas to think themselves as women, friends and attendants of Rādhā, and as a matter of fact many Vaiṣṇava (male) poets have subscribed themselves as ‘dāsī.’ Moreover ‘Mādhavi-dāsa’ mentions that he (or she) was unfortunate enough not to have a sight of Caitanya-deva’s divine face.

ye dekhaye gorā-mukha se-i preme bhāse |
mādhavi vañcīta haila nija karma-doṣe || [PKT. 2240.]

This fact the theorists explain away saying that Mādhavi as a woman was not allowed to see the face of Caitanya-deva. But this is an inversion of the real fact. Caitanya-deva as a devout *sannyāsin* was debarred from looking up intentionally at the face of, or talking with a woman, but a woman had nothing to prohibit her from having a sight of a *sannyāsin*, and for that matter, of Caitanya-deva. The proper explanation would be that ‘Mādhavi-dāsa’ was born after the demise of the Master.

From the colophon of one of his poems one can surmise that Paṇḍita Jagadānanda, one of the prominent followers of Caitanya-deva, was the spiritual preceptor of ‘Mādhavi-dāsa.’

mādhavi-dāsera ṭhākura paṇḍita paṇila āchāre gā || [PKT. 1853.]

This is the only sure fact we know about the poet. Probably he lived at Puri because all of his songs on Caitanya-deva are concerned only with his life at Nīlācala. No Oriya poem of his has as yet been found, and not even a trace of Oriya language is to be found in his Bengali or Brajabuli poems. So it is hazardous to posit that he (or she) was an Oriya.

¹ GPT., Introduction, pp. 147-8.

The following is one of the only two Brajabuli poems of Mādhavi-dāsa. It should be mentioned here that the close similarity between the names Mādhava-dāsa and Mādhavi-dāsa may have been responsible for some confusion on the part of the scribes of the mediaeval anthologies in ascribing a particular poem to either of them.

rādhā mādhaba bilasai kuñja-ka mājha /
 tanu-tanu-sarasa- paraśa-rasa pibai
 kamalinī madhukara-rāja ||
 sacakite nāgara kāpai thara-thara
 śīthila hoyala saba-aṅga /
 gada-gada kahaye rāi bhela adaraśa
 kaba hoyaba tachu saṅga ||
 so dhanī-cāda- vayana kiye heraba
 śunaba amiyāmaya bola /
 iha majhu hṛdaya- tāpa-kiye meṭaba
 soī karaba kiye kola ||
 aichana kata-hū bilapai mādhaba
 sahacarī dūrahi hūsa /
 aparupa-preme viśūḍita-antara
 kahatahi mādhaba-dūsa || [PKT. 775.]

• Rādhā and Mādhava are sporting in the garden house. The king of bees is drinking the ambrosia of the touch of the beautiful body of the lotus (Rādhā). With a start the lover begins to tremble violently ; his limbs are paralysed. He speaks falteringly, ' Rādhā is out of sight : when shall I meet her again ? Shall I look again at that moon-like face of hers, and hear her sweet speech ? Is this anguish of my heart going to be cooled down ? Will she take me up in her arms ? ' In this way Mādhava (Kṛṣṇa) laments, and his companions laugh from afar. So says Mādhavi-dāsa whose heart is sorrowful at this show of unparalleled love. •

Puruṣottama-dāsa.

Puruṣottama was the son of Sadāśiva Kavirāja, and like his father, was a devoted follower of Nityānanda-prabhu. His native place was Kumārabāṭṭa (Hāli-sahar) near Naihati. The poet Devaki-nandana was a disciple of Puruṣottama.

It is strange that none of the existing poems (numbering twelve) **Paruṣottama** deal with the **Caitanya** topic. All of them are about

Māthura (i.e., Kṛṣṇa's exodus to Mathurā). The following are specimens of his Brajabuli writing. His Brajabuli poems number nine only [PKT. 1754, 1756-57, 1762, 1868-72].

| | |
|------------------------------|----------------------|
| gokula-nagare | bhramaye janu bāuri |
| udasala kuntala-bhāra | |
| kūhā majhu prāṇa- | tanaya vraja-nandana |
| kahañte bahe jala-dhāra | |
| nādhava so janani nanda-rāñi | |
| tuyā virahānale | umatī pūgalī janu |
| kūhāre ki pūchaye vāñi | |
| gaba kūhe veṇu- | śabada nāhi sūniye |
| kona kūnana-māhā gela | |
| bujhi balarāma | sañge nāhi geyala |
| kī paramāda āju bhela | |
| aiche vilāpa | śunai pura-sahacari |
| roī āota tachu pūśa | |
| bahu parabodha- | vacane grhe ānata |
| kaha puruṣottama-dāsa | [PKT. 1756.] |

Some *gopi* mentally addresses Kṛṣṇa describing the sufferings of his mother separated from him :

« With her hair dishevelled she wanders in the town of Gokula like a distracted woman. She weeps and says, 'Where is my dearest son, the delight of the Vraja?' O Mādhava, (your) mother, the queen of Nanda, separated from you, behaves like a mad woman and speaks incoherently to people. (She wails,) 'Why do I not hear the sound of his flute now? To what forest has he gone? Perhaps Balarāma has not escorted him to-day. What a calamity it is to-day!' On hearing such talks of her a lady of that town comes to her weeping, and consoling her, she takes her to her home. So says Puruṣottama-dāsa. »

The following poem is a touching description of the Vraja when Kṛṣṇa had left that place for Mathurā :

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| gokula chāri | yaba-hū tubū āyali |
| taba bihi pratikūla bhela | |
| baraja-vāsi kiye | thābara jaṅgama |
| viraha-dahane dahi gela | |

tuyā priya yata-hū surabhi-kula ākula
 ṛṇa-kavala kari mukhe |
 heri mathurā-pura locana jhara-jhara
 pāṇi nū pibata dūkhe ||
 kokila-bhramara- sūri-śuka-vara
 royata taru-para baiṭhi |
 tohāri mayūra mṛgi-kūla lūṭhaye
 śakati nāhi vane paiṭhi ||
 taru-kula-pallava saba-hū śukhāyala
 tejala kusuma-vikāśe |
 eta-hū vipade tohe kataye nibedaḥa
 dukhī puruṣottama-dāse || [PKT. 1754.]

• Fate is going against Gokula since you have left that place. All the inhabitants of the Vraja, whether moving or immovable, are burnt up in the fire of separation (from you). All the cows that were dear to you are troubled, and, with mouthfuls of grass in their mouth, they are looking away towards the city of Mathurā; in sorrow they are not even drinking water. Cuckoos, bees, *sārikās* and parrots—they are all weeping, perched on trees. Your pet peafowl and deer are rolling in dust; they have not the strength to go to the forest. All trees and plants have given up putting on blossoms, and their leaves are all withered. How much of such calamities can poor Puruṣottama-dāsa can narrate to you ? »

Paramānanda-Sena, or Kavi-karṇapūra, or simply Karṇapūra as he was generally known, was the youngest of the three sons of Sivananda-Sena. He was born sometime about 1527 A.C. at Kācārā-pūrā. As a child he was a prodigy, and at the age of seven he was blessed with the grace of Caitanya-deva who affectionately called him Purī-dāsa. His name Paramānanda-dāsa (also Purī-dāsa) was given to him by his father at the request of the Master who had asked Sivananda to name his youngest son after Paramānanda-Purī whom Caitanya-deva held in great esteem.

Paramānanda grew up to become a good poet and a better Sanskrit scholar. His works range from epic poetry to dramaturgy. The following are the principal Sanskrit works of the poet: *Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campū*, *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (an epic poem on the life of

Caitanya-deva written in ? 1570 A.C.), *Caitanya-candrodaya-nāṭaka* (on the same subject and written in 1572 A.C.), *Alaṅkāra-kaustubha* (a work on rhetorics and dramaturgy), and a century of Sanskrit verses in *Āryā* metre. Karpapūra was present at the festival at Khetari.

Most of the poet's songs are written about Caitanya-deva. Paramānanda's Brajabuli songs in PKT. number only six [183, 1585, 2858, 2871, 2906, 2974].

Below are given some specimens of his Brajabuli composition.

ārati yugala-kiśora-ki kije |
tanu-mana-dhana-hu nichāwari dije ||
pahirana nīla-pitāmbara-sārī |
kuñja-vihārīṇī kuñja-vihārī ||
ravi-śaśi-koṭi vadana achu śobhā |
yo nirakhati mana bheo ati-lobhū ||
ratane jaṛita maṇi-māṇika-moti |
ḍaga-maga duhū-tanu jhalakata jotī ||
nanda-nandana vṛṣabhānu-kiśorī |
paramānanda-paḥu yāwā balihārī || [PKT. 2858.]

• The *ārati* ceremony of the young couple (Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) is being held: life, heart and all possessions are offered to them. The frequenters of the grove, he and she, have put on blue and yellow garments respectively. The beauty of their faces defies that of tens of millions of suns and moons: on looking at it the heart is full of excessive desire. Their supple bodies adorned with diamonds and pearls, are effulgent. The son of Nanda and the daughter of Vṛṣabhānu, the Masters of Paramānanda:—to them be all glory ! •

śrī-śaṅgānandana nadiyā-avatārī |
ujjvala-baraṇa gaura-rūpa-dhārī ||
āge nāma jagata paracārī |
sakarūpa aicche patita-jana tāri ||
saṅkīrttana-rasa-nṛṭṭya-vihārī |
• avirala-pulaka bhakata-hitakārī ||
nācata gāota tribhuvana bhari |
trijagata-jana bolata balihārī ||
vāme gadādhara rājata raṅgī |
cau-diśe upanīta-śobhita saṅgī ||

avirata nayane bahata prema-dhārā |
 mohata bhāgata kali-ādhiyārā ||
 karaī āliṅgana nāhi vicāra |
 nirupama guṇa-gaṇa bhāva apāra ||
 nīlācale basata śaciwandana |
 daraśana karu niti deva yadu-nandana ||
 aṅge vilepita sugandhi-candana |
 rūpaka saba-hi karata abhinandana ||
 karuṇāmaya prabhu premahi yūwata |
 paramūnanda-ka bhaya dūrahi bhāgata ||

[GPT., p. 403.]

« The glorious son of Śaci has incarnated in Nadiyā: he is with a dazzling fair complexion. From the first, he, the merciful one, has introduced the Name of God, and thus has saved the sinful men. He delights in dancing in the ecstasy of *saṅkīrtana*: he always horripilates in ecstatic joy, and he ever does good to the devout people. He dances and sings, to the joy of the world, and the people are charmed with it. To his left stands sportive Gadādhara, and he is surrounded by all his followers present. Tears of love perpetually stream down his eyes, and the dark sin of *Kali* is driven away. He embraces all without consideration: he is full of unparalleled virtues and immeasurably deep feelings. The son of Śaci dwells at Nīlācala where he has the daily sight of God, the Scion of the race of Yadu. He is painted with sweet-smelling sandal: everybody is rejoiced on seeing his beauty. The merciful Master is full of love: and Paramānanda drives away his fear. »

Locana-dāsa [? 1523—? 1589].

Locana-dāsa was born sometime about 1523 A.C. at Ko-grāma, near Maṅgala-koṭṭ in the district of Burdwan. His father was Kamalākara-dāsa, mother Sadānandī, and maternal grandfather Puruṣottama-Gupta.¹ Narahari-Sarkār was Locana's *guru*. Locana has sometimes given his name as Tri-locana or Su-locana.

Locana wrote his biography of Caitanya-deva, the *Caitanya-maṅgala*, at the instance of his *guru* Narahari-Sarkār, just as his predecessor Vṛndāvana-dāsa did at the instance of Nityānanda-prabhu. It is said that Vṛndāvana-dāsa also had named his work as *Caitanya-maṅgala*,

¹ The poet has given an autobiographical sketch in his *Caitanya-maṅgala* (*Seṣa-khaṇḍa*).

but at the request of his mother (?) he changed it to *Caitanya-bhāgavata*. Locana in his work mentions Vṛndāvana's *magnum opus*, which was known to Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja and which the latter has mentioned as *Caitanya-maṅgala*.

As contrasted with Vṛndāvana's *Caitanya-bhāgavata*, Locana's *Caitanya-maṅgala* is written in perfect 'maṅgala-kāvya' style. There is section in chapters, and the book is further divided into four parts termed 'Khaṇḍa.' The exact date of composition of this work cannot be determined at the present state of our knowledge. The tradition has it that the biography was written as early as 1537 A.C. But this date is evidently false. Locana-dāsa does not compare favourably with Vṛndāvana-dāsa as a biographer of Caitanya-deva, but undoubtedly, he was a far superior poet. This will be clear from the specimens of his lyric poems, which are quoted hereinafter.

Locana was present at the festival at Khetari. He died probably in 1589 A.C. Besides the *Caitanya-maṅgala* Locana produced a few other works of which the most important are the *Durlabha-sāra* and a metrical translation of the verse portions of Rāya Rāmānanda's *Jagannātha-vallabha-nāṭaka*. The language of the following passage from the latter work of Locana is rather amusing. The metre is the same in both the original and the translation.

(Original)

mañjutara-guñjad-ali-puñjam ati-bhīṣaṇam |
 manda-marud-antaraga-gandha-kṛta-dūṣaṇam ||
 sakalam etad Iritam |
 kiñca gura-pañcaśara-cañcalam mama jīvitam ||
 matta-pika-datta-rujam uttamādhi-karaṇ vanam |
 saṅga-sukham aṅgam api tuṅga-bhaya-bhājanam ||
 rudra-nṛpaṃ āśu yidadhātu sukha-saṅkulam |
 rāma-pada-dhāma-kavi-rāya-kṛtam ujjalām ||
 [Act iii.]

(Translation)

guñja ali-puñja bahu kuñje rahu mātiyā |
 matta-pika datta-rave phāṭe majhu chātiyā |
 valli-yuta malli-phula-gandha saha mārutā |
 kunda-kali-śṛṅga ali-vṛnda kāhū nṛtyatā ||

sakhi manda majhu bhāgiyā |
 kānta vinā bhrānta prāṇa kābe rahu bāciyā ||
 bhasma-tanu puṣpa-dhanu saṅge rasa pūriyā |
 aṅga majhu bhaṅga karu prāṇa yāku phāṭiyā ||
 paśya majhu duḥkha heri roye paśu pākhī re |
 vallī nava kuñja bhela tuṅga-bhaya-bhāṭī re ||
 gaccha sakhi puccha kibā āni deha nāha re |
 sparśa-sukha darśa lāgi locana-ka āśa re ||

For the translation of the original passage see *supra* under Rāya Rāmānanda.

Locana, instead of giving a Bengali or Brajabuli translation, has paraphrased in Sanskrit with a few vernacular forms the last song of the drama. The passage is this—

(Original)

pariṇata-śārada-śaśadhara-vadanā |
 militā pāṇi-tale guru-madanā ||
 devi kim iha param asti mad-iṣṭam |
 bahutara-sukṛta-phalitam anudiṣṭam ||
 pika-vidhū-madhu-madhupāvali-caritam |
 racayati mām adhunā sukha-bharitam ||
 praṇayatu rudra nṛpe sukham amṛtam |
 rāmānanda-bhaṇita-hari-ramitam || [Act v]

(Locana's Adaptation)

nirmala-śārada-śaśadhara-vadanī |
 vidalita-kāñcana-nindita-baraṇī ||
 pika-ruta-gaṇjita-sumadhura-vacanā |
 mohana-kṛta-kari-śata-śata-madanā ||
 devi śṛṇu vacanam mama sāmam |
 kila guṇa-dhāma militam anuvāram ||
 ciradina-vāñchita yad iha mad-iṣṭam |
 tava kṛpayāpi phalita-mano'bhiṣṭam ||
 idam anu kiṃ mama yācitam asti |
 nikhila-carācare priyam api nāsti ||
 praṇayatu rasika-hṛdaya-sukham amitam |
 locana-mohana-mādhava-caritam ||

« Her face is as beautiful as the clear moon in autumn, and her complexion puts to shame purified gold. Her voice is as sweet as the notes of the cuckoo: she has captivated hundreds of gods of love. Lady, hear my good words: I have at last come in with the Seat of all Virtues (Kṛṣṇa). My desire, which I entertained so long, has at last attained fulfilment through your grace. After this what can there be that I want? I have nothing dearer in the whole world. May the deeds of Mādhava, which have charmed Locana, greatly delight the hearts of the appreciative people. »

Locana's Brajabuli writings consist of the few songs in translation of the Sanskrit drama mentioned before. But in his Bengali writings there are not a few traces of Brajabuli forms and idioms. That Locana was a very good poet even in those days when poets cropped up everywhere in Western Bengal can be seen from the rather long Bengali poem in PKT. [2129], which is taken from his *Caitanya-maṅgala* (Madhyakhaṇḍa).

To Locana alone belongs the unique credit of using in high literature the popular free metre, based on uniform feet of four *mātrās* (mora) instead of *akṣara* (syllable) as in ordinary *payāra* and *tripadī* verse and having strong stress at the head of each foot. These poems are generally known as Locana-dāsa's *dhāmālī pada* (playful verse). They are written in Bengali and upon the Kṛṣṇa legend as well as on the Caitanya theme. The language of these poems is simple to the extreme, being the utterance of women exclusively; these contain a great deal of women's idiom and vocabulary. The free and tripping rhythm, and the simple language and homely thought of these poems, is very refreshing in the midst of the monotonousness and artificiality of the bulk of Vaiṣṇava lyric literature. Locana got the hint of this style and model from the writings of his *guru*, Narahari-Sarkār, a poet of no mean merit.

The following poem is quoted as a specimen :

| | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|--------------|-------|
| ār śunyācha | ālo sai | gorā-bbāverṣ | kathā |
| konērṣ bhitarṣ | kula-vadhū | kāndyā ākulṣ | tathā |
| haldi bā- | -ṭite gori | basila ya- | -tane |
| haldi-baraṅṣ | gorā cādṣ | paṛyā gela | mane |
| kiserṣ rādhanaṣ | kiserṣ bāraṅṣ | kiserṣ haldi | bāṭā |
| ākhirṣ jale | bukṣ bhijila | bhāṣyā gela | pāṭā |

| | | | |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------|
| uṭhila gau- | -rāṅga bhāvṣ | sambarite | nāre |
| lohete bhi- | -jila bhāṣṇṣ | gela chāre- | -khāre |
| locanṣ bale | ālo sai | ki baliba | ārṣ |
| hay nāi | habārṣ nay | gorā ava- | -tārṣ |

[PKT. 2174.]

« By the way, my friend, have you heard tales about the attractiveness of Gaura? Even the daughter-in-law of a family is beside herself with weeping in her nook. The fair lady began to pound turmeric with care, but it reminded her of the moon-like Gorā who has the complexion of turmeric. What for, then, cooking? What is the use of serving? Why then pound turmeric? Her tears drenched her bust and her wooden seat was in flood. Her heart was flooded with love for Gaurāṅga, and she could not check herself. The curry spices pounded and made into a paste were mingled with tears and became absolutely useless. Locana says, 'O my friend, what more can I say? An incarnation like that of Gorā did not happen in the past, nor can it happen in future.' »

Jñānadāsa [born c. 1530 A.C.].

Jñānadāsa is one of best poets of Brajabuli as well as of Bengali literature. The poet's native place was Kāḍṣā, a few miles to the north of Burdwan, where an annual gathering of Vaiṣṇavas is held in his honour. Jñānadāsa was a Brahmin. He received his spiritual initiation from Jāhnava-Devi, one of the two wives of Nityānanda, and as such, he has been mentioned among the followers of Nityānanda-prabhu [CC. i. 11]. Jñānadāsa was present at the Katwa as well as at the Khetari festival. Nothing further is known about the poet.

Though it is quite usual in Vaiṣṇava lyric literature that the same poem, with or without variants, is often attributed to different poets in different anthologies, in Jñānadāsa's important pieces this is specially noticeable. It cannot, however, be always maintained that later and inferior poets have replaced his name by their own. We have remarked in connection with Rāmānanda-Vasu that Jñānadāsa had worked upon and amplified one of his poems. Song 784 in PKT., which is one of the best poems of Jñānadāsa, is found with the *bh.* of 'Yadunātha-dāsa' in the *Pāda-raja-sūra* [PKT., ii., p. 95].

Jñānadāsa's Brajabuli poems in the anthology of Vaiṣṇava-dāsa number about one hundred and five. With the exception of Goyindadāsa Kavirāja, Jñānadāsa was the most careful writer of Brajabuli, though

lahu lahu mucaci hāsi cali āoli
 puna puna herasi pheri |
 janu rati-pati sañe milana-raṅgabbūme
 aichana kayala pucherī ||
 dhani he bājhalū e-saba bāta |
 eta-dine tuhū-ka manoratha pūrāla
 bheṭali kānuka sātha ||
 yaba tohe sakhi-gaṇa nirajane pūchala
 taba tuhū chūpali kāy |
 aba bihi so-saba bekata kayala sakhi
 kaichane gopabi tāy ||
 cori-ka vacana kahata saba guru-jana
 so saba pāyalū sākhi |
 daśa-dina durajana eka-dina sujana-ka
 āju dekhālū paratekhi ||
 hāma-saba nija-jana kahasi rāti-dina
 so saba bujhalū āja kāje |
 jñānadāsa kaha sakhi tubū biramaha
 rāi pāyala bahu jāje || [PKT. 230.]

a ' You came away all smiles, but on your way you were repeatedly turning and looking back, as if you had met your god of love in a pavilion of joy. So they (i. e., your other friends) questioned you. My lady, I have understood the matter: at last your desire has been fulfilled and you have met Kānu. But when your friends questioned you in private (about it), why^a did you keep it secret? But friend, now Providence has revealed it all. How would you now keep it secret? Your superiors talk about your secret love: now I have found its proof, and I have also found out the truth of the proverb—ten days for the thief and one day for honest folk.' You always speak of us as your own people, but I have understood its significance.' Jñānadāsa says, ' My friend, you just stop; Rāī has been sufficiently abashed.' »

¹ That is, the thief may get ten opportunities of plying his sinful trade, but there is a day when he is sure to be found out.

hema-baraṇa vara- sundara-vigraha
sura-taru-vara-parakāśa |
pulaka patra-nava prema pakva-phala
kusuma manda-mṛdu-hāsa ||
nācata gaura manohara adabhuta
rājita suradhuni-dhāra |
tri-jagata-loka oka-bhari pāola
bhakati-ratana-maṇihāra ||
bhāva-vibhavamaya rasa rūpa anubhava
suvalita sukhamaya aṅga |
dvirada-matta-gati ati-sumanohara
murachita lākha-anaṅga ||
dhani khiti-maṇḍala dhani nadiyā-pura
dhani dhani iha kali-kāla |
dhani avatāra dhani re dhani kīrtana
jñānadāsa naha pāra || [PKT. 2062.]

In Jñānadāsa's poems written about the Master there is not the direct personal appeal as in the works of the earlier writers such as Narahari, Yadunandana and Vāsudeva, but they are all characterised with elegance of style and diction. This is also true of the similar poems of Govindadāsa Kavirāja.

There are about five poems by Jñānadāsa eulogising Nityānanda-prabhu, which is quite in keeping with the fact that the poet was a disciple of Jāhnavī-devī.

Jñānadāsa in his Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa poems had followed the path of Caṇḍīdāsa, if not in form and style, undoubtedly in thought and manner. In a way Jñānadāsa was a true successor to Caṇḍīdāsa in the same manner as Govindadāsa Kavirāja was to Vidyāpati.

Jñānadāsa had dealt with all the aspects of the Kṛṣṇa legend, but he had treated the minor episodes such as that of 'dāna,' 'naukā,' etc., in detail. All these poems are no doubt excellent, but even more excellent are the poems on 'rasodgāra' (expression of the intensity of love) and 'māthura' (Rādhā's separation from Kṛṣṇa when the latter left Vṛndāvana for Mathurā). The following poems, Brajabuli and Bengali, are quoted as the poet's representative ones. From these it will be seen that the Bengali poems of Jñānadāsa are generally superior to his Brajabuli compositions.

Rādhā has seen Kṛṣṇa for the first time with a lover's eye, and she analyses her feelings on that occasion to her friend in this charming lyric of love and passion.

ślo muñi kena gelū kālindīra jale |
cīta hari kālīyā nāgara nila chale ||
rūpera pāthāre ākhi dūbi se rahila |
yauvanera vane mana hārāiyā gela ||
ghare yāite patha mora haila aphurāṇa |
antare bidare hiyā phukare parāṇa ||
candana cādera mājhe mṛgamada dhādhā |
tāra mājhe hiyāra putalī raila bādhā ||
kaṭi pīta-vasana rāsana tāhe jaṛā |
vidhi niramila kula-kalaṅkera koṛā ||
jāti kula śīla saba hena bujhi gela |
bhuvana bhariyā mora ghoṣaṇā rahila ||
kulavati saṭi haiyā du-kule dilū dukha |
jñānadāsa kahe dāṛha kari bādhā buka || [PKT. 123.]

'Ah! Why did I go to the waters of the Yamunā? That dark-complexioned lover has, by guile as it were, snatched away my heart. My eyes remained drowned as it were under the flood of (his) loveliness: and my mind lost itself in the wilderness of (his) youth. On my way home the path became endless; (my) heart is cracked within, and (my) life cries (in pain). Within the moon-like mark of sandal there was also painted decorations of musk (on his forehead); and within it the very image of (my) heart was kept fast. About (his) loins there was yellow garment, and it was tied round with a

girdle; and it is fashioned by Providence as the scourge of family scandal. I am afraid that caste, honour, character, my all—are about to be lost, and there will only remain my disreputation filling the whole world. Being a chaste lady of a family I have caused sufferings to both my families.' 'Brace your courage up,' says Jñānadāsa. •

Rādhā is cross with Kṛṣṇa. Her friend tries to interpose, but she does not listen to it. In this poem she exposes Kṛṣṇa's insincerity and faithlessness, and her friend's complicity with him .

pabila-hi cāda kare dila āni |
 jhāpala śaila-śikhare eka-pāṇi ||
 aba viparīta bhela so-saba kāla |
 bāsi kusume kiye gāthai māla ||
 nā bolaha sajani nā bolaha āna |
 ki phala āchaye bheṭaba kāna ||
 antara vāhira sama naha rita |
 pāṇi taila naha gāṛha pirita ||
 hiyā sama kuliśa vacana madhu-dhāra |
 viṣa-ghaṭa-upare dudha-upahāra ||
 cāturi becaba gāhaka-ṭhāma |
 gopata-prema-sukha iha pariṣāma ||
 tuḥi kiye śaṭhi nikapaṭe kaha moy |
 jñānadāsa kaha samucita hoy || [PKT. 498.]

• 'In the beginning he brought the moon down and placed her in my hand, and he covered as it were a whole hill-top with a single palm. Now those days are no more. Can a garland be made of flowers plucked overnight? Do not tell me, O my friend, do not tell me anything more. What is the good of my meeting Kṛṣṇa? His conduct is not sincere; deep love is never like a mixture of water and oil. His heart is like the hard thunderbolt, and his speech is but a stream of honey: he is like a pitcher of poison with an outward layer of milk. Go and sell it by deceit to any wayside buyer. This is the result of the joys of a stealthy love. Confess everything to me, you woman of guile!' 'She is quite right,' says Jñānadāsa. •

Rādhā is deeply in love with Kṛṣṇa. In this verse the poet describes her infinite joy which a sight of her lover gives her.

rūpa dekhi ākhi nāhi neutaī
 mana anugata nija-lābhe |
 aparāge dei paraśa-sukha-sampada
 śyāmara sahaja-svabhāve ||
 sakhi he murati piriti-sukha-dātā |
 prati-aṅga akhila- anaṅga-sukha-sāyara
 nāyara niramila dhātā ||
 lila-lābani avanī alaṅkaru
 ki madhura manthara gamane |
 lahu-avalokane kata kula-kāminī
 śūtala manasija-śayane ||
 alakhite hṛdaya-ka antara apaharu
 bicharaṇa nā hay svapane |
 jñānadāsa kahe taba kaichana haye
 tanu-tanu yaba haba milane || [APR. 135.]

« On looking at his beauty the two eyes (of mine) do not return (to me), and my mind is eager for its own gain only. Without touch it gives a wealth of joy : this is the natural way of Śyāma. My friend, his appearance alone gives the pleasures of love. The creator has fashioned (in him) a lover whose each limb is an ocean of love's joys. His graceful loveliness has made the earth gay. What a sweet, slow gait (he has)! With his slightest glance many a virtuous lady has laid herself down on the bed of love. Even unseen he steals the heart, and he cannot be forgotten in sleep too. ' But how would you feel when your bodies would come in contact ? ' says Jñānadāsa. »

Rādhā's love for Kṛṣṇa has come to a head, which she expresses in this way :

rūpa lagi ākhi jhure guṇe mana bhora |
 prati aṅga lagi kāde prati aṅga mora ||
 hiyāra paraśa lagi hiyā mora kāde |
 parāṇa piriti lagi thira nāhi bādhe ||
 sai ki āra baliba |
 ye puni karyāchi mane se-i se kariba ||
 dekhite ye sukha uṭhe ki baliba tā |
 daraśa paraśa lagi ālāciche gā ||
 hāsate khasiyā pare kata madhu-dhāra |
 lahu lahu hāse pahu piritira sāra ||

guru-garabita-mājhe rahi sakhi-rañge |
 pulake pūraye tanu śyāma-parasañge ||
 pulaka dhākite kari kata parakāra |
 nayanera dhārā mora baṣe anivāra ||
 gharera yateka sabhe kare kāñā-kāñi |
 jñāna kahe lāja-ghare bhejāilū āguni || [PKT. 784.]

• My eyes are streaming for his beauty, and my heart is intoxicated with his goodness. My body calls for his body, limb for limb. My heart weeps for the touch of his heart: my soul does not get peace out of love for him. My friend, what else can I speak? I will do what I have determined. How can I express the delight (I feel) on seeing (him)? My body is impatient for his sight and touch (or for the touch of his sight). In his smiles flow down so many streams of honey: my master—he smiles softly now and then, and he is the treasure of love. When accompanied by my friends I sit among superiors and relatives, hairs of my body stand on their end on a topic of Kṛṣṇa. I make every effort to conceal my horripilations, but the streams of my tears flow incontinently. (This) all the members of my family whisper about, but I have set the room of decorum on fire. So says Jñāna. »

Ananta-dāsa [c. 1550 A.C.].

The poet Ananta-dāsa seems to be the person who has been enumerated among the followers of Advaita-Ācārya [CC. 1. 12]. This Ananta-dāsa was present at the festival at Katwa (A.C. ? 1582) [Bhakti-ratnākara, ix, p. 589]. This Ananta-dāsa, however, must be differentiated from Ananta-Ācārya who was also a disciple of Advaita-Ācārya [CC. i. 12]. There is only one poem, in Bengali, extant, of Ananta-Ācārya [PKT. 2285].

If 'Rāya Ananta' was a person distinct from Ananta-dāsa, then we must posit a third Ananta of whom only two Bengali poems are as yet known [PKT. 2337 = Kṣaṇadā 289; Kṣaṇadā 106 = PKT. 2328 (where the *bh.* is simply of 'Ananta')]. However we are not concerned here with the latter two Anantas, as no Brajabuli poem of either of them is available.

Ananta-dāsa has, as yet, only twenty-one Brajabuli poems to his credit. Of these only three have the *bh.* 'Ananta' [PKT. 1497; Kṣaṇadā 94, 99], and the rest have the *bh.* 'Ananta-dāsa' [PKT. 268 =

Kṣaṇadā 33 ; 305, 355, 411, 1061, 1069, 1204, 1205, 1273, 1282, 1508 = Kṣaṇadā 300 ; 1749, 2020, 2167, 2441, 2469 ; Kṣaṇadā 146, 140 = PKT. 1297 (where the *bh.* is of Narottama)].

The following Brajabuli poem of Ananta-dāsa, describing the beauty of Śrī-kṛṣṇa, is undoubtedly one of the best of its kind :

vikaca-saroja- bhāṇa mukha-maṇḍala
 diṭhi-bhaṅgima naṭa-khañjana-jora |
 kiye mṛdu-mādhuri hāsa ugārai
 pi pi ānande śikhi paṛala-hi bhora ||
 barani nā hay rūpa barāṇa cikaniyā |
 kiye ghana-puñja kiye kuvalaya-dala
 kiye kājara kiye indranila-maṇiyā ||
 aṅgada valaya hāra maṇi-kunḍala
 caraṇe nūpura kaṭi kiṅkiṇi-kalanā |
 abharāṇa-barāṇa- kiraṇe aṅga dhara-dhara
 kālindī-jale yaiche cāḍaki calanā ||
 kuñcita keśa veśa kusumāvali
 śira-para śobhe śikhi-cāḍaki chāḍe |
 ananta-dāsa-pahū- aparupa-lābani
 sakala-yuvati-mana paṛi geo phāḍe || [PKT. 268.]

• The oval of his face resembles a full-blown lotus, and the movements of his eyes are like those of a pair of dancing *khañjana* birds. What sweetness indeed do his soft smiles bring about! Drinking and drinking of it (our) eyes are full of ecstasy. Loveliness of his complexion defies description. Is it a mass of dark clouds? Or a cluster of blue lilies? Or collyrium paint? Or a piece of emerald? (His decorations consist of) armlets, bracelets, necklace, diamond earrings, anklets at the feet, and a jingling girdle round the hips. With the dazzle of these ornaments the loveliness of his person is gleaming, just like the dancing reflections of the moon upon the waters of the Kālindī. His wavy locks are dressed up with flowers. On his head there is a crest of peacock-feather. At this unrivalled beauty of the Master of Ananta-dāsa, the hearts of all young women are fascinated, as if caught in a noose. •

Balarāma-dāsa [c. A.C. ? 1530].

Balarāma-dāsa also is one of the greatest names in the Vaiṣṇava literature of Bengal. But unfortunately there is not yet forthcoming

any sure identification of this great poet. The following individuals are the most likely claimants of the poetic fame of Balarāma-dāsa.

1. Balarāma-dāsa, a disciple of Nityānanda-prabhu, present at the festivals at Katwa and Khetari [A.C. ? 1582-83].

2. Nityānanda-dāsa, otherwise known as Balarāma-dāsa, the author of the *Prema-vilāsa* and the son of Ātmārāma-dāsa of Śrīkhaṇḍa, a disciple of Jāhnavī-devī, present at the Khetari festival.

3. Kavipati Balarāma, a disciple of Rāmacandra Kavirāja, and a resident of Budhari.

Of these three, the first mentioned Balarāma seems to be the poet, although it is quite probable that the other two might have written a number of poems. But a careful study of the poems attributed to Balarāma-dāsa reveals that, with the exception of only a very few poems, the bulk of them goes to a single author who was undoubtedly a great poet. Devakīnandana-dāsa expressly mentions in his *Vaiṣṇava-vandanā* that Balarāma-dāsa, a disciple of Nityānanda-prabhu, was a writer of songs :

saṅgīta-kāraṇa bandō balarāma-dāsa |
nityānanda-candre yāra adhika viśvāsa ||

And about this Balarāma-dāsa, no doubt, the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* says :

balarāma-dāsa kṛṣṇa-prema-rasāsvādī |
nityānanda-nāme hay adhika-unmādī || [i. 11]

Balarāma-dāsa was a Brahmin, and he lived at Dogāchiyā near Krishnagar. He installed the image of Śrī-Gopāla at the request of Nityānanda-prabhu. His descendants still live at that place, and a festival is held there annually during the month of Agrabāyaṇa (November-December) to celebrate the death anniversary of the poet.

Balarāma wrote poems both in Bengali and in Brajabuli; but as in the case of Jñānadāsa, his Brajabuli poems are decidedly inferior to the Bengali poems. In the *Paḍa-kalpa-taru* Balarāma-dāsa's Brajabuli poems number about eighty.

Balarāma has to his credit some remarkable poems on Caitanya-deva. The following are appended as specimens of his writings in Brajabuli and Bengali :

« He who is as a mad elephant for the *Kali* age—through his attack the elephantess of evil thought fled away. He (*i.e.*, Caitanya-deva) then garlanded the sinful and the poor with the hundred-stringed pearl necklace in form of the Name (of God). Gaura the matchless rules. (It seems) as if a dominating lion has come to its own in the mountain-cave of the town of Navadvīpa. On hearing the war-cry of *saṅkīrtana*, the leopards in the form of sin made themselves scarce. The does in the form of the eight occult powers were in great terror, and pious men gave up boasting about their piety. Renunciation, sacrifice, self-restraint, pilgrimages, religious vows, and the pacific attitude are panic-stricken like hares and jackals. So Balarāma-dāsa says that is why the Name Hari (God, or lion) is widely bruited in the world. »

This poem carries a double significance. The metaphor between lion (*kari*) and God (*Hari*, Gaura) is very creditably sustained in the latter part. This poem also suffices to show that Balarāma-dāsa had good training in classical literature.

Balarāma had also written a few poems on Nityānanda-prabhu, and this is quite in the fitness of things, as the latter was his *guru*.

As regard the power of depicting the passions and pains of a lover, Balarāma-dāsa excels all other Bengali poets, even though this was the special field of activity of all the Vaiṣṇava poets, not even excepting Candīdāsa. Balarāma wrote his poems before the bulk of Jñānādāsa's poems were written (because the latter being the disciple of Nityānanda-

Like Govindadāsa Kavirāja, Balarāma was a skilled metrician, and could write ornamental poetry. In APR. there are three poems, in each of which every foot begins with a particular letter of the alphabet.¹ The following poem has the letter 'v' (b) at the beginning of every foot :

« He, my master, troubled with love-sickness gave up patience and bashfulness altogether. Sitting in the woods he passes the day and the night with lamentations. My pretty girl, how shall I now speak about his sufferings? Struck by the keen arrows (of the god of love), the prince of the Vraja is overpowered and helpless. All his smartness and cleverness Murāri has forgotten. He utters words to be spoken to you after an effort for a year; Vanamālī is really mad. He has given up dressing himself with care: he has given up food and drink. When wishing to speak, words fail him. What does Balarāma know, so that he can speak out? »

¹ The poem 183 contains alliteration with the letter *c* (b), 184 with *c*, and 185 with *k* [APR., pp. 55 f.].

Rādhā in an early stage of her love-sickness describes to her intimate friend the supreme attractiveness of young Kṛṣṇa, whom she has seen in her dreams only.

kiśora-vayasa kata baidagadhi-ṭhāma |
 mūrati marakata abhinava-kāma ||
 prati aṅga kona vidhi niramila kise |
 dekhite dekhite kata amiyā bariṣe ||
 malū malū kibā rūpa dekhilū svapane |
 khāite suite mora lāgiyāche mane ||
 arupa-adhara mṛdu manda manda hāse |
 cañcala-nayana-kope jāti-kula nāse ||
 dekhiyā bidare buka duṭi bhuru-bhaṅgi |
 āi āi kothū chila se nāgara raṅgi ||
 manthara calana-khūni ādha ādha yūyṣ |
 parāpa yemana kare ki kahiba kāyṣ ||
 pāsūpa milāye yūyṣ gūyera bātāse |
 balarāma-dāse kayṣ avaśa paraśe || [PKT. 146.]

• In the age of early youth such charming ways (he has); (resembling) an image of emerald, he is a reincarnation of the god of love. (I do not know) what creator has created each limb of his, and with what material, as, when seen, they emit ambrosia as it were. Ah me! what (a picture of) loveliness have I seen in my dreams: it has penetrated my heart, (so that it cannot be forgotten) even at the time of eating and sleeping! With rosy lips, he smiles softly, and with the corners of his dancing eyes he robs (one of one's) caste and good name. The arches of his two eye-brows when seen, rend the heart. Ah, where has he been, this playful gallant? With slow movement he walks in (rhythmic) half-steps: to whom can I describe what my soul then feels? Even rocks melt (in a wave of bliss) when touched by the breeze in contact with his body (as he walks); one loses one's senses with a touch (from the same breeze). So says Balarāma-dāsa. •

The following Brajabuli poem describes the beauty of nature, when Kṛṣṇa is sporting with the girls of the Vraja:

madhura samaya rajani-śeṣa
 śohāi madhura kṣānana-deśa
 gagane uyala madhura madhura
 vidhu niramala-kātiyā |

madhura mādhave-keli-nikufija
phuṭala madhura kusuma-puñja
gābāi madhura bhramarā-bhramari
madhura madhuhi mātiyā
āju khelata ānde bhora
madhura-yuvati nava-kīśora
madhura baraja-raṅgiṇī meli
karata madhura rabhasa-keli ॥
madhura pavana bahāi manda
kūjaye kokila madhura-chanda
madhura-rasahi śabada-subhaga
nadaī vihaga-pātiyā ।
rabāi madhura śāri kīra
paṭhāi aichana amiyā gīra
naṭai madhura māura māuri
raṭai madhura bhātiyā ॥
madhura milana khelana hāsa
madhura madhura rasa-vilāsa
madana herai dharaṇī luṭhāi
vedana phuṭai chātiyā ।
madhura madhura carita-rīta
balarāma-cite phurau nīta
dubū-ka madhura caraṇa-sevana-
bhāvane janama yātiyā ॥ [PKT. 2497.]

• It is a sweet time, the end of night. The sweet wood land region is lovely. The sweet, brilliant moon has come out. Sweet is the sportive bower of *mādhavī* creepers; sweetly have blossomed the masses of flowers, and sweetly sing the bees, intoxicated with sweet honey. Now sport the sweet girl and the fresh youth, gladdened with delight, and the sweet flirting girls of the Vraja are in a body enjoying sweet sports. A sweet breeze is blowing softly; the cuckoo sings in a sweet manner, and in sweet delight the flights of birds are warbling the charms of autumn. The *sārikā* raises sweet notes, and the parrot talks such sweet words. The peacock dances sweetly and the peahen cries in a sweet way. Sweet is the gathering, the sport and the laugh; sweet, very sweet is the sportiveness of bliss (*rasa*). The god of love looks on, and falls on the ground, and his heart is rent in suffering. These very sweet acts and gestures,—may they ever be revealed to the mind of Balarāma, and

his strapped sandals and put them forward (whenever required): this we promise to you. ' >

Jagannātha-dāsa.

Jagannātha-dāsa the Brajabuli poet has no sure identification. There were many Jagannātha-dāsas among the followers of Caitanya-deva and in the later generations. Of them the following two have the best claims: ¹—

1. A Jagannātha-dāsa who lived in Orissa and of whom Devakī-nandana-dāsa says—

jagannātha-dāsa bandō saṅgite paṇḍita |
yāra gīta śuniyā śrī-jagannāthā mohita ||

This Jagannātha-dāsa was evidently the famous Oriya poet whose adaptation of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* is one of the oldest and most popular works in Oriya.

2. Jagannātha-dāsa of Kāṣṭha-kāṣṭha, probably a Brahmin, who has been enumerated by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja among the disciples of Gadādhara Paṇḍita.

That the poet was very possibly an immediate follower and contemporary of Caitanya-deva is evident from a close study of his poems. The poet has a few Bengali and Brajabuli poems on the home life of Caitanya-deva, which, though not as good, have the same flavour as those by Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa and the like. Moreover nine poems with the *bhaṇitā* of Jagannātha-dāsa are found in the Das manuscript (A.C. 1653-56).

There are four Brajabuli poems by Jagannātha-dāsa in the *Padakalpa-taru* [633, 1216, 1323, 1554]. In the *Siddhānta-candrodaya* there is another Brajabuli poem with the same *bhaṇitā*.

The following two poems are given as specimens of his treatment of the life of the Master :

phālguna-pūrṇimā tithi subhaga sakali |
janama labhibe gorā paṛe bulā-huli ||
ambare amara sabhe bhela unamukha |
labhibe janama gorā yābe saba dukha ||

¹ Vide GPT., Introduction, pp. 85 ff.

śaṅkha dundubhi bāje parama-hariṣe |
 jaya-dhvani sura-kula kusuma bari-e ||
 jaga-bhari hari-dhvani uṭhe ghana ghana |
 ābāla-vanitā-ādi nara-nārī-gaṇa ||
 śubha-kṣaṇa jāni gorā janama labhila |
 pūrṇimāra candra yena udaya karila ||
 sei kāle candre rāhu karila grahaṇa |
 hari hari dhvani uṭhe bhariyā bhuvana ||
 dīna hīna uddhāra haibe bhela āśa |
 dekhiyā ānande bhāse jagannātha-dāsa || [PKT. 1120.]

• It was the fullmoon in the month of Phālguna (February-March): it was all auspicious. Gorā is to be born; there is a sensation of joy. In the sky the gods were all expectant (thinking), 'Gorā is to be born, and all misery will be banished.' In high glee conches and drums were sounding: with shouts of triumph the Gods were scattering flowers. Shouts of 'Hari' were ever rising up again and again (from) men and women, children and all. Knowing the moment to be auspicious, Gorā was born: it was as if the full moon rose up. At that very moment Rāhu (demon of darkness) covered up the moon, and from the entire earth there rose up cries of 'Hari, Hari.' (Now) there was hope that the poor and the miserable would find salvation; and on seeing this Jagannātha-dāsa was floating in joy. •

gaura-kiśora puraba-rase gara-gara
 mane bhela goṭha-bihāra |
 dāma śrīdāma subala bali cākaī
 nayane galaye jala-dhāra ||
 vetra viṣṇa veṇu lei sājaha
 yāyaba bhāṇḍi-samīpa |
 gauṇī-dāsa sāja kari taikhane
 gaura-nikaṭe upanīta ||
 bhāṣiyā abhirāma vadana ghana bāṣī
 nūpura caraṇa-hi dela |
 nityānanda- candra pahū āgu-sai
 dhavalī dhavalī dhvani kela ||
 nadiyā-nagara- loka saba dhāvata
 heraita gaura-ka raṅga |
 dāsa-jagannātha chānda dohani lei
 yāyaba saba-anuṣaṅga || [PKT. 1216.]

The following poem also deals with the same sports of Śrī-kṛṣṇa :

brahma purandara dina-maṇi śaṅkara
yo caraṇāmbuja seba nirantera
so hari kautuka vraja-bālaka sāthe
gopa-nāgarī-abhilāṣa re |

so pahū-padata-la-parāga-dhūsara
 mānasa mama karu āsa niranantara
 abhinava-satkavi dāsa-jagannātha-
 janani-jāṭhara-bhaya-nāśa re !

[PKT. 1323.]

• On the bank of the Yamunā, Mādhava walks slowly playing his pipe soft and sweet, and the girls of the Vraja, with eyes like lotuses, leave their home and run to the woods. The complexion of his body defies the loveliness of the dark clouds, the blue lotus, the *ataśī* flower, the waters of the Yamunā, the emerald and the lapis lazuli. On his top-knot are feathers of the peacock and bright *guñjā* seeds; from the tip of his nose dangles a perfect pearl; there are ear-rings of fresh leaves as well as decorations of yellow pigment for the face: all these beautify (his) face. There is a yellow garment round his waist, a cane in his left hand, and a fair garland round his conch-like neck. His person is decked with the lustre from precious metals. What a beautiful pose, with one foot upon another! His broad chest is grey with dust (kicked up by) the cows, and in gracefulness and beauty it surpasses as it were an arena; on his shoulder is a strap for tying the feet of cows (while milking). His beauty charms the heart of the world. Whose lotus feet are incessantly worshipped by Brahmā, Indra, the sun-god and Śiva: he, Hari, is sporting with the cowherd boys and is the desire of the cowherd girls. For the dust of the lotus feet of that master, the heart of the new good poet Jagannātha-dāsa always hopes, the dust which removes the fear of fresh rebirth. •

In the *Pada-kalpa-taru*, there are two Bengali poems by this poet, one on the *dāna*- (toll-collecting) and the other on the *naukā*- (boating) *vilāsa* (sport). From the specimens given above it will be seen that as a poet Jagannātha-dāsa was certainly above mediocrity.

Kānu(rāma)-dāsa [c. 1583 A.C.].

The poet Kānurāma-dāsa or Kānu-dāsa was the son of the poet Puruṣottama-dāsa, and the grandson of Sadāśiva-Kavirāja, a prominent disciple of Nityānanda-prabhu. Of these three the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* says—

śrī sadāśiva-kavirāja bapa mahāśaya |
 śrī puruṣottama-dāsa tāhāra tanaya |

tāra putra mahāśaya śrī-kānu-ṭhākura |
yāra dehe bahe kṛṣṇa-premāmṛta-pūra || [i. 11.]

That this Kānu-rāma was the poet is to be concluded from the following colophon of a poem written in praise of Nityānanda-prabhu—

kānurāma-dāsa bole ki baliba āmi |
e baṛa bharasā mora kulerṣ ṭhākurṣ tumi || [PKT. 2321.]

« Kānurāma-dāsa says, 'What shall I say? It is a great consolation to me that you are the deity of my family'. »

There was another Kānu-dāsa, or rather Kānu-panḍita, who was the son of Raghunandana of Śrīkhaṇḍa. Whether this Kānu-dāsa ever wrote any poem is more than we can say.¹ Both these, Kānu-ṭhākura and Kānu-panḍita, were present at the festival at Khetari.

Kānu-rāma seems to have written poems describing the main incidents of the life of Caitanya-deva. The following poem describes the meeting of Nityānanda-prabhu and Śacī-devī sometime after the *sannyāsa* of the Master :

nadiya-nagare gelā nityānanda-rāyṣ |
daṇḍavat haiyā paṛe śacī-mātārṣ pāy ||
tāre kole kari śacī kādāye karuṇe |
nayanera jale bhiḍe aruṇa-vasane ||
phukari phukari kānde kātara-hiyāy ||
gaurāṅgera kathā kahi prabodhaye tāy |
nityānanda bale mātā thira kara mena ||
kuśale āchaye sukhe tomūra nandana |
tomāre dekhite more paṭhāiyā dila |
tora pada-yuge kata praṇati karila ||
kānu-dāsa kahe mātā kahi tomārṣ ṭhāñi |
tomārṣ preme bāndhā āche gaurāṅga-gosāñi ||

[PKT. 2264.]

¹ Jagadbandhu Bhadra in his Introduction to the *Gaura-pada-taraṅgini* (p. 54) rejects the claim of these two Kānu-dāsas and sets up a third Kānu-dāsa as the poet. This third Kānu-dāsa is reputed to be the disciple of Rasikānanda who was a disciple of Śyāmānanda. Even if we admit the historicity of this Kānu-dāsa, there is no evidence to show that he was the poet. Moreover there is evidence to the contrary: a poem of Kānu-dāsa occurs in the earlier portion of the Das MS [also cf. PKT. 2321].

Uddhava-dāsa (i) [c. 1583 A.C.].

Kṛṣṇakānta-Mazumdār, a disciple of Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākuraḥ, wrote poems with the *bh.* of 'Uddhava-dāsa.' Now this 'Uddhava-dāsa' mentions an earlier Uddhava-dāsa in one of his Bengali poems [PKT. 3092]. This earlier Uddhava-dāsa, evidently, was a disciple of Gadādhara Paṇḍita [CC. i. 12], and was present at the festival at Khetari. He seems to have been the *guru* of Kavi-vallabha, the author of the *Rasa-kadamba* [p. 8].

Hitherto there was nothing to warrant that he was a poet. But fortunately I have come across a Bengali poem (describing the positions of the eight *Sakhis* of Rādhā, when Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā hold court as it were in Vṛndāvana) with the *bh.* of 'Uddhava' in the MS. in possession of Mr. Sajanikanta Das (dated B.E. 1060-63 = A.C. 1653-56). I quote here the *entire* unpublished poem. As the text is rather corrupt I do not give a translation.

cāri yojana vṛndāvanera maṇḍali |
 tāra madhye nāma-cintāmaṇi ramya-sthali ||
 madhya yoga-plīṭha para nagarā-mayana(?) |
 pradhāna prakṛti saṅge ramaṇi-ratana ||
 samukhe lalitā sakhi ati-rūpa-rāsi |
 dhārma ure (?) syānā sakhi manda-mṛdu hāsi ||
 rasera kalikā sakhi sei se uttare |
 agni-kope haripriyā phula-dhanu-śare ||
 pūrva-bhāge viśākhā saṅketa sujāna |
 aśāne basyā sakhi śyāmera parāṇa ||
 kanaka-gaura padma sei se naṛite |
 aṣṭa-sakhi meli sevā kare ei rīte ||
 diga-vidiga candrāvali ādi kari |
 kuñje kuñje viharāi parama-sundari ||
 kiśora-vayasa veśa samāna ramaṇi |
 gokule goloka suska(?) uddhava barāni ||

Now that we know definitely that Uddhava-dāsa (i) was a poet, and as he was a disciple of Gadādhara Paṇḍita, we are in a position to attribute two Brajabuli songs to him. These songs [PKT. 1481, 1558] are on the Master in company with Gadādhara. We have already remarked more than once that this treatment of the Master in connection with Gadādhara was a speciality of the disciples of the latter as well as of those belonging to the Śrīkhaṇḍa school.

We cite the following poem as a specimen :

madhu-ṛtu biharāi gaura-kīśora |
gadādhara-mukha heri ānande narahari
puruva-preme bhela bhora ||
navīna-latā nava- pallava taru-kula
naṁḥala navadvīpa-dhāma |
phulla-kusuma-caya jhañkṛta madhukara
sukhada e ṛtu-pati nāma ||
mukulita cūta- gahane ati-sulalita
kokila-kākali-rāva |
suradhuntī-tīra- samīra sugandhita
ghare ghare maṅgala gāva ||
manamatha-rāja sāja leī phīraye
vana-phula-phala ati-śobhā |
samaya vasanta nadiyū-pura sundara
uddhava-dāsa-mana lobhā || [PKT. 1481.]

• In the spring-time the young Gaura is disporting himself. On looking at the face of Gadādhara, Narahari, in joy, is full of the ancient love. The creepers are green, and the trees (have put on) new leaves. The town of Navadvīpa is renovated. Flowers are blooming, and bees are humming. Pleasurable indeed is this chief of all seasons. From the depth of mango blossoms (are heard) the sweet notes of the cuckoo. From the bank of the Ganges (is blowing) a sweet-scented breeze, and in every home songs are being sung. Cupid the king, with all his paraphernalia, is moving about everywhere. Charming is the beauty of wild flowers and fruits. It is spring-time, and the town of Nadiyā is gay. The heart of Uddhava-dāsa is (profoundly) moved (thereat). »

Caitanya-dāsa [c. 1583 A.C.].

There were several Caitanya-dāsas, and it is possible that some or most of them were authors of some verses. But the extant poems (in PKT.) with the *bh.* of Caitanya-dāsa, which number about fifteen, show such similarity of style and treatment that we cannot but view them as the work of a single poet. Of these fifteen poems about half a dozen relate to the Master; as these latter poems bear the impress of sincerity and true ring of earlier poets, I think that Vṛṇṣī-vadana's son Caitanya-dāsa was in all likelihood the author of these poems. Moreover in one song

[PKT. 463] there is a hint that the poet was born when the Master was yet living. This Caitanya-dāsa was present at the Khetari festival.

Of these fifteen poems only two are written in Brajabuli [PKT. 594, 1986]. The following poem is appended as a specimen :

e dhanī e dhanī vacana śuna |
 mād̥hava milaye babuta puṇa ||
 eta parihāra karaye ye |
 t̥āhāre sundari bañcaye ke ||
 doṣa nāhi kachu nayane cāha |
 āpana sarasa-paraśa deha ||
 hāsiyā sundarī cāhala phiri |
 o kara-kamala dhayala hari ||
 duhū-ka pūrala manera āśa |
 vijana bijāi caitanya-dāsa || [PKT. 594.]

‘O you proud girl, listen to me : Mād̥hava can be had with great religious merit only. Who can, my pretty girl, cheat him, who takes so much pains (for the sake of love)? He has not the slightest blemish. Look up (at him with your) eyes, and reward him with a touch of your lovely (body).’ Then the pretty girl (*i.e.* Rādhā) smiled and looked up, and Hari caught hold of her pretty hands. The desire of their heart was fulfilled : Caitanya-dāsa fanned them with a fan. »

Vira-Hāmbira, King of Viṣṇupura, also wrote poems with the *bh.* of Caitanya-dāsa [Bhakti-ratnākara ix]. But no Brajabuli poem of his is available. This Caitanya-dāsa has been dealt with later.

Parameśvara-dāsa [c. 1583 A.C.].

One Brajabuli poem, by Parameśvara occurs in the earliest portion of the Das MS. One Bengali poem on Caitanya-deva with the *bh.* of Parameśvara-dāsa is incorporated in PKT. [23]. This poem as well as another connected with it bears the *bh.* of ‘Parameśvari-dāsa’ in GPT. [p. 246]. There is no doubt that these two poems come from one who was probably an eye-witness of the incident narrated therein. The poet therefore seems to be Parameśvara-dāsa, the disciple of Nityānanda-prabhu. In his later age he was an attendant of Jāhnvā-devī, the junior wife of Nityānanda-prabhu. Some facts of his life have been noted in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* [pp. 541, 664, 1015]. He was present at the Khetari festival.

The poem in the Das MS. and also another in a MS. [No. 201 ; VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. ii. 1, p. 116] are devoted to the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend. I am not sure whether these two poems come from the same pen as the two former poems. One of these two poems on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend is quoted below. It should be noted that the poem contains the true ring of the poems by the so-called 'Caṇḍīdāsa.'

āra ki śyāmera bāśī kulerṣṭ dharamṣṭ thobe |
 nāma dhari ḍāke bāśī bekatṣṭ habe kabe ||
 niṣedha nā māne bāśī sadā kare dhvani |
 bāhira-duāre kāṇṣṭ pāte nanadini ||
 nanadi jaṇjāla baṛa antara viṣāla |
 āsiñā gharera mājhe pātibe jaṇjāla ||
 ye deṣerṣṭ bāśiyā baṭe se deṣe mānuṣṭ nāi |
 rādhāre badbite bāśī eneche kānūi ||
 śrī-parameśvarṣṭ-dūse kay śuna rasavati |
 bāśīrṣṭ kono doṣa nāñi kāliyārṣṭ yugati ||

[VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. ii. 1, p. 116.]

« 'Will the flute of Śyāma (the Dark One, *i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) preserve (my) virtue (as one of a good family)? It calls me by the name, and (I am afraid) it may be out any day. The flute does not regard my forbidding, but it goes on sounding always. My sister-in-law (goes out) to the front door and listens (to what it is saying). She is big mischief, and is poisonous at heart. She may come to (my) room and give (me) trouble. Really there are no people where the bamboo flute came from. Kṛṣṇa has brought it down to kill Rādhā.' Śrī-Parameśvara-dāsa says, 'Listen to me, O Loving One! The flute is not to be blamed at all; it is really the intrigue of the Dark-complexioned One (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa).'²

Ātmārāma-dāsa.

In the *Kṣaṇadā Gīta-cintāmaṇi* there is a mixed Brajabuli and Bengali poem by Ātmārāma-dāsa [155], which is an ode to Nityānanda-prabhu. This poem occurs in PKT. [636=2302], and there are two poems, besides it, with the *bh.* of 'Ātmārāma.' Of these two one [2294] occurs in *Kṣaṇadā* under the *bh.* of Dvija Gaṅgā-rāma [2]. It may be that the poet was the same as the father of Nityānanda-dāsa, the author of the *Prema-vilāsa*, and was a contemporary and follower of

Nityānanda-prabhu. There were, however, two disciples of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya named Ātmārāma-dāsa. But they are not likely to be the authors of the poems in question.

Nityānanda-dāsa [c. 1600 A.C.].

In KPS. there are four poems by Nityānanda-dāsa, of which only one is written in Brajabuli [p. 151]. The poems are quite commonplace. There are four Nityānanda-dāsas, any of whom may be the author of all or any of these four poems—(i) the younger son of the poet Vamśī-vadana, (ii) Caturdharīṇa Nityānanda, the grandfather of the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* [cf. VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 101], (iii) a disciple of Nityānanda-prabhu [cf. *Prema-vilāsa* xx], and (iv) the son of Ātmārāma-dāsa and author of the *Prema-vilāsa*. As nothing is known about the literary activity of the first three the probability of the authorship of these lyrics lies with the author of the *Prema-vilāsa*. The *Prema-vilāsa* contains two Bengali lyric poems by its author, one on Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya's birth (ii), and the other on the occasion of the birth of Narottama-Ṭhākura [ix]. The real name of the author of the *Prema-vilāsa* was Balarāma-dāsa, and he was a disciple of Jāhnavā-devī. He has given some details of his life at the end of the work [xx]. This work was completed in Śaka 1522 [= 1600 A.C.].

CHAPTER VI

ŚRĪNIVĀSA-ĀCĀRYA AND HIS COLLEAGUES

Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [c. 1583 A.C.].

In this survey I do not mention Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya merely as a poet, as the total output of his lyrics is only five in number. But as a great Vaiṣṇava preacher, as a great spiritual teacher and as one of the foremost of the disseminators of Vaiṣṇava philosophical and literary works of the Gosvāmins at Vṛndāvana, Śrīnivāsa was pre-eminent among his contemporaries, and he exerted great influence on the development of Vaiṣṇava lyrical poetry. Among the disciples of Śrīnivāsa there are scores of poets, one of whom, Govindadāsa-Kavirāja, undoubtedly tops the list of the poets of Mediaeval Bengal. Hence Śrīnivāsa must occupy a very prominent place in the history of not only Vaiṣṇava literature, but of Bengali literature in general.

The life and activity of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya is to be found in the *Prema-vilāsa* [1600 A.C.], in the *Karṇānanda* [1607 A.C.], in the *Anurāga-vallī* [1696 A.C.] and in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* and *Narottama-vilāsa* [1750 A.C.]. I give here the briefest sketch of his life.

Śrīnivāsa was the son of Gaṅgādhara-Bhaṭṭācārya (*alias* Caitanya-dāsa) of Cūkhandī (now destroyed by the erosion of the Hooghly). His mother was Lakṣmī-devī, the daughter of Balarāma-Ācārya of Jājigrāma in the same district. He was born in Śaka (?) 1438 (=1516 A.C.). As a boy he was exceptionally intelligent, and very soon he became an accomplished scholar. When still a boy, Śrīnivāsa met Narahari-Sarkār of Śrīkhaṇḍa, and thenceforward began his spiritual awakening. Finishing his education, he hurried towards Purī with the desire of having a sight of Caitanya-deva, but on his way he heard that the Master was no more. Greatly disappointed he came there and saw the followers of the Master living there. Then he successively visited Navadvīpa, Śāntipura and other places in Bengal where some of the Master's followers were yet living. Then he projected a visit to Vṛndāvana, but his father died, and the visit was delayed for some time. When he finally came there, Sanātana-Gosvāmin and Rūpa were already dead. There he became a student of Vaiṣṇava philosophy with Jīva-Gosvāmin who conferred on him

the title of Ācārya. At Vṛndāvana Śrīnivāsa was acquainted with Narottama-Ṭhākura and Syāmananda with whom he made a great and lifelong friendship. He became the disciple of Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa. On his way back home Śrīnivāsa was accompanied by Narottama and Syāmananda. Jīva-Gosvāmin sent along in his charge a wagon-load of works on Vaiṣṇava theology and philosophy, and requested him to disseminate those works in Bengal. The package was looted in the outlying forests of Viṣṇupura, but was ultimately recovered. After this loss Śrīnivāsa came to the court of Vīra-Hāmbīra, the king of Viṣṇupura, and converted him and most of his courtiers to Vaiṣṇavism. After this his further conversions became easier. Śrīnivāsa married two wives, Īśvarī-devī and Gaurāṅgapriyā-devī. By his second wife he got three sons and three daughters. Of the children of the Ācārya I shall have occasion to speak later on.

As we have already told Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya wrote only five poems [Kārṇānanda vi (pp. 111 ff., 116); PKT. 790, 3073; 839 (according to the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*; cf. VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 108)]. Of these the last two, which are written in honour of his *guru*, are written in Brajabuli.

The following Bengali poem is not unworthy of the pen of a really great poet. It describes the beauty of Kṛṣṇa. [The *Kārṇānanda* version has nine couplets.]

| | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| vadana-cāda kona | kūdāre kūdila go |
| ke nā kūdile dui śikhi | |
| dekhite dekhite mora | parāṇa yemana kare |
| se-i se parāṇa tūra sākhi | |
| ratana kārīyā ati- | yatana kariyā go |
| ke nā garīyā dila kāne | |
| manera sahite mora | e pāca-parāṇi go |
| yogī habe ubāri dheyāne | |
| amiyā-madhura bola | sudhā khāni-khāni go* |
| hātera upare nāhi pāḍ | |
| emati kariyā yadi | vidhātā garhita go |
| bhāṅgiyā bhāṅgiyā ubā khāḍ | |
| madhā-phāda o nā | cūrāyā tālani go |
| ubā nā śikhiyā āila kothā | |
| e buka bhariyā muṇi | ubā nā dekhāni go |
| e bari marame mora bethā | |

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| nāsikāra āge dole | e gaja-mukutā go |
| sonūy maṛita tāra pūṣe | |
| bijurī-jaṛita yena | cādera kaṇikā go |
| meghera āṛile thūki hāse | |
| karabhera kara jini | bāhura balani go |
| hiṅgula-maṛita tāra āge | |
| yauvana-banera pūkhī | piyāse maraye go |
| uhāri paraśa-rasa māge | |
| nūṭuyā-ṭhamake yāyḥ | rahiyā rahiya cāyḥ |
| cale yena gaja-rāja mātā | |
| śrīnivāsa-dāsa kayḥ | lakhile lakhila nayḥ |
| rūpa-sindhu gaṛhala vidhātā | [PKT. 790.] |

• Who is the carver that has carved the moon-like face (of Kṛṣṇa)? Who has chiselled his two eyes? Looking and looking at them, my heart feels as my heart only knows. Who has polished gems, and very skilfully made (them into ear-rings) and put them on (his) ears? Meditating on them these my five vitals along with my mind will turn *yogī*. His sweet nectar-like words are like so many bits of manna: I cannot get them into my hands. Had the Creator fashioned it so, I would break them into pieces and eat (them one by one). Is it not a trap of love, that lovely tilt on his crest? Where has he learnt it? I have seen it indeed to my heart's content: yet this is the greatest despair of my heart. At the tip of his nose hangs a big pearl worked with gold on all sides. It looks like a bit of the moon framed in lightning and peeping through a cloud. The roundness of his arms defies the trunk of a young elephant: his hands are painted with *hiṅgula* (red dye). The bird of the wilderness of youthfulness dies in thirst: it hankers after the sweet of his touch only. He steps with the grace a dancer, and he stops and looks up: he walks like an elephant in ichor. Śrīnivāsa-dāsa says: 'He cannot be seen (to satiety) even when seen: the Creator has made an ocean of loveliness.'

Narottama-dāsa [c. 1583 A.C.].

Narottama-dāsa was the son of Rājā Kṛṣṇānanda-Datta who was a big land-holder of Rājashāhi, and his residence was at Khetari, a place about twelve miles to the north-west of Boḷiyā. It was about a mile off from the Ganges. Narottama's mother's name was Nūrāyaṇī. From his childhood Narottama was pious and religiously minded.

After the death of his father Narottama made over the charge of his estate to his cousin Santoṣa-Datta (Santoṣa-Rāya), the son of Puruṣottama-Datta, the younger brother of Kṛṣṇānanda. He then went to Vṛndāvana where he got religious initiation from Lokanātha-Gosvāmin. According to the *Narottama-vilāsa* Kṛṣṇānanda was alive when Narottama left home for Vṛndāvana. In 1581 (or 1582) A.C. he returned to Bengal in company of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya and Syāmānanda. But he never married nor did he ever interest himself in worldly affairs. In A. C. 1583 (or 1584) Santoṣa-Datta, at his cousin's request, installed six images at Khetari, and to celebrate it he held a big festival which continued for seven days. This festival is a land-mark in the history of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal. All the leading Vaiṣṇavas (some of the direct followers of the Master were still living) from the different parts of Bengal assembled there. The following Vaiṣṇavas, among many others, were present on the occasion :—

Jāhnavā-devī, Mādhava-Ācārya (two persons), Jñānadāsa, Manohara, Balarāma, Vṛndāvana-dāsa, Caitanya-dāsa (son of Vaṃśī-vadana), Śrīpati and Śrīnidhi (brothers of Śrīvāsa, an old follower of the Master), Śivānanda, Yadunandana-Ācārya, Nayanānanda-Miśra, Mādhava-dāsa, Parameśvarī-dāsa, Raghunandana, and most of the disciples of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, Narottama-Ṭhākura and Syāmānanda.

This occasion saw the precise and scientific formation of the style of *Rasa-Kīrtana* which goes by the name of the 'Garāpahaṭī' style; and the credit of this goes to Narottama alone. He, apart from being a very good poet, was an accomplished musician and a melodious singer.

ethā sarva-mahānta kahaye paraspāre /
 prabhura adbhuta sṛṣṭi narottama-dvāre ||
 hena premamaya-vādyā kabhu nā śunilū /
 ehena gānera prathā kabhu nā dekhilū ||
 narottama-kaṇṭha-dvani amṛtera dhāra /
 ye piye tābhāra tṛṣṇā bāṛhe anivāra || [Narottama-vilāsa vii.]

The festival at Khetari was the third festival in succession. The first was held at Katwa under the auspices of Yadunandana on the anniversary of the death of Gadādhara-dāsa. The second, a few

¹ These were Śrī-Gaurāṅga, Vallabī-kānta, Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, Vraja-mohana, Rādhā-ramaṇa, and Rādhā-kānta.

months after, was held at Śrīkhaṇḍa under the auspices of Raghu-nandana on the occasion of the death anniversary of Narahari-Sarkār. All these three festivals were held within a period of about a year and a half.

Rāmacandra-Kavirāja, a very worthy person and the elder brother of Govindadāsa-Kavirāja, was the most intimate friend of Narottama. Narottama survived both Rāmacandra and Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [cf. PKT. 2979, 2980].

Narottama-dāsa was a good poet. His greatness as a poet cannot be judged from his Bengali or Brajabuli poems on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, which are not very much above mediocrity. But his 'prayers'—*prārthanā* poems—have immortalised him in Bengali literature. These are mostly written in Bengali, and only one or two in Brajabuli (though Brajabuli forms are copiously found in his Bengali writings). In these prayer-poems there is no great flight of fancy, no flash of similes or metaphors, no jingling of assonance or *anupāsa*, no brilliancy of style or language, and nothing intellectual or philosophical. These are as simple as any ordinary *payāra* or *tripadī* verse can be. But there is such a blending of yearning and pathos, such personal appeal and directness and simplicity that never fails to move even the most callously irreligious man. Maybe these poems contain Vaiṣṇava theological niceties that may not appeal to some or most of the ordinary readers, yet their sincerity and the ring of whole-hearted devotion is intensely appealing. These prayer-poems are sung reverently in the evening at every pious Vaiṣṇava home in Bengal. In these poems there is the true note of Vaiṣṇava-like humility which we find in the life of Caitanya-deva and in some of his immediate followers.

A few typical prayers by Narottama-dāsa are given below. In the translations, I am afraid, the elusive charm of the originals is quite lost.

gaurāṅga balite habe pulaka śarīra |
 hari hari balite nayane bahe nīra ||
 āra kabe nitāi-cāda karuṇā karibe |
 saṁsāra-vāsanā mora kabe tuccha habe ||
 viśaya chāriyā kabe śubdha habe mana |
 kabe hāma heraba śrī-vṛndāvana ||
 rūpa raghunātha bali haibe ākuti |
 kabe hāma bujhaba se yugala-pīriti ||
 rūpa-raghunātha-pade rahu mora āśa |
 prārthanā karaye sadā narottama-dāsa || [PKT. 3046.]

« When will all my body bristle up (in joy) in taking the Name of Gaurāṅga? When will tears flow from (my) eyes when taking the Name of Hari? When will (my) precious Nītāi (Nityānanda) take pity (on me)? When will (my) worldly desires become as vain things for me? When will my mind give up the world, and so be cleansed? When shall I visit the glorious Vṛndāvana? When shall I yearn after Rūpa and Raghunātha? When shall I properly understand the love of the (Divine) Couple? May my hopes be in the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha. So does Narottama-dāsa ever pray. »

he govinda gopināthā, kṛpā kari rākha nija-pathe |
 kūma krodha chayā-jane laiṇā phire nānā-sthāne
 • viṣaya bhuñjāy nānā-mate ||
 haṇiṇā māyāra dāsa kari nānā abhilāṣa
 tomāra smaraṇa gela dūre |
 artha-lābha ei āse kapaṭa-vaiṣṇava-veśe
 bhramiyā buliye ghare ghare ||
 aneka duḥkhera pare laiṇāchilā vraja-pure
 kṛpā-ḍora galāyā bādhiyā |
 daiva-māyā balātkāre khaṣāiyā sei ḍore
 bhava-kūpe dilekḥ ḍāriyā ||
 puna yadi kṛpā kari e-janūra keśe dhari
 ṭāniyā tolaha vraja-bhūme |
 tabe se dekhiye bhāla nahe bola phurāila
 kahe dīna dāsa narottame || [PKT. 3023.]

« O Govinda, Gopinātha! do Thou take pity (on me) and keep (me) in Thy path. The six (passions headed by) lust (desire) and anger are as strong ropes dragging me from place to place and forcing (me) to partake of worldliness. A slave to *māyā*, I entertain various (worldly) desires: contemplation of Thyself is far away. With the hope of gaining wealth, in the garb of a false Vaiṣṇava, I roam from house to house. After great sufferings, Thou didst fasten me with the cable of pity around my neck and hast taken me to the land of the Vraja. But the divine *māyā* untied it perforce and threw me down (again) into the well of the world. If Thou feelest compassion (for me) again and draggest me out by holding me by the hair, it then looks all well; if not my cry to Thee is at an end. So says poor Narottama-dāsa. »

nātha he

kaupīna khuliyā leha kapāle sindura deha
 paribhāra deha nila-sārī |
 kaṅkaṇa keyūra diyā nija-dāsī bānāyī
 hāthe deha subarṇera cūrī ||
 hastete candana laiyā tava aṅge chiṭāyī
 phula-mālā diba tava gale |
 tomāra nikaṭe raiyā tāmbula vadane diyā
 tomāre dhariba nija-kole ||
 dāsa nāma ghucāyī dāsī nāma dharāyī
 rākhaḥa āmāyā nija-pāse |
 kahiya raseṛa kathā ghucāha manera bethū
 māthe deha su-cācara keśe ||
 dāsī kari rākha vāme śunāha bāsira gāne
 purāha āmāra mana-āśa |
 dūra kara kuṭi-nāṭi māthe deha sīthi-pāṭi
 dhanya kara narottama-dāsa || [APR. 352.]

« My Lord ! Take off my loin cloth, put a small point of vermilion on (my) forehead and give (me) a blue *sari* to wear. Giving me bangles and armlets and making me Thy personal serving maid, give me gold bracelets (to put on). Taking sandal-paste in my hand I would sprinkle it on Thy person, and I would hang a wreath of flowers round Thy neck. I would stand by Thee, would put betel in Thy mouth, and would hold Thee in embrace. Take away my name of *dāsa* (male slave¹), endow me with the name of *dāsī* (female slave²), and keep me by Thy side. Talking words of love, do Thou remove the sorrows of my heart : give me beautiful tresses of hair on my head. Give me a place to Thy left : make me hear songs of Thy flute, and fulfil the desire of my heart. Take away all the petty worries ; on (my) head put a woman's jewel for the front, and render Narottama-dāsa blessed. »

The poet's *Prema-bhakti-candrikā* is a poem of one hundred and nineteen couplets (in *tripadī* metre) containing the main tenets of Neo-Vaiṣṇava *sūḍhanā* in a very simple and highly poetical language. The prototype of this treatise seems to be the *Smaraṇa-darpaṇa* of Rāmacandra-Kavirāja, our poet's best friend and closest companion.

¹ Also the surname of a non-Brahmin, but adopted by Brahmin Vaiṣṇavas as well.

² Also the usual surname for a non-Brahmin woman.

In PKT. the Brajabuli poems of Narottama-dāsa number about a dozen. The following are given as specimens :

duhū dohā-daraśane pulakita-aṅga |
 dūre geo rajanī-ka viraha-taraṅga ||
 yaiche viraha-jare lūṭhala rāī |
 taichana amiyā-sūgare abagūī ||
 duhū mukha cumbaī duhū mukha heri |
 ānande dūhu-jana karu nānā-keli ||
 sukhamaya-yāminī cāda ujora |
 kuharata kokila ānanda-bibhora ||
 vikasita su-kusuma malaya-samīra |
 jhala-mala jhala-mala kuñja-kuṭīra ||
 • biharaye rādhā-mādhava raṅge |
 narottama-dāsa heri pulakita-aṅge || [PKT. 923.]

« The bodies of the two, when they saw each other, bristled up in joy, and the pains of the previous night's separation subsided. Rāī (Rādhikā) swam in the sea of bliss to the extent she suffered from the fever of separation. They two looked into and kissed each other's face : in joy they disported at will. It was a pleasurable night and the moon was shining : the cuckoo, wild with joy, was singing ; beautiful flowers were all in bloom ; and a southern breeze was blowing. The garden house was all aglow. Rādhā and Mādhava were in playful sport : seeing it Narottama-dāsa is in exhilaration. »

rāī herala yaba so mukha-indu |
 uchalala mana-māhā ānanda-sindhu ||
 bhāṅgala māna rodana-hi bhora |
 kānu kamala-kare mochaī lora ||
 māna-janīta dukha saba dūre gela |
 duhū mukha daraśane ānanda bhela ||
 lalitā-viśūkhū-ādī yata sakhi-gaṇa |
 ānande magana bhela dekhi dui-jana ||
 nikuñjera mājhe duhū-keli-vilāsa |
 dūra-hi dūre rahu narottama-dāsa || [PKT. 461.]

« When Rāī saw that moon-like face (of Kṛṣṇa), the sea of joy heaved up high in her heart. Her love-sulks were off : she was in a flood of tears. Kānu was wiping her tears with his pretty hands. All distress due to estrangement was removed, and they were extremely glad to see

each other's face. Lalitā, Viśākhā and all other friends were overjoyed to see the Couple. (Such is) their sport in the grotto ; and Narottama-dāsa remained at a great distance (and looked on). •

The details of the life of Narottama-Ṭhākura are to be seen from the *Prema-vilāsa* of Nityānanda-dāsa, the *Bhakti-ratnākara* and the *Narottama-vilāsa* of Narahari-dāsa (Cakravartī).

Śyāmānanda ('Kṛṣṇadāsa') [c. A. C. 1583].

Śyāmānanda was a friend and colleague of Śrīnivāsa and Narottama. He was responsible for the spread of Vaiṣṇavism in the Orissa frontier. Śyāmānanda went to Vṛndāvana and read Vaiṣṇava philosophy with Jīva-Gosvāmin. He returned to Bengal in company with Śrīnivāsa and Narottama. His life can be found in detail in the *Bhakti-ratnākara*.

There are three poems in PKT. with the *bh.* of Śyāmānanda. Of these only one poem is in Brajabuli with a slight admixture of Brajbhākhā [2843]. In the *Siddhānta-candrodaya* there is another Bengali poem by Śyāmānanda [10].

Śyāmānanda was known also as 'Duḥkhī Kṛṣṇadāsa,' or simply as 'Duḥkhini.' The lyrics with the *bh.* of 'Dīna Kṛṣṇadāsa,' or 'Duḥkhī Kṛṣṇadāsa,' or 'Dīna Duḥkhī Kṛṣṇadāsa' were very probably written by Śyāmānanda. This is supported by the poems PKT. 2358, 2359, 2360. These poems contain those epithets and deal with Caitanya-deva and Nityānanda-prabhu bestowing favour on Gaurīdāsa-Paṇḍita. Now this Gaurīdāsa-Paṇḍita was the *guru* of Śyāmānanda's *guru*. And the poet mentions Gaurīdāsa as 'prabhu' (Master). So there can be no doubt that the author of these poems was Śyāmānanda.

There is only one Brajabuli poem (with traces of Brajbhākhā) with the *bh.* of 'Dīna Kṛṣṇadāsa' [PKT. 1085]. It is quoted below :

sonāro nava gaura-candra
nāgara banawāri |
navadvīpa-īndu karuṇā-sindhu
bhakta-vatsala-kārī ||
vadaṇa canda adhara raṅga
nayane galata prema-taraṅga
candra-koṭi bhānu-koṭi
śobhā nichawāri |

kusuma-śobhita cācara cikura
 lalāṭe tilaka nasikā ujora
 daśana motima amiyā hāsa
 dāmini ghaṇaṭṭari ||

makara-kunḍala jhalake gaṇḍa
 maṇi-kaustubha-dīpta kaṇṭha
 aruṇa vasana karuṇa vacana
 śobhā ati-bhāri |

mālya-candana-caraita aṅga
 lāje lajjita koṭi anaṅga
 aṅgada balayā ratana-nūpura
 yajña-sūtra-dhāri ||

chatra dharata dharaṇi-dharendra
 gāota yaśa bhakata-vṛnda
 kamalū-sevita pāda-dvandva
 baliye balihāri |

kahata dina kṛṣṇadāsa
 gaura-carāṇe karata āśa
 patita-pāvana nitāi-cānda

prema-dāna-kāri || [PKT. 1085.]

• I contemplate on Gaura, a veritable second moon, a sportive lover with a garland of wild flowers (like Kṛṣṇa). He is the moon in the firmament of Navadvīpa. He is a veritable sea of compassion. He is greatly devoted to his followers. His face is like the moon. His lips are red. Tears of love flow from his eyes. His loveliness defies the beauty of millions of suns and millions of moons. His long and wavy locks are decorated with flowers. *Tilaka* (patch-decorations) beautify his forehead and nose. His teeth are like pearls. His nectarian smiles are like unto the flashes of lightning. Ear-ornaments shaped like a *makara* dazzle against his cheeks. His neck is beautified with the *kaustubha* gem. Rose-pink is the colour of his clothes. His speech is tender. All these make a marvellous display. His limbs are painted with sandal-paste and decorated with garlands. At his loveliness millions of gods of love are abashed. He has put on armlets, bracelets, jewelled anklets, and his holy thread. The wielder of the earth holds up the royal umbrella over his head. His devotees sing hymns (of devotion). His two feet are being massaged by Kamalā (the goddess of fortune). One cries out (in despair at the glory)—‘I am a sacrifice to it all.’

So says poor Kṛṣṇadāsa. His hopes lie in the feet of Gaura, (and in) Nityā, the moon-like, who purifies the outcast and who is the bestower of Divine Love. »

Kṛṣṇadāsa [d. 1582].

In PKT. there are three poems in mixed Brajbhākhā (2859, 2860, 2861). These must have apparently been written by one who had lived at Vṛndāvana for some time at least. If Śyāmānanda is not the author of these songs, we must then ascribe them to the great Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kavirāja, who spent most of his long life in the Vaiṣṇava holy land. One of these poems [2859] describing Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is much sung by Bengal Vaiṣṇavas, and may be said to form part of the ritual of worship in a Kṛṣṇa temple or chapel. This wide celebrity of an otherwise ordinary poem could only be due to the fame of the author who composed it. Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kavirāja might consequently be regarded as the author of this one at least, and possibly also of the next one [2860] as the language and sentiments show close similarity. The last poem is probably not his, as in the *bh.* 'Śrī' is used before the name, which Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kavirāja in his humility would never do. The poem 2859 is given below, as being typical of the kind of litany or hymn sung in Vaiṣṇava service, to the accompaniment of the peculiar Bengali Vaiṣṇava drum (*khol*, or *mṛdaṅga*, with a clay body) and bell-metal cymbals. *

| | |
|------------------------|------------------|
| jaya rādhe śrī- | rādhe kṛṣṇa |
| śrī-rādhe jaya rādhe | |
| nanda-nandana vṛṣa- | -bhānu-dulārī |
| sakala-guṇa-agādhe | |
| nava-ghana-sundara | naṁwala-kīśorī |
| nija-guṇa hitama-sādhe | |
| cācara-keśe | maūra-śikhaṇḍaka |
| kuñcita-keśinī jādē | |
| pītāmbara-dhara | oṛhe nīla-sārī |
| ghana saudāminī rāje | |
| kānu-gale vana- | mālā virājita |
| rāi-gale moti sājē | |
| arūṇita-carāṇe | mañjira rañjita |
| khañjana-gaṇjana lāje | |
| kṛṣṇadāsa bhāṇe | śrī-vṛndāvane |
| yugala kīśora birāje | [PKT. 2859.] |

• Hail, O Rādhā, O Śrī-Rādhā, O Kṛṣṇa, O Śrī-Rādhā ! Hail, O Rādhā ! O Son of Nanda ! O the darling Daughter of Vṛṣa-bhānu, who art endowed with all virtues ! O Thou, beautiful as fresh (dark) clouds ! O Thou the young damsel ! O Thou who achievest the good of the world through Thy own goodness ! O Thou who hast the peacock feather on Thy curly hair ! O Thou who hast a bow at the tail of Thy plaited locks ! One puts on yellow garments and the other wears a (dark) blue *sari*: (as if) lightning is flashing against a mass of dark clouds. From the neck of Kṛṣṇa hangs a *vana-mālā*,¹ and a (necklace of) pearls beautifies the neck of Rāī (*i.e.*, Rādhikā). At their rosy feet jingle anklets (which) put to shame the notes of the *khañjana* bird. Kṛṣṇadāsa says: 'In Śrī Vṛndāvana may the Young Couple reign supreme.' •

Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kavirāja completed the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* in Śaka 1503 (= 1581 A. C.) and not in Śaka 1537 (= 1615 A. C.) as is generally supposed.

¹ A kind of wreath made of wild flowers.

CHAPTER VII

‘GOVINDADĀSA’

Three distinguished men of the above name flourished in the annals of Vaiṣṇava literature in Bengal—(i) Govindadāsa Kavirāja, (ii) Govindadāsa-ākṛavartī and (iii) Govindadāsa-Ācārya. It is convenient to treat them together, as there has been a considerable confusion among them and their compositions. I take the greatest of them first.

Govindadāsa Kavirāja [? 1535—? 1613 A.C.].

Govindadāsa Kavirāja, the greatest poet of Brajabuli literature and one of the great poets of Bengal, was born at Śrīkhaṇḍa (Burdwan District, near Katwa) probably in the third decade of the sixteenth century. His father Cirañjīva-Sena was one of the earlier followers of Caitanya-deva; he had left his native village Kumāra-nagara on the river Bhāgīrathī (Hugli), and settled at Śrīkhaṇḍa after he had married Sunandā, the only daughter of the celebrated Sanskrit poet and scholar Dāmodara-Sena, the author of the *Śaṅgīta-dāmodara*, a treatise on music. (This work has been quoted from in Pitāmbara-dāsa's *Rasa-mañjarī*, VSP. edition.) Two sons were born to Cirañjīva, Rāmacandra and Govinda. Cirañjīva died early, leaving his two young sons under the care of his father-in-law. When they were of age they shifted their residence to their ancestral home at Kumāra-nagara, but later on they migrated to Teliyā Budharī (in Murshidabad District, on the way to Khetari from lower Bengal) where they had acquired some landed property.

Rāmacandra was a very handsome and fair-complexioned person, and he was an accomplished scholar. As he was riding on a palanquin as a bridegroom on his way to his future father-in-law's place, Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya saw him and asked his companions who that extremely handsome young man was. On getting their reply he remarked that it would be a very happy thing if such a handsome and worthy person were to devote his life to Kṛṣṇa. This remark Rāmacandra heard and he

thought a lot about it, and as a result, the very day after his marriage he came to the Ācārya and begged for spiritual initiation from him. The Ācārya complied with his request. Thenceforward Rāmacandra Kavirāja became a great devotee. He followed his *guru* in almost all his travels and wanderings. Narottama-Ṭhākura when he met Rāmacandra, was greatly struck with his scholarship, piety and personality, and in no time they became such great friends that it was remarked that Narottama and the Kavirāja were a single personality, though they had separate bodies.

Govindadāsa like his grandfather Dāmodara was a Śakti-worshipper. But his brother's conversion and piety as well as personality moved him so much that he wished to be forthwith initiated into Vaiṣṇavism. This was not to happen for quite a long period. Meanwhile Govinda was married and had a son, Divya-siṃha (= 'the divine lion,' the vehicle of Devī). Govindadāsa fell ill and suffered for a long time, and his sickness was not to be cured. When he despaired of his life he wrote to his brother who then happened to be with Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, to make haste and fulfil his last desire so that he at least might die a Vaiṣṇava. The Ācārya, on his way to Khetari, visited Govindadāsa at Kumāra-nagara, and initiated him to Vaiṣṇavism. Strange to say, after his initiation Govindadāsa recovered from his sickness. Govinda's wife Mahāmāyā, and his son Divya-siṃha also became disciples of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya. Govinda's conversion happened sometime before 1582 A.C.

Govindadāsa had already made a name as a poet. So the Ācārya requested him to narrate the legend of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in his poems. Govindadāsa had a mind to describe the life and incidents of Caitanya-deva, but his *guru* asked him not to do so, fearing that the poems of his predecessors on the subject might be superseded thereby.

The fame of Govindadāsa's poems soon crossed the borders of Bengal and reached Vṛndāvana. The scholars and saintly men there, with Jīva-Gosvāmin at their head, were immensely pleased with his poems, and as a mark of high appreciation they gave him the title of 'Kavirāja,' or 'Kavindra' (the master poet).

Govindadāsa was present at the festival at Khetari. He died probably in 1613 A.C.

[The materials for this history of Govindadāsa have been discussed in a monograph on Govindadāsa Kavirāja by myself (Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā, B.E. 1336, No. 2, pp. 69-124). There authentic accounts

of Govindadāsa's life-history as well as the history of his literary activity have been given. It has also been conclusively shown therein that Govindadāsa Kavirāja was not a Maithil poet as a prominent Bengali writer believed, confusing him with a problematic Govinda-Ojhā of Mithilā as a sort of understudy of Vidyāpati in Bengali literature.]

In the *Pada-kalpa-taru* the Brajabuli poems by Govindadāsa number about four hundred and twenty-five; a few more are found in the *Padāmṛta-samudra* of Rādhāmohana-Thākura. Besides these, there are several poems by Govindadāsa in PKT. which have, for reasons of artistic expression (as otherwise the occurrence of the name of the poet would jar with the general sentiment or narration), been quoted without the colophon.¹ Among the poems containing the *bhaṇitā* of Govindadāsa there are at least twenty-one poems which contain a double *bhaṇitā*: thus, there are nine poems which contain the joint *bhaṇitā* of 'Vidyāpati' and 'Govindadāsa,'² three with the joint *bhaṇitā* of 'Govindadāsa' and 'Rāya Vasanta,'³ one with the joint *bhaṇitā* of 'Rāya Santoṣa' and 'Govinda-dāsa,'⁴ one with that of 'Narasimha, Rūpa-nārāyaṇa' and 'Govindadāsa,'⁵ one with that of 'Bhūpati Rūpa-nārāyaṇa' and 'Govindadāsa,'⁶ one with that of 'Govindadāsa' and 'Hari-nārāyaṇa,'⁷ and two with that of 'Rāya Campati' and 'Govindadāsa,'⁸ two with that of 'Śrī-vallabha' and 'Govindadāsa,'⁹ and one with that of 'Pratāpa-Ādita' and 'Govindadāsa' [KPS., p. 191].

With the exception of Vidyāpati all these persons were the poet's contemporaries and friends, and the poet had mentioned their names in his own lyrical compositions either to show his love or respect for them, or because he wrote that poem at their particular request.¹⁰ The reason for mentioning Vidyāpati is that the poet completed some poems by the former, which were then current in mutilated form¹¹ and also

¹ Cf. PKT. 428, 905, 1296, 1382, 1639.

² PKT. 93, 261, 400, 1296, 1640, 1671, 1802; *Padāmṛta-samudra* (Second Edition, Berhampore, pp. 97, 109 [= Kirttanānanda, pp. 118f., 191].

³ PKT. 1050 1720, 2422 ['Rāya-Santoṣa' and 'Govindadāsa' in *Kirttanānanda*, p. 45].

⁴ PKT. 2415.

⁵ PKT. 2416.

⁶ PKT. 2420.

⁷ PKT. 2407 [= *Bhakti-ratnākara*, p. 32].

⁸ PKT. 531, 538 [v.l. 'Prāta-ādita' and 'Govindadāsa'].

⁹ PKT. 225, 234 [= *Kirttanānanda*, pp. 226f. 246].

¹⁰ *Vide* VSPP., Vol. 36, p. 72 ff., 80 ff.

¹¹ *Vide* VSPP., Vol. 36, p. 78.

to give retorts to some expressions of Vidyāpati. It is also possible that in some of these poems he had referred to his contemporary the younger Vidyāpati [see *infra*].

There was another Govindadāsa, Govindadāsa-Cakravartī, who was our poet's contemporary and who was also a disciple of Śrinivāsa-Ācārya. Of this poet I shall speak later on. Though there is no doubt that the poems by these two poets bearing the identical name have been mixed up to a great extent, we can with a little care and trouble easily find out the best of them which undoubtedly belong to Govindadāsa Kavirāja, the master poet. Moreover Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura in his Sanskrit commentary on his anthology *Padāmṛta-samudra* has mentioned the proper author of a few of the poems with the *bhaṇitā* of 'Govindadāsa'.¹ None of the poems which Rādhāmohana ascribes to the Kavirāja are written in Bengali, from which it might be concluded that the poet did not write any poem in Bengali. But this conclusion seems, on the very face of it, absurd that a great Bengali poet should not write in Bengali. Moreover there are in Bengali some very fine verses, though possibly not as fine as the best Brajabuli ones that bear the name of Govindadāsa in the *bhaṇitā*. But as we have no means to judge which belongs to whom, it is best that we should discuss them under a separate joint heading.

Govindadāsa compiled an anthology of his own poems, which was known to Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura [*Padāmṛta-samudra*, pp. 17 f.]. It is at present too much to say whether it was named 'Gītāmṛta,' or anything else.

Of all the Brajabuli poets Govindadāsa Kavirāja was the best trained in Sanskrit literature and scholarship. His maternal grandfather was a great Sanskritist, and from him Govindadāsa and his elder brother Rāmachandra inherited their poetic inspiration as well as scholarly temperament. Very possibly the two brothers were his pupils. As a poet with a sound classical training would do, Govindadāsa drew largely upon classical lyric poetry (including 'Udbhaṭa' poems) for treatment in the vernacular. All the simple and complex figures of speech and other devices known in Sanskrit Rhetorics were utilised by our poet. But the greatest achievement of Govindadāsa Kavirāja is metrical perfection added to musical assonance and rhythmic movement. For this the poet had to take recourse to *anuprās*, which never

¹ Vide *Padāmṛta-samudra*, pp. 17, 21, 27, 30, 34, etc.

The poet modelled his songs after those of Vidyāpati to whom he is often indebted for thought and for language as well. He is also supposed to have completed a few of the mutilated poems of that great Maithil poet. Govindadāsa Kavirāja had perfect command over metres of which he had used a great variety. The popularity and success of his poems were immediate and immense. Even now in 'Rasa-Kīrtana' his songs greatly predominate over the songs of all the other poets combined. Moreover Govindadāsa had written poems from all the psychological aspects and on all the different topics of the love story of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in illustration of the analysis by Rūpa-Gosvāmin in his *Ujvala-nīlamani*.

With this brief preface on literary criticism of Govindadāsa Kavirāja's poetry, I now proceed to give a connected sketch of his Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa lyrics in barest outlines. The quotations will suffice to reveal all the merits and demerits of this great poet of Bengal.

The poet describes Kṛṣṇa's transcendental beauty in this manner :

arunīta-carāṇe raṇīta mañi-mañjira
śidha śidha pada calani rasāla ।
kāñcana-vañcana vāsana manorama
ali-kula-milita lalita-vanamāla ॥ *
bhāle bani śota madana-mohaniyā ।
an̄ga-hi an̄ga anan̄ga-taran̄gima
raṇigima-bhan̄gima nayanā-nācaniyā ॥

• The moon-like Son of Nanda has, in his person, a fragrance that surpasses the perfume of sandal. He is as beautiful as (dark) cloud ; his neck is shapely like a conch ; and (his graceful gait) defies the undulation of the sea. He has made the *Gopas* mad in his affection : he is the lover of the girls of the high families at Gokula. He (loves) to dwell in a fine garden house in a fair pleasaunce of flowers and *vañjula* plants. His round cheeks are decked with earrings : on his crest the wind plays through a peacock's feather. He is a master in the time-beat of the dance of amorous sports, and his arms surpass the staff (in roundness and strength). His eyes are like lotuses ; (his sight) drives off sin ; and his speech soothes the ears. Govindadāsa has his home in the lotus of his soft and pure feet. •

śarada-sudhākara- maṇḍala-maṇḍana-
khaṇḍana vadana-vikāśa |
adhare milāyata śyāma-manohara-
cīta-corāyāni hāsa ||
ājū nava śyāma-vinodini rāī |
tanu-tanu-atanu- yūtha-śata-sevita-
lābaṇi barāṇi nā yāī ||
kavarī-bakula-phule ākula-ali-kula
madhu pibi pibi utarola |
sakala-alakṛti- kaṅkaṇa-jhaṅkṛti
kiṅkiṇī raṇa-raṇi bola ||
pada-paṅkaja para maṇimaya-nūpura
raṇa-jhaṇa khañjana-bhāsa |
madana-mukura janu nakha-maṇi-darapaṇa
nīhani govindadāsa || [PKT. 2463.]

1 'kiśalaya' should be read as 'kiśala.'

« The pervading loveliness of her face defeats the beauty of the orb of the autumn moon. Round her lips there is the suspicion of a smile that charms the mind and steals the heart of *Syāma*. *Rāī* (= *Rādhikā*) to-day looks fresh and lovely and charms *Syāma*: her beauty, which is wooed by hundreds of crowds of lovely gods of love, cannot be described. In the *bakula* flowers on her coiffure intoxicated bees are mad with drinking honey again and again. All her ornaments, bracelets and all, are tinkling; her girdle sets up a jingle. On her lotus feet there are jewel anklets which sound like the notes of the *khañjana*. Her (toe-) nails, that are but polished rubies, are indeed the mirrors of love: *Govindadāsa* (would gladly be) a sacrifice (to avert all evil). »

Rādhā has seen *Kṛṣṇa*, and she has fallen deeply in love with him, so that everything that reminds her of *Kṛṣṇa* has become very dear to her. So the poet describes her in this mood in the following poem :—

| | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| locane śyāmara | vacana-hi śyāmara |
| śyāmara cāru-nicola | |
| śyāmara hāra | hr̥ḍaye maṇi śyāmara |
| śyāmara-sakhi karu kora | |
| mādhava, ithe yadi bolabi āna | |
| acapala-kulavati- | mati umatāyali |
| kiye tuhū mohini jāna | |
| marama-hi śyāmara | parijana pāmara |
| jhāmara mukha-aravinda | |
| jhara-jhara lora-hi | lolita-kājara |
| vigalita locana-ninda | |
| manamatha sāgara | rajavi ujāgara |
| nāgara tuhū kiye bhora | |
| govindadāsa | kata-hū āśoyāsaba |
| milaba-hu nanda-kīśora | [PKT. 40.] * |

« Her eyes are (painted) black with collyrium; *Syāma* (only is) her talk; her fine garment is of dark colour. A wreath of dark (flowers) with a pendant of dark emerald hangs on her breast; she embraces her dark-complexioned friends. *Mādhava*, do not please talk in another strain in this matter. You have moved the strong heart of a lady of good family;—what magic do you know! *Syāma* is in her heart

of hearts; her people are all cruel (to her); her face is now like a withering lotus. Her streaming tears are wiping out the collyrium paint: sleep has departed from her eyes. Love is now a wide, wide sea (to her: the night she passes keeping awake. O you gallant one, have you forgotten (her)? How long would Govindadāsa assure (her) that the Son of Nanda is sure to meet her? »

Rādhā was at last compelled to confess her love to one of her closest friends. She had seen Kṛṣṇa thus :

ḍhala-ḍhala sajala- jalada-tanu śohana
mohana-abharāṇa-sāja |
aruṇa-nayana gati bijuri-camaka jiti
dagadhala kulavati-lāja ||
sajani, yāite pekhalū kūna |
taba dhari jaga bhari bharala kusuma-sara
nayane nā heriye āna ||
majhu mukha daraśi bihasi tanu moṛai
vigalita mohana-vap̄sa |
nā jāniye kona manorathe ākula
kiślaya- vale karu darp̄sa ||
ataye se majhu mana jvalata-hi anukhana
dolata capala-parāṇa |
govindadāsa micchāi āśoṣsala
aba-hū nā mlala kūna || [PKT. 73.]

« He had dressed up his person, lovely like a cloud laden with water, with brilliant decorations. His eyes were flushed red, and his movement was as the flash of lightning: it has burnt (to ashes) the decorum of a girl of a good family. My friend, I have seen Kṛṣṇa going on his way. From that moment the world has been full of flowery darts of Love, and I see nothing else. He looked at my face, and then he smiled and bent his body: (at this his charming flute fell down. Troubled with what desire I do not know, he was biting young twigs. Hence my heart is perpetually on fire: and my fleeting life is, as it were, on a swing. Govindadāsa has given (me) vain consolations: Kṛṣṇa does not come to me yet. »

Kṛṣṇa too has seen Rādhā and fallen in love with her. No meeting of the two lovers has yet been arranged, and Kṛṣṇa is extremely

dhari sakhi-ācare bhai upacāṅka |
 baiṭhe nā baiṭhaye hari-pariyaṅka ||
 calaṭe āli calaī puna cāha |
 rasa-abhilāṣe āgorala nāha ||
 lubudhala mādḥava mugadhinī nārī |
 ō ati-bidagadha e ati-goṇūrī ||
 paraśite tarāśi kara-hi kara ṭhelaī |
 heraṭe bayana nayana-jala khalaī ||

haṭṭha-parirambhane thara-hari kṣāpa |
 cumbane vadana paṭāñcale jhāpa ||
 śūtalī bhīta putalī-sama gorī |
 cīta-nalīnī alī rahaī āgorī ||
 govindadāsa kabaī pariñāma |
 rūpa-ke kūpe magana bhela kāma || [PKT. 100.]

« Catching at the hem of her friend's *sari*, and being extremely nervous she sort of sat on (the edge of) Hari's bedstead. When her friend was about to depart, she too wanted to go away ; but the lover, desirous of pleasures, barred her way out. Madhava was full of desire, and the girl was all devotion : the former was a cunning fellow, and the latter was all simplicity. (When Kṛṣṇa was about) to touch her she pushed his hands away with her own : (when Kṛṣṇa) looked at her face, tears welled up in her eyes. In his hard (*i.e.* forcible) embraces she trembled violently : at his kisses she covered her face up with the hem of her skirt. The lovely girl, terrified, then laid herself down (on the bed) like a doll : (and Kṛṣṇa looked like) a bee hovering about a painted lotus. Govindadāsa says that the result was that the lust of flesh (of Kṛṣṇa) was drowned in that well of (Rādhā's simple) beauty. »

Rādhā is waiting for Kṛṣṇa impatiently. Her friend comes to Kṛṣṇa and urges him to come to her at once, otherwise she might do something drastic.

mūdḥava, manamatha phirata aherā |
 ekalī nikuñje dhanī phula-śare jara-jara
 pantha nehārata terā ||
 ūjara śaśadhara dīpa pajārāla
 alī-kula ghāghara-rola |
 hanaīte harīnī- nayanī darasāyāī
 ō-hi ō-hi piku bola ||
 tuḥū ati-maūthara gamana durantara
 madhu-yāminī ati-choṭī |
 so ghara-bāhira karata nirantara
 • nimikha mānaye yuga-koṭī ||
 āśā-pāśa lei gale baīṭhali
 prema-kalapa-taru-mūla |
 kīye amiyā kiye dharaba garala-phala
 govindadāsa kaba phūra || [PKT. 318.]

« O Mādhava, the god of love is moving about unseen. 'That precious girl, hard hit with his flowery darts, is (waiting) all alone; looking along your way. The bright moon is the flaming torch; the hum of bees is the toll of bells; and the cry of the cuckoo—'Ohi, ohi'—points out that girl with the eyes of a doe to be victimized. You are very slow; the walk is a very long one; and the springtime night is very short. She is constantly going out and coming in (in your expectation), and a trice appears to her as millions of aeons. With the noose of hope round her neck she is seated under the wishing-tree of love: whether it would bear nectarian or poisonous fruit—tell it frankly to Govindadāsa (or Govindadāsa says frankly that it may bear either nectarian or poisonous fruit). »

On a very cold wintry night Rādhā is secretly out for the trysting place. The poet thus describes her.

paukhali rajanī pavana bahe manda |
 cau-diṣe hima himakara karu bandha ||
 mandire rahata saba-hū tanu kāpa |
 jaga-jana śayane nayana rahu jhāpa ||
 ō sakhi heri camaka mohe lāī |
 aīche samaye abhisārāla rāī ||
 parihari taichana sukhāmaya-śeja |
 uca-kuca-kañcuka bharama-hi teja ||
 dhavalima eka vasane tanu gōī |
 calali-ha kuñje lakhaī nāhi kōī ||
 kamala-carapa tuhine nāhi dalaī |
 kaṇṭaka-bāṭe kati-hū nābi ṭalaī ||
 govindadāsa kaha ithe ki sandeha |
 kiye bighini yāhā nūtana-neha || [PKT. 326.]

« It is a night in the month of Pauṣa* (December-January): wind is blowing briskly; and frost on all sides has shut the moon out. Though staying behind doors all people are suffering (from bitter cold); and all the people of the world have ensconced themselves snugly in their beds even up to the eyes. My friend, it stupefies me (to find) that at such a time Rādhā is out to meet her lover! It is really strange that her feet do not even press the snow down, and that they do not slip anywhere

* Literally 'over there, over there!'

along her thorny path. Govindadāsa says : ' What is strange here ? What can be an obstacle to the first love ? ' »

Rādhā waits and waits, but Kṛṣṇa does not come. At his delay a mutual friend of theirs comes to him and thus speaks to him.

hima-ṛtu-yāmini yāmuna-tīra |
tarala-latā-kula-kuñja-kuṭīra ||
tañi tanu thira nahe tuhina-samīra |
kañche bañcaba śuna śyāma-śarīra ||
dhani tuhū mād̐hava dhani tuā nēha |
dhani dhani so dhanī parihara gēha ||
kulavati-gaurava kaṭhina-kapāṭa |
guru-jana-nayana sakaṇṭaka-bāṭa ||
ko jāne eta-hū bighini abagāi |
aichana samaye milaba tohe rāi ||
ithe yo pūraba duhū-manakāma |
tākara caraṇe hāmāri paraṇāma ||
govindadāsa taba-hū dhari jūga |
tuhū jani tejaha nava-anurāga || [PKT. 337.]

« ' It is a wintry night : the woodland pavilion, where creepers are all stirring (in the breeze), stands on the bank of the Yamunā. There is a sharp breeze (blowing), which is unbearable. Now listen to me, you dark-complexioned one : how can she stay on (there) ? Bravo, you Mād̐hava ! Bravo, your love ! And three cheers for that girl who has left home (on such a night). The good name as a chaste lady is the stiffest door ; and the way out is thorny with the (watchful) eyes of (her) superiors. Who could have guessed that she would brave so much danger only to meet you ? For these reasons, my obeisance to the feet of him who shall fulfil the desire of you both (i.e. to the feet of the god of love). ' Govindadāsa is awake and waiting (for your service) ever since ; please do not neglect her first (advances of) love. »

In a quarrel of love there has occurred a temporary estrangement between the couple. Rādhā repents bestowing her love on such a fickle lover as Kṛṣṇa. So she thus speaks to her confidante.

kulavati koī nayane jani herai
herata puna jani kāna |
tanu heri jani prema bāṛhāyai
prema karai jani māna |

[illegible]

yo tuhū hṛdaye prema-taru ropali
 śyāma-jalada-rasa-āśe |
 so aba nayana- nira deī sicaha
 kahata-hi govindadāse || [PKT. 435.]

« (When you were eager) to listen to the melodies of Kṛṣṇa's flute I had closed your ears : (when you were longing) to gaze at his beauty I had shut your ears. But you were then quite unreasonably angry with me. My dear, I had told you at that time that it was a great misfortune that you allowed your love for him to grow on and that you would have to pass your whole life in tears. Without first testing his sincerity why did you offer him your person, solely with the thirst for a man's beauty ? You are now losing your beauty and your grace ; and your life is now in jeopardy. In expectation of rain water from the dark cloud, you have planted the tree of love in your heart, and now you must go on sprinkling it with your tears. So says Govindadāsa. »

With the above poem compare the following verse from the Century of Amaru [Amaru-śataka] :

anālocyā premṇaḥ pariṇatim anūdṛtya suhṛdas
 tvayāṅkāṇḍe mānaḥ kim iti sarale preyaśi kṛtaḥ |
 samāśliṣṭā hy ete viraha-dahanodbhāsura-śikhāḥ
 svahastenāṅgūrās tad alam adhunāraṇya-ruditaiḥ || [80]

« Not considering the sequel of (such) love and not taking your friends into confidence, why have you, my simple girl, adopted uselessly this attitude of sulk towards your beloved ? You have, with your own hand, embraced these charcoals giving up dazzling flames of painful separation. What is now the good of this crying in the wilderness ? »

Kṛṣṇa comes to Rāthā and supplicates her in the following manner :

madana kirāta- kusuma-śara dāruṇa
 vṛndāvana-vana-mājha |
 teñi ākula hari tohāri śaraṇa kari
 • parihari pauraṣa-lāja ||
 sundari, tuā diṭhi athira-sandhāna |
 manamatha nārīte joṛi nayana-śara
 hānala hāmāri parāṇa ||

pretty girl, how can you think of going out on love's errand (on such a night)? Hari is staying on the other side of the Mānasa-Gaṅgā. There are the repeated claps of thunder, which blast the very interior of the ears. The flash of lightning illuminates the quarters: on looking at it the very pupil of the eye is blinded. If now, my pretty girl, you leave home, then you really (intend to) lay down your life for the sake of love.' Govindadāsa says, 'What scruple can there be? Can any amount of efforts bring back a projected dart?'

To this Rādhā replies in this manner.

kula-mariyāda- kapāṭa udaghāṭalū
tāhe ki kāṭha-ki bāṭhā |
nija-mariyāda- sindhu-saṇe paṭāralū
tāhe ki taṭinī āgadhā ||
sahacari, majhu parikhana kara dūra |
yaiche hṛdaya kari pantha herata hari
sowāri sowāri mana jhūra ||
koṭi kusuma-śara barikhaye yachu para
tāhe ki jalada-jala lāgi |
prema-dahana-daha yāka hṛdaya saba
tāhe ki bajara-ka āgi ||
yachu pada-tale nija- jivana sōpalū
tāhe ki tanu-anurodha |
govindadāsa kahaī dhani abhisara
sahacari pāola bodha || [PKT. 988.]

'I have forced open the doors of my family reputation: can then a wooden door be much of an obstacle? I have crossed over the sea of my own (good) reputation: can then a rivulet be impassable? My friend, do away scrutinizing me. My heart weeps when it remembers with how much yearning Hari is looking along my way. Can the water of clouds touch her on whom millions of love's arrows are raining down? Can blasts of lightning be of any account to her whose heart endures the burnings of flaming love? Can the appeal of the body stand against him at whose feet I have offered my own life?' Govindadāsa says: 'My sweet girl, say no more: (your) companion has come to her senses.'

With the above two poems compare the following verse from the *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati* [3619].

‘chidrānveṣaṇa-tatparaḥ priya-sakhi prāyeṇa loko’dhunā
rātriś cāpi ghaṇāndhakāra-bahulā gantum na te yujyate |’
‘mā maivam sakhi vallabhaḥ priyatamas tasyotsūkā darśane
yuktāyukta-vicāraṇā yadi bhavet snehāya dattam jalam ||’

‘The people now-a-days generally have the propensity of peeping into others’ secrets. The night too is exceedingly dark. So it is not proper that you should go out.’ ‘Nay, not so, my friend. My lover is dearest unto me, and I am longing to meet him. If there now comes in any consideration of propriety then all is finished with love.’

It is a beautiful autumn night. There is a bright full moon, and all the aspects of nature are full of charm and intoxication. Kṛṣṇa intends to hold a *Rāsa* dance on this very night. He plays a ravishing tune on his flute, and all the girls of the Vraja give up their activities at home and rush to the spot. This superb scene has received adequate treatment from Govindadāsa in the following charming poem.

śarada-canda pavana manda
vipine bharala kusuma-gandha
phulla mallikā mālātī yūthī
matta-madhukara-bhoraṇī |

herata rātri aīchana bhāti
śyāma mohana madane māti
muralī-gāna pañcama-tāna
kulavatī cita-coraṇī ||

śunata gopī prema rōpi
mana-hi mana-hi śpana sōpi
tāhi calata yāhi bolata
muralī-ka kala-lolani |

bisari geḥa nija-hū dēha
eka-nayane kājara-rēha
bāhe rañjita kaṇkaṇa eku
eku-kunḍala-dolani ||

śīthila-chanda nīvi-ka bandha
 bege dhāwata yuvati-vṛnda
 khaṣata vasana raśana colī
 galita-veṇi-lolani |
 tata-hi belī sakhiṇī melī
 kehu kāhu-ka patha nā herī
 āiche milala gokula-canda
 govindadāsa-gāni || [PKT. 1255.]

* (It is) an autumnal moon ; a soft wind (is blowing) ; the woodland is saturated with the perfume of flowers ; *mallikā*, *mālatī* and *yūlhi* flowers (are) in bloom, (and they are) deceiving the bees. On seeing such beauty of the night Syāma, intoxicated with the charm of love, (begins) to play the fifth note (*pañcama tāna*) that steals the hearts of chaste girls. The *Gopīs* hear it and they are filled with love. Mentally they offer themselves (to Kṛṣṇa) and run to the place from where issues the passionate music of the flute. They forget their home : they forget their body. (Some have) painted with collyrium only single eyes ; some girls' single arms only are decked with bracelets ; and some have only single earrings dangling. The knots of their girdles have become loosened. The maidens are rushing on with speed ; their clothes and girdles are slipping away (from their person), and their top-knots, becoming loose, dangle at their back. Then the friends meet, but they cannot take any notice of each other on the way. In this manner they came to the Moon of Gokula (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa). So sings Govindadāsa. *

For this poem the poet has borrowed much from the first chapter in the Rāsa episode of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* [x. 29. 1-8]. The scene, when the girls were rushing on in haste paying no attention to their persons, reminds us of the scene in the *Raghu-vaṃśa* and in the *Kumāra-sambhava* where the ladies of the town rush to the windows of their houses when Aja (or Śiva) is leading his marriage procession.

When the girls are rushing forward, Kṛṣṇa appears to them like a dark cloud. This imagery is very skilfully and poetically developed by the poet in the following poem :

surapati-dhanu ki śikhaṇḍa-ka cūre |
 mālatī-jhuri ki balākinī ūre ||

bhāla ki jhāpala vidhu-ādha-khaṇḍa |
 karivara-kara kiye ō bhuja-daṇḍa ||
 ō kiye śyāma naṭa-rāja |
 jalada-kalapa-taru taruṇī-samāja ||
 kara-kisālaya kiye aruṇa-vikāśa |
 muralī-khurali kiye cātaka-bhāṣa ||
 hāsa ki jharaye amiyā makaranda |
 hāra ki tāraka-dyoti-ka chanda ||
 pada-tala ki thalakamala-ghana-rāga |
 tāhe kala-hamṣa ki nūpura jāga ||
 govin ladāsa kahaye matimanta |
 bhūlala yāhe dvija rāya vasanta || [PKT. 1050.]

« Is it the rainbow, or is it the peacock's feather on his crest ?
 Is it a wreath of *mālātī* flowers, or is it a chain of cranes in flight ?
 Is it his forehead, or is it a crescent of the moon under obstruction
 (of a cloud) ? Is that the trunk of a young elephant, or is that
 his shapely arm ? Is it *Syāma*, the king of dancers ? Or is it a cloud
 that fulfils the desire of the bevy of young women ? Are those (his)
 tender hands, or are they blooming lotuses ? Is it the melody of his
 flute, or is it the notes of a *cātaka* ?¹ Is it his smile, or is it honeyed
 nectar afflowing ? Is it his necklace, or is it the dazzle of starlight ?
 Is it his lotus feet, or is it the deep tint of *sthala-padma* flowers ?
 Is it (a pair of) warbling ducks, or is it (a pair of) tinkling anklets ?
 Govindadāsa says that the wise Brahmin Rāya Vasanta is infatuated
 with them (i.e. Kṛṣṇa's feet). »

Kṛṣṇa will soon be leaving Vṛndāvana for Mathurā. Rādhā's
 friend knows of it, but she does not impart the news to her as it
 would cause her unnecessary heart-burning. But Rādhā perceives it
 in her heart of hearts. So she thus speaks to her friend :

jhāpala utāpata-lore nayāna |
 kañche karata hiyā kahāi nā jāna ||
 tuḥṭi puna ki karabi gupata-hī rākhi |
 tanu mana duḥṭi mujhe deyata sākhi ||
 taba kāhe gopasi ki kahaba toy |
 bajara-ka vāraṇa kara-tale hoy ||

¹ A bird that is mythically reputed to drink only raindrops, and no ordinary water.
 It is always associated with the rain cloud.

jānalū re sakhi mauna-ka ora |
 piyā paradeśa calaba mohe choṛa ||
 gamana-ka samaye virodha jani koī |
 piyā-ka amaṅgala yaiche nā hoī ||
 samaya-samāpana kī phala āra |
 prema-ka samucita aba-hū nivāra ||
 govindadāsa ataye anumāna |
 piyā paradeśī kāhe raha prāṇa || [PKT. 1601.]

‘My eyes are blinded with hot tears : I cannot describe how my heart feels. What can you do by keeping it away from me ? My body and my mind are giving (me) forewarning. Why do you then conceal it (from me) ? What more can I say to you ? Can a thunderbolt be stopped with one’s hands ? I have understood, my friend, the purport of your silence : my darling will leave me and go away to a foreign land. Do not try to keep him back at the time of his departure, so that nothing inauspicious may occur to him. What is the good of further postponement ? Self-control is now the only proper thing for love (to do).’ Govindadāsa therefore surmises that life has no reason to stay on when the Beloved is about to go away. »

Kṛṣṇa has just left Vṛndāvana for good. Everything is empty, and it appears meaningless to Rādhā. So she laments to her friend in this manner :

śunala-hū māthura calaba murāri |
 calata-hī pekhalū nayana pasāri ||
 pālaṭi neharite hūma raha hēri |
 śūna-hī mandire āyalū phēri ||
 dekha sakhi nīlaja-jīvana moī |
 pīrti jānāyata aba ghana roī ||
 so kusumita-vana kuñja-kuṭīra |
 so yamunā-jala malaya-samīra ||
 so himakara heri lāgaye cañka |
 kānu bine jīvana kevala kalañka ||
 eta-dine būjhala vacana-ka anta |
 capala prema thira jīvana duranta ||
 tāhe ati durajana-āśa-ki pāśa |
 samvādi nā āota govindadāsa || [PKT. 1637.]

• (First) I heard that Murāri would be going to Mathurā : (then) he was actually going away and I looked on with my eyes. When I blinked again, I was looking on (but he was already out of sight), and I returned to my vacant home. Look here, my friend, my shameless life is now making a show of love by weeping bitterly. The same woodlands in blossoms, the same garden house, the same waters of the Yamunā and the same southern breeze, the same moon—when I look at all these it gives me pain (at my heart). Without Kṛṣṇa my life is (a series of) sheer sins. After all these days I have understood the significance of the dictum that love is fickle while life is hard and stable. Worse still is the fetter of hope from a hard, heartless person. (Why.) Govindadāsa does not yet return with a message. »

For the central idea of the above remarkable poem the poet is probably indebted to the following Sanskrit verse :

yūsyāmti samudyatasya vacanam viśrabdham ākarnitam
gacchan dūram upekṣito muhur asau vyāvṛtya paśyann api |
taś chūnye punar āgatāsmi bhavane prāpās ta eva sthitāḥ
sakhyah paśyata jīvita-praṇayinī dambhād ahaṃ rodimi ||

[Padyāvalī 323.]¹

• ‘I am going away’,—I had heard calmly these words of his when he was about to depart. While going away on a long journey he turned back again and again to look (at me), yet I remained unconcerned. Then I have come back home once again, and my vital forces are (as stable) as before. Friends, look here, life is really very dear to me, and I weep only as a mere show. »

There is not even the slightest hope of seeing Kṛṣṇa again at Vṛndāvana. Rādhā's love-sickness has therefore come to a very acute stage. In a climax of distress she desires that she may die so that the constituent elements of her body may yet give some pleasure to her Beloved. This poem is one of the finest lyrics in the whole range of Bengali literature.

•yāhā pahū aruṇa-carane cali yāta |
tāhā tāhā dharaṇī haīye majhu gāta ||

¹ This poem has been ascribed to a poet named Rudra.

yo sarovare pahū niti niti nāha |
 hāma bhari salila hoī tathi-māha ||
 e sakhi viraha maraṇa niradvandva |
 aīche milai yaba gokula-canda ||
 yo darapaṇe pahū nija-mukha cāha |
 majhu aṅga-joti hoī tathi-māha ||
 yo vijane pahū bijai gāta ||
 majhu aṅga tāhe hoī mṛdu-vāta ||
 yāhā pahū bharamai jaladhara-śyāma |
 majhu aṅga gagana hoī tachu ṭhāma ||
 govindadāsa kaha kāñcana-gori |
 so marakata-tanu tohe kiye choṛi || [PKT. 1958.]

'Wherever my master steps on with his rosy feet may my body become the earth therein. May the tank where my master takes his daily bath be filled with the water of my body. My friend, in separation death is preferable, if thereby the Moon of Gokula (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) be attained. May the brightness in my body be in the mirror wherein my master looks at his face. May the air (in my body) be in the fan with which my master fans himself. May (the ether in) my body fill up the space near about my master wherever he may happen to be.'¹ Govindadāsa says : 'O my girl with the complexion of gold ! can he who has the complexion of emerald ever remain away from you ?'

The poet is indebted for the above poem to the following Sanskrit verse :

pañcatvaṇi tanur etu bhūta-nivahāḥ svāṃsān viśantu sphuṭam
 dhātas tvāṃ śirasā praṇamya kuru mām ity adya yāce punaḥ |
 tad-vāpīṣu payas tadiya-makure jyotis tadīyālaya-
 vyomni vyoma tadiya-vartmani dharā tat-tālavṛnte 'nilaḥ ||

[Subhāṣitāvalī 355 ; Padyāvalī 340.]

'May (my) body be dissolved into the five elements, and may these, by all means, enter into their respective constituents. O Creator ! I bow my head to Thee now and pray that Thou reduce me into the following—water in his (*i.e.* my beloved's) tanks, brightness in his

¹ The human body is believed to consist of the five elements—earth (*kṛtī*), water (*api*, *śre* (*tejas*), air (*marut*), and ether (*vyoman*).

mirror, ether in the space about his house, earth on his path, and air at his palm-leaf fan. »

There are about thirty poems by Govindadāsa Kavirāja in PKT., which are on Caitanya-deva. These are all well-written poems, and they fully sustain the poet's reputation. These are all written in the *vandanā* or *prārthanā* style. The following poems are quoted as specimens :—

| | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| campaka-sona- | kusuma kanakācala |
| jitala gaura-tanu-lābani re | |
| unnata-gīma | sīma nāhi anubhava |
| jaga-mana-mohana bhāwāni re | |
| jaya śaci-nandana re | |
| tribhuvana-maṇḍana | kali-yuga-kāla- |
| bhujaga-bhaya-khaṇḍana re | |
| vipula-pulaka-kula- | ākula-kalevara |
| gara-gara antara prema-bhare | |
| lahu-lahu hāsaṇi | gada-gada bhāṣaṇi |
| kata mandākinī nayane jhare | |
| nija-rase nācata | nayana ḍhulāyata |
| gāyata kata kata bhakata-hi meli | |
| yo-rase bhāsi | avaśa mahi-maṇḍala |
| govindadāsa taḥi paraśa nā bheli | [PKT. 3.] |

« The loveliness of Gaura's complexion defeats the tint of *campaka* and *śoṇa* flowers as well as that of a hill of gold. His neck is upright : there is no end to his ecstatic feelings ; and his movements delight the heart of the world. All glory to the son of Śaci, who is the ornament of the three worlds, and who destroys the dread of the deadly viper, the *Kali* age ! His body is trembling in ecstatic joy, and his heart is intoxicated with (divine) love. His smiles are soft and frequent : his speech is emotional ; and so many rivers are flowing down his eyes. He is dancing in self-ecstasy, and his eyes are rolling : he is singing in company of his ever so many devotees. But Govindadāsa has no experience of the joy which rendered the whole world entranced. »

• dekhata bekata gaura-candra
berhala bhakata-nakhata-vṛnda
akhila-bhuvana-ujora-kāri
kunda-kanaka-kātiyā |

agatī-patita-kumuda-bandhu
 heri uchala rasa-ka sindhu
 bṛdaya-kubara-timira-hāri
 udita dina-hī rātiyā ||

sahaje sundara madhura deha
 ānande ānande nā bādhe theha
 ḍhuli ḍhuli ḍhuli calata khalata
 matta-karivara-bhātiyā |

naṭana-ghaṭana bhai gela bhora
 mukunda mādharma govinda bola
 royata hasata dharaḥ! khasata
 śohata pulaka-pātiyā ||

asīma-mahimā ko kahū ora
 nija para dhari karaī kora
 prema-amiyā harakhi barakhi
 tarakhita-mahī mātiyā |

yo-rase uttama adhama bhūsa
 vaficita ekali govindadāsa
 ko jāne ki khane kona gaṛhala
 kāṭha-kāṭhina-chātiyā || [PKT. 1063.]

« Gaura the moon looks resplendent : he is surrounded with stars (in the form of) his devotees. He brightens the entire world, and his complexion is like that of *kunda* flower and gold. He is the friend of lilies (in the form of) the destitute and the outcast. On seeing (them) the sea of love surges up. He dispels the darkness within the heart's cave. He is up day and night. His person is by nature graceful and lovely : it is tossed about by the waves of joyful emotions. With uncertain steps he walks on in the manner of an elephant in rut. He is quite engrossed in dancing : he mutters, 'Mukunda, Mādhava, Govinda.' He weeps, he laughs, and the earth quakes (with his heavy steps in dancing). Horrification of joy adorns his person. Who can tell his infinite goodness ? Without caring to ascertain whether one is his own (devotee) or an outsider he embraces every man. In gladness of his heart he showers down the manna of love, and the thirsty earth is mad with joy. Govindadāsa is the only one who is deprived of that blissfulness

in which both the good and the bad swim. Nobody knows who has created a hard-hearted fellow (as this Govindadāsa) and when. »

Govindadāsa owes his poetic inspiration to Vidyāpati mainly, and so it is quite in the fitness of things that he should write an ode to his predecessor. In fact he wrote two such poems, one of which is quoted below :

| | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| vidyāpati-pada | yugala-saroruha- |
| | niṣyandita-makarande |
| tachu majhu mānaśa | mātala madhukara |
| | pibaite karu anubandhe |
| | hari hari āra kiye maṅgala hoy |
| rasika-śiromaṇi- | nāgara-nāgarī- |
| | līlā sphuraba ki moy |
| janu bāwāna kare | dharaba sudhākara |
| | paṅgu caṛaba kiye śikhare |
| andha dhāī kiye | daśa-diśa khōjaba |
| | milaba kalpataru-nikare |
| so naha andha | karata anubandha-hī |
| | bhakata-nakhara-maṇi-indū |
| kiraṇa-ghaṭāya | udita bhela daśa-diśa |
| | hāma ki nā pāyaba vindu |
| soī vindu hāma | yaīkhane pāyaba |
| | taīkhane udita nayāna |
| govindadāsa | ataye abadhārāla |
| | bhakata-kṛpā balabāna [PKT. 12.] |

« The honey that oozes out from the two lotus-feet of Vidyāpati the intoxicated bee of my mind tries hard to drink of. O Hari ! what else can bring blessedness ? Will the sportive history of the two Lovers who are the crest-jewels of the *rasikas*, give inspiration to me ? (My aspiration is as ludicrous as if) a dwarf tries to catch hold of the moon with his hand, or a lame man shall climb up to a mountain-top, or a blind man shall look about on all sides and shall find out rows of wishing trees. But he is never a blind man who follows the moon that glows in the toe-nails of a devotee (of God) : that moon illumines the ten quarters. Shall I not get even an iota of its rays ? When I shall get it, that very moment (my) eye (of spiritual perception) will open. So Govindadāsa concludes that the grace of a devotee is mighty powerful. »

Classical poets like Bhāravi and Māgha had shown their command over Sanskrit by writing verses embodying extreme instances of *anuprāsa* and *yamaka*. Our poet too shows his technical skill in several poems where all the words or most of them begin with particular sounds or syllables. In the following poem the syllables *ka*, *na*, and *ga* predominate :—

kānane kāmīni koī nā yāy |
 kālindī-kūla-kalapataru-chāy ||
 kuñja-kuṭīra-māhā kādāī koī |
 kare śīra hānāī kuntala phoī ||
 ualīnī-nārī-gaṇa nāśala neha |
 navīna-nidāghe nā jībāī keha ||
 nabānī-nīnditā nava-nava bālā |
 nāśala viraha-hutāśana-jvālā ||
 galata gāta girata mahī-māha |
 gurutara-giriśa adhika bhela dāha ||
 gokule gopa-ramaṇī achu bhela |
 garala-garāsane govinda gela || [PKT. 1728.]

In this poem the poet describes the state of the girls at Vṛndāvana after Kṛṣṇa had departed.

« No girl comes to the woodland, not even to under the shade of the *Kalpa* tree on the bank of the Kālindī (Yamunā). Some are weeping in the garden house, striking their foreheads with their hands, and disheveling their *coiffures*. Love has almost killed the girls (tender like) the lotus: nobody will survive in this early summer. The young girls, who are as soft as butter, are all smarting with the pain of separation. Their limbs droop and they fall down on the ground: it is a scorching summer, and the heat is intense. Such are the *gopa* women at Gokula. Govinda(-dāsa) goes away to drink the poison. »

Govindadāsa had written a Sanskrit drama, entitled the *Sanigīta-mādhava*, at the request of Santoṣa-Rāya, the cousin of Narottama-Ṭhākura. This work, which, according to the *Bhakti-ratnākara* deal with the early love affairs of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, has unfortunately not yet been published. When published it is sure to be of great interest, being the work of a poet of consummate skill and great merit. Extracts from this drama have been cited in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* [pp. 17ff., 33f.].

The following Sanskrit lyric by Govindadāsa is cited in the *Pada-kalpa-taru* [379] as well as in the *Padāmṛta-samudra* [pp. 163 f.] :—

dhvaja-vajrāṅkuṣa-paṅkaja-kalitam |
 vraja-vanitā-kuca-kuṅkuma-lalitam ||
 vande giri-vara-dhara-pada-kamalam |
 kamalā-kara-kamalāñcitam amalam ||
 mañjula-maṇi-nūpura-ramaṇiyam |
 acapala-kula-ramaṇi-kamaṇiyam ||
 ati-lohitam ati-rohita-bhāsam |
 madhu-madhupikṛta-govindadāsam || [PKT. 379.]

« I worship the lotus-feet of the Lifter of the great hill (*i.e.* Govardhana)—the lotus-feet that are bedecked with (the signs of) banner, thunderbolt, *aṅkuṣa* (elephant-driving pin), and lotus,—the lotus-feet that are adorned with the saffron (dust) on the breasts of the damsels of the Vraja,—the lotus-feet that are spotless and are massaged by the hands of Kamalā (the goddess of fortune),—the lotus-feet that look charming with sweet-sounding bejewelled anklets,—the lotus-feet that awaken the desire of chaste and virtuous ladies,—the lotus-feet that are very red and that emit a very ruddy effulgence,—the lotus-feet that have made Govindadāsa a bee (drinking) the honey thereat. »

From the above study it is apparent that Govindadāsa was a great poet. Musical word-painting was his *forte*. Nevertheless in the depiction of the passions and disappointments of love and its intensity he has really very few equals. He has dealt more or less with every aspect of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, with the notable exception of the filial and friendly sentiments (*vātsalya* and *sakhya rasas*). When they are sung in right *Kīrtana* style the songs of Govindadāsa become extremely enjoyable. I now quote two lines from Govindadāsa's own writings to express my admiration for his poetry :

rasanā-rocana śravaṇa-vilāsa |
 racāi rucira-pada govindadāsa ||

« Sweet to the tongue and a treat to the ears, Govindadāsa composes his radiant songs. »

Govindadāsa-Cakravartī ('Govindadāsa') [c. 1583 A. C.]

Govindadāsa-Cakravartī, who also used the *bh.* of 'Govindadāsa' in his poems, was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya and a contemporary and co-disciple of Govindadāsa Kavirāja. Govindadāsa-Cakravartī was a very pious man, and his looks commanded respect of all. He was a good musician and a good poet. The sobriquet 'Bhāvaka-Cakravartī' was given him by his *guru* and others for his religious fervour. The name of Govinda's wife was Sucaritā, and he had three sons, Rājavallabha, Rādhāvinoda, and Kīśorīdāsa [Karpānanda (i)].

Govindadāsa-Cakravartī's poems are inextricably mixed up with those of the Kavirāja. Unless it is specifically mentioned by the anthologists—as has been done by the compiler of PKT. in respect of the six verses [1808—1814] of a long poem [1802—1813], and by the author of the *Rasa-kolpa-vallī* in respect of another [=PKT. 1704], and by the compiler of the *Padāmṛta-samudra* in respect of a few more—we are unable to attribute any poem, especially Brajabuli, to the authorship of Govindadāsa-Cakravartī. As regards those Brajabuli poems which are of outstanding merit there is no difficulty. They can very safely be assigned to the Kavirāja, as the latter was by far the superior poet. As regards the Bengali poems the difficulty practically ceases. There is nothing to prove that the Kavirāja had ever written any poem in Bengali. Those Bengali poems which bear the *bhānitās* 'Govindadāsiyā' and 'pāmari Govindadāsa' undoubtedly belong to Govindadāsa-Cakravartī. Rādhā-mohana-Thākura ascribes four such Bengali poems [=PKT. 133, 267, 277, 1956] to Govindadāsa-Cakravartī.

The following poem is given as a specimen of Govindadāsa-Cakravartī's Brajabuli composition :—

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| ulasita majhu hiyā | āji śoba piyā |
| daive kahala śubha-vāñī | |
| śubha-sūcaka yata | prati-añge bekata |
| atae nicaya kari māni | |
| sajanī, saba-hi bipada dūre gela | |
| sukha sampada bibi | āni milāyaba |
| aichana mati gati bhela | |
| maṅgala-kalasa para | dei nava-pallava |
| ropaha ṭhāma-hi ṭhāma | |
| graha-ganaka āni | karaha vibhūṣita |
| turite milaye janu āyāma | |



hārida dāṛima kējara darapaṇa
dadhi ghṛta ratana-pradīpe |
subarāṇa-bhājana lāja-hi bhari bhari
rākhaba-nayana-samipe ||
nava-nava raṅgiṇī deī bulāhuli
vasana-bhūṣaṇa karu śobhā |
prāṇa-prāṇa hari nija-ghare śoba
govindadāsa-mana lobhā || [PKT. 1704.]

Kṛṣṇa has left Vṛndāvana for good. Rādhā in her extreme distress dreams that her lover will be coming to her next morning. So she says to her companion in the morning :

«My heart is overjoyed, as my darling is coming to-day. This auspicious hint has been given by Fate. Moreover all auspicious marks are manifest on my every limb. So I think it is certain (to happen). My friend, all my troubles are at an end. Fate will bring in all happiness and prosperity. So it appears from the state of my mind and from external indications. Do place auspicious pitchers at places, with fresh twigs on their top. Call in astrologers and bestow decorations on them, so that (through their help) I may meet *Syāma* the quicker. Turmeric, pomegranates, collyrium, mirrors, curds, *ghee*, and rich lamps: (let all these be placed) on golden plates, together with fried paddy. Do place them in my ken. Let young and sportive girls raise a cry of joy, and let them be dressed up gaudily. Hari, the heart of my heart, shall return home! The heart of Govindadāsa is set alonging.»

From the meagre extant specimens of his Brajabuli writings nothing much can be gathered about his poetic equipment. The two following Bengali poems may help us to understand Govindadāsa-Cakravartī's contribution to Vaiṣṇava literature. The first poem is on Caitanya-deva, and the second is on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend. These two poems are really among the best of their kind.

rasiyā-ramaṇī ye ।
 madana-mohana gaurāṅga-vadana
 dekhiyā jīye ki se ॥
 ye dhaṇī raṅgiṇī bay ।
 bhāṇa-dhanuyā madana-bāṇe
 tāra ki parāṇa ray ॥

ye jāne pirtti-bethā |
 se-ha ki dhairaja dharite pāre
 śuniyā mukhera kathā ||
 bilāsinīrṣṇa mane dukha |
 ājānu-lambita bāhu heri kāde
 parisara gorā-buka ||
 (kata) kāmīnī kāmanā kare |
 guruyā nitamba- vilāsa-vasana-
 paraśa pābāra tare ||
 govindadāsera cite |
 gaurāṅga-cādera caraṇa-nakhara
 tahāra mādhuri pīte || [PKT. 2131.]

« She is a susceptible girl: on looking at the face of Gaurāṅga that charms even the god of love, can she live (any longer)? She is a sportive lady: can she preserve her heart from the darts of love (issued) from the bows of his eyebrows? She knows the yearnings of love: can she restrain herself on hearing him speak? The *belle* has a great sorrow: she weeps on looking at the long arms and the wide chest of Gorā. Voluptuous women long for a touch of the fine cloth worn about his heavy hips. In the heart of Govindadāsa (there is the yearning) for a drink of the loveliness of the toe-nails of Gaurāṅga the moon. »

The following tender and delicate poem is adduced here as showing the best specimen of Govindadāsa's Bengali compositions on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend.

This poem describes Rādhā's feelings when Kṛṣṇa is away at Mathurā, with no intention of returning.

piyāra phulera vane piyāsī bhramarā |
 piyā bine madhu nā khāy ure beṛāy tārā ||
 mo yadi jānitām piyā yābe re chāriyā |
 parāṇe parāṇa diyā rākhitām bādhiyā ||
 kona nidāruṇa bidhi mora piyā nila |
 e chāra parāṇa kene aba-hū rahila ||
 marama-bhitarā mora rahi gela dukha |
 nicaya mariba piyārṣṇa nā dekhiyā mukha ||

ei-khāne karita keli nāgara-rāja |
 ke-bā nila ki-bā haila ke pāṛila bāja ||
 se piyārā preyaśi āmi āchi ekākinī ||
 e chāra śarīre rahe nilāja parāṇī ||
 carāṇe dhariyā kāḍe govindadāsivā |
 muñi abhāgiyā āge yāiba mariyā || [PKT. 1655.]

• ‘In the flower gardens of my darling the thirsty bees do not drink honey without him : they only fly about. Had I known that my beloved would leave me and go away, I would have kept him bound, heart with heart. What a cruel Providence has taken my beloved away ! Why does this my paltry body still survive ? This sorrow abides in my heart. Without a sight of my darling’s face I must die. In this very place the Prince of gallants held his sports. Who has snatched him away ? What a calamity ! Who has hurled this thunderbolt ? I, the beloved of such a darling, am left alone, and (my) shameless life still remains in this miserable body !’ Touching (her) feet her servant Govindadāsa weeps and says : ‘Wretch as I am, I should die first.’ •

Govinda-Ācārya [c. 1533 A. C.].

Besides the two Govindas (Govindadāsas) discussed above there was another lyric poet of the same name. This was Govinda-Ācārya who was a contemporary and follower of Caitanya-deva. Of him Mādhava-dāsa in his *Vaiṣṇava-vandanā*¹ says :

govinda-ācārya-pada karila vandana |
 rādhā-kṛṣṇa-rahasya ye karila varṇana || [p. 20.]

• I worship the feet of Govinda-Ācārya who has depicted the secret (or joy) of the sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. •

Devakīnandana in his *Vaiṣṇava-randanā* and Kavi-Ārṇapūra in his *Gaura-gopoddēśa-dīpikā* (1576 A. C.) [verse 41 (p. 14, third edition, Berhampore)] also says that he was a lyric poet.

This shows that Govinda-Ācārya had written at least a respectable number of lyrics on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme. Some of these poems must have been mixed up with those of his two great namesakes.

The author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* quotes four lines from a Brajabuli poem which he specifies as by 'Śrī-Govinda-Ācārya Ṭhākura' [VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 115]. These lines are as follows :

ghana megha barikhaye bijuri camake |
 tāhā dekhi prāṇa mora hurā-huri ¹ kāpe ||
 chāṛa chāṛa ācala nilaja murāri |
 lāja nāhika tora hāma para-nāri ||

• The clouds are pouring down heavily: lightning streaks are flashing. Looking at all this my heart quakes terribly. Let go, let go the hem of my garment, you shameless Murāri (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa)! Do you not feel ashamed? I am another's wife. •

¹ 'thara-hari'?

CHAPTER VIII

DISCIPLES OF ŚRINIVĀSA AND NAROTTAMA AND THEIR CONTEMPORARIES

Rāya Vasanta [c. 1583 A.C.].

Rāya Vasanta was a Brahmin, and a disciple and friend of Narottama-Thākura. He was a well-to-do person, and lived somewhere near Khetari. When Rāya Vasanta went on pilgrimage to Vṛndāvana he was entrusted with a joint letter from Narottama, Rāmacandra Kavirāja and Govindadāsa Kavirāja to be delivered to Jīva-Gosvāmin [Karnānanda v; VSPP., Vol. 36, pp. 61 ff.].

In PKT. there are about twenty-nine Brajabuli poems by Rāya Vasanta. Three additional poems are found with the joint *bh.* of Govindadāsa and Rāya Vasanta [1050, 1720, 2422]. Rāya Vasanta, by the way, was a friend of Govindadāsa [see *supra*, p. 107]. In the *Bhakti-ratnākara* there is a Bengali poem, an ode to his *guru* Narottama, by Rāya Vasanta, with the *bh.* of 'Dāsa Vasanta' [Bhakti-ratnākara i; VSPP., Vol. 36, p. 62].

Of the twenty-nine Brajabuli poems by Rāya Vasanta quoted in the *Pada-kalpa-taru*, eight describe the beauty of Kṛṣṇa [2446-2453], one of which is cited below.

ki herilū nāgara navina-kīśora |
śārada-śaśadhara- bayana manohara
raṅgiṇī-nayana-hi lubadha cakora ||
nīlendīvara- sundara locana
aṅjana aruṇa taruṇa-cita-cora |
māṇika adhara manohara vaṃśī
rasera taraṅgima mohita-mora ||
amiyā-vacana śravapa-anuraṅjana
gaṇjana nīrada-bhāṣa |
eka āra anupama jagā-mana-mohana
hāsi yena bijuri-prakāśa ||

• What a lover, one in early youth I have seen! His face is charming like the moon in autumn: the eyes of damsels form the *cakora*¹ birds thirsting (for that moon). His eyes, lovely as blue lotuses, with crimson paint around, steal the hearts of young damsels. At his ruby-red lips there is a melodious flute (which lets out) a flood of love and (which) charms the peacocks. His sweet words soothe the ears, and surpass tones of the cloud; and his unique smile, beautiful like the flash of lightning, charms the heart of the world. His nose is (beautiful as) a *tila* (sesamum) flower, (at the tip of which there is) a prismatic pearl: (by the side of his) cheeks dangle (two) dazzling eardrops. His lovely locks are tied up with (a garland of) fresh *mālatī* flowers, and above it there are peacock's feathers bright with their eyes. Painted with saffron paste and adorned with *tilaka* (his forehead) looks as lovely as the moon of moons. Adorning his person there is suspended a beautiful *vana-mālā* against his chest, which resembles a streak of lightning across a dark cloud. His loveliness, gracefulness and his playfulness have filled the world (with joy): his mirror-like toe-nails destroy all darkness. The heart of Rāya Vasanta serves them with the hope of (a drink of) the honey at these lotus-feet. •

^t These birds are supposed by poets to drink the rays of the full moon.

[illegible]

nimikha bāraḥa su-diṭhe pekhaba¹
gaura-vadana suṭhāna re |
nija-hu ketana haraba cetana
karaba amiñā-sināna re ||
gaura-vara dvija-rāja re |
āpa-ghara para nagara-mājha-hi
dūre sukha-caya bhājaba re ||
haba ki śubha-dina vāsa pahitapa
bhūṣaṇa-gaṇa² kari sāja re |
deva-³ dīlaha saphala mānuṣa
ānanda-sāgara-māja⁴ re ||
dhyāna tejaba gāna tāna-sō⁵
gāba kaba-hu su-neli re |
saghane ghana-ghana heraba puna-puna
gaura-sundara-sukeli re ||
chuṭaba sañkṛta e-śubha nikṛta
trāṇa⁶ pāvaba bhava-mājhe re |
gaṇḍā-rāma dvija kaba-hu heraba
gaura-⁷ līlā-rasa re || [VSP. M.]

1. 'MS.' 2. 'bhākhaba.' 3. 'gala.' 4. 'deha.' 5. 'mājha.' 6. 'cu.' 7. 'tāna.' 8. 'gori.'

afar off I shall ever enjoy (?) bliss. What a happy day will it be when I shall put on the dress (of a *Gopī*) and adorn myself with ornaments ! I shall plunge in the sea of bliss, which is difficult even for the gods to attain, but easy for a man to succeed. I shall abandon all meditation. When shall I sing with melody in the midst of a good gathering (of Vaiṣṇavas) ? When shall I see again and again, most intimately, the beautiful sports of the handsome Gaura ? With this bliss near all danger will flee, and in the midst of being I shall obtain salvation. When shall I, the Brahmin Gaṅgā-rāma, witness the joyful sports of Gaurāṅga ? »

There was one Baru Gaṅgā-dāsa, a cousin of Jāhnavā-devī and a disciple of Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita [Bhakti-ratnākara, pp. 673f.]. This 'Dviṇa Gaṅgā-dāsa' was present at the Khetari festival. It may be that his full name was Gaṅgā-rāma and that he was the poet in question.

One Bengali poem, an ode to Narahari-Sarkār, by 'Gaṅgārāma-dāsa' occurs in O.U. MS. 2376. The poet was evidently a follower of Narahari. Was he the same as the Brahmin poet Gaṅgā-rāma ?

Kavirañjana (Vidyāpati ii).

There are a few Bengali songs in PKT. and in other similar works, having the *bh.* of 'Vidyāpati.' As Vidyāpati was a Maithil, he could not have composed these songs. It cannot also be held that there had been some earlier versions of them in Maithili, or Brajabuli even. The opinion generally held is that some Bengali poets passed their own compositions under the name of Vidyāpati. Though such a state of things is anything but rare in the history of Indian literature, yet, it must be held, that such a phenomenon is unprecedented in the history of Bengali Vaiṣṇava literature. The only parallel that can be found is that Rūpa-Gosvāmin used the *bh.* of his elder brother Sanātana in all his Sanskrit songs. The reason here, however, is obvious. For Rūpa-Gosvāmin, his brother, as his *guru* claimed his highest respect. In the case of Bengali songs with the *bh.* of 'Vidyāpati' no such motive of respect can be put forward. So we are forced to assume the existence of a second Vidyāpati who was a Bengali Vaiṣṇava of the school of Caitanya-deva.

Some evidence of the existence of a Bengali Vidyāpati is, however, forthcoming. And for this discovery the lovers of Bengali literature must be grateful to Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna. He has shown that

Rāmagopālī dāsa in his *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* and *Śākhā-nirṇaya* has mentioned that there was a disciple of Raghu-nandana of Śrīkhaṇḍa, named Kavirañjana. This Kavirañjana was a Vaidya, and also a native of Śrīkhaṇḍa [*Śākhā-nirṇaya* (Śrīkhaṇḍa, Caitanya Era 424), pp. 16f.]. He was a very good poet, and as his poems were composed after the model of Vidyāpati he was sometimes called 'choṭa Vidyāpati' (Vidyāpati the junior) [*op. cit.*, p. 17]. In the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* there are some songs attributed to this Vidyāpati. Editors of the collected songs of Vidyāpati, on the other hand, accept all the Brajabuli poems by Kavirañjana as works of Vidyāpati himself. But though in Bengal Vidyāpati seems to have an incredible number of titles and epithets, yet outside Bengal it is absolutely unknown that Vidyāpati had ever used the title or epithet 'Kavirañjana.' It cannot be maintained, as we have seen in respect of Govindadāsa Kavirāja, that each and every poem written in good Brajabuli and in classic style should be traced back to a Maithili original, real or imaginary.

The following Brajabuli poem is cited as a specimen of Kavirañjana's composition, and from a perusal of this song alone, it will appear that he was a very good poet.

udasala kuntala-bhārā |
 murati śiṅgāra-lakhimī avatārā ||
 atisaya prema-vikārā |
 kāmīnī karata purukha-vihārā ||
 dolata motima-hārā |
 yāmuna-jale yaiche dhūḍha-ka dhārā ||
 kuca-kumbha pālātala bayānā |
 rasa-amiyā janu dhārāla mayānā ||
 priyatama-kara taḥī debā |
 sarasija-māhe janu rahala cakevā ||
 kaṅkaṇa kiṅkiṇī bāje |
 jaya jaya ḍiṇḍima madana-samāje ||
 rasika-śiromaṇi kāna |
 kavirañjana rasa bhāṇa || [PKT. 1078.]

The poem describes the beauty of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā disporting themselves.

• Her massive locks are dishevelled. She is the goddess of amorous sport, embodied and incarnate. Their passionate love is excessive. So

the girl behaves as a man. The necklace of pearls dangles (against Kṛṣṇa's breast), as if a stream of milk (is being poured) over the waters of the Yamunā. Her vase-shaped breasts are turned upside down, as if the god of love is pouring out the nectar of love. Over them the hands of the dearest (lover) have been placed, as if (a pair of) *cakravākas* are sitting over (a pair of) lotuses. Bangles and bells at her girdle are jingling, as if the band of joy has been struck by the company of the god of love. *

A Bengali song, an ode to Raghu-nandana of Śrīkhaṇḍa, appears with *bh.* of Kavi-śekhara in PKT. [2189], but in the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* it occurs with the *bh.* of Kavirañjana [VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 44]. Both Kavi-śekhara and Kavirañjana seem to have been disciples of Raghu-nandana. Moreover their literary productions too bear close similarity, and as a matter of fact, some of the poems by Kavi-śekhara (the same as Rāya Śekhara) and by Kavirañjana have been claimed for Vidyāpati.

Rāya Śekhara (Kaviśekhara-Rāya).

Rāya Śekhara, or Kavi-Śekhara, as he very often styled himself, was the greatest poet of Brajabulī and Bengali lyric literature among the successors of Govindadāsa Kavirāja. Rāya Śekhara seems to have been a younger contemporary of Govindadāsa, as he apparently imitated the latter in some of his poems. Rāya Śekhara was a disciple of Raghu-nandana Gosvāmi of Śrīkhaṇḍa.¹ His native place was the village of Paṛāna-grāma in the District of Burdwan. From his title 'Rāya' and 'Nṛpa' it appears that he was a rich landholder.

The poet called himself Kavi Śekhara (or Kaviśekhara), Rāya Śekhara, Śekhara-Rāya, 'Dukhiyā' or 'Pāpiyā' Śekhara, or simply Śekhara.² Babu Nagendranāth Gupta, in his edition of the poems of

¹ śrī-raghu-nandana-carapa kari sara |
kaha kavi-śekhara gati nāhi āra || [PKT. 2189.]

Two poems by this poet are odes to Raghu-nandana [PKT. 2372-73]. Also *vide* the *Sākhā-nirṇaya*, p. 15.

² We give here the serial number of the Brajabulī poems of this poet cited in the *Pada-kalpa-taru*, under the different names the poet chose to subscribe himself.

Rāya Śekhara, Śekhara-Rāya [984, 1064, 2090, 2107, 2158, 2160, 2161, 2378, 2515, 2582, 2584, 2642, 2727, 2753, 2781, 2992].

Kavi-Śekhara Rāya [2159].

Śekhara [240, 262, 486, 503, 596, 615, 985, 1062, 2499, 2522, 2523, 2598, 2633, 2648, 2683, 2704, -06, 2708, -09, 2715-17, 2724, 2743, 2749, 2754, 2793, 2796].

Vidyāpati (published from the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad), has incorporated all the poems of Kavi-śekhara as, according to him, 'Kavi-śekhara' was a title of Vidyāpati. We do not know whether 'Kavi-śekhara' was a title of Vidyāpati or not, but it is certain that Kavi Sekhara (or Kaviśekhara) was no other than our Bengali poet Rāya Sekhara.

We now adduce some specimens of Sekhara's Brajabuli writing. From these the reader will easily find out to what extent Sekhara was indebted to Govindadāsa Kavirāja.

The two following poems are odes to Caitanya-deva.

| | |
|---|-------------------|
| nirupama kāñcana- | rucira kalevara |
| lābani barāni nā hoī | |
| niramala vadana | vacana amiyā-sāra |
| lāje sudbākara roī | |
| heralū re sakhi rasamaya gaura | |
| veśa-vilāse madana bhela bhora | |
| lola alaka-kula | tilaka surañjita |
| nāsā khagapati-ūna | |
| bhāṇa kāmūna | bāṇa ḍṛg-añcala |
| candana-rekha tahe guṇa | |
| kambu-kañthe maṇi- | hāra virājita |
| kāma-kalañkita śobhā | |
| carāṇa-alanīkṛta- | mañjira jhañkṛta |
| rāya-śekhara-mana-lobhā [PKT. 2158. ¹] | |

« His lovely body, with the complexion of gold, is unrivalled : his gracefulness cannot be (fully) described. His face is stainless : his speech (is) a lake of sweetness ; (at this loveliness of his face) the moon weeps out of shame. My friend, I have seen Gaura (who is) all sweetness : at his garb and grace the god of love is stunned. His

Śekhara-dāsa [257].

Kavi Śekhara, Kavi-śekhara [160, 259, 288, 327, 389, 523, 610, 614, 628, 667, 731, 904, 742, 966 1027, 1058, 1310, 1610, 1719, 1919, 1948, 2063, 2091, 2510-11, 2513-14, 2524, 2555, 2582, 2597, 2682, 2687, 2692, 2722-23, 2728, 2760, 2836].

Nṛpa Kavi-śekhara [1759].

Nava Kavi-śekhara [106, 232, 386, 1832].

¹ The first verse and the first foot of the next, in this poem, is identical with the corresponding portions of a poem by Govindadāsa [PKT. 1045].

locks are running truant, and his nose, decorated with the *tilaka*, defies (the beak of (Garuḍa) the king of birds. His brows are the bow, his sidelong looks are the arrows, and the line of sandal-paste is the string of it (*i.e.*, the bow). Around his conch-like neck hangs a precious necklace : the beauty of it shames to the god of love. His feet are adorned with tinkling anklets which are Rāya Sekhara's heart's desire. »

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| kundana-kanaka- | kamala-ruci-nindita |
| suradhuni-tīra-vihārī | |
| kuñcita-kaṇṭha- | kalita-kusumākula |
| kula-kāminī-manohārī | |
| jaya jaya jaga-jīvana yaśodhīra | |
| jāhnavī yamunā yena | jaladhara barikbana |
| aiche nayane bahe nīra | |
| padumini-pūraba- | pirīte pulakāyita |
| parijana-prema-pasārī | |
| pahiraṇa pīta- | patani-patitāñcala |
| pada-pankaja paracārī | |
| rasavati-ramaṇī | rañjana rucirānana |
| rati-pati raṅgita tāy | |
| rasika-rasāyana | rasamaya-bhāṣaṇa |
| racayati śekhara-rāyḥ | [PKT. 2160.] |

• (His loveliness) defies the beauty of a lotus carved out of gold : he rambles by the bank of the Ganges. His neck with its lines is adorned with (a garland of) flowers : he steals away the hearts of chaste ladies. All glory to him who is the life of the world and who is unperturbed with fame ! Tears flow from his eyes, just like (the streams of) the Ganges and the Yamunā, or the downpour of clouds. He horripilates in joy in remembering the former love of that lotus among women (*i.e.*, Rādhā) : he is rich with the love of his devotees. He puts on a yellow cloth of which the skirt kisses the ground : he steps on with his lotus-feet. He charms loving girls : his face is beautiful, and (looking at it) the husband of Rati (*i.e.*, god of love) is infatuated. His sweet speech is the ambrosia to the loving hearts (*rasika*). Sekhara-Rāya composes (this) sweet song which is ambrosia to the appreciative. »

This poem is written in slavish imitation of Govindadāsa [PKT. 2824] from whom he has also borrowed *verbatim*. In spite of the poet's attempt

at assonance and smooth diction, it is but a very poor imitation at that. That Rāya Sekhara was not a great poet of Brajabuli is apparent from this clumsy result.

In fact, with the exception of the following poem and one or two others, all the Brajabuli poems of Rāya-Sekhara are imitations of Govindadāsa's poems and they are quite commonplace.

kājara-ruci-hara rayani viśālā |
 tachu para abhisāra karu vraja-bālā ||
 ghara sañe nikasaye yaichana cora |
 nisabada patha-gati calali-ha thora ||
 unamata cita ati ārati-bithāra |
 guruyā nitamba nava-yauvana-bhāra ||
 kamalini mājhā-khini uca kuca-jora |
 dhādhase calu kata bhāve bibhora ||
 raṅgiṇī saṅgiṇī nava nava jorā |
 nava-anurāgiṇī nava-rase bhorā ||
 aṅga-ka abharaṇa bāsaye bhāra |
 nūpura kiṅkiṇī tejala hāra ||
 līlā-kamala upekhalī rāmā |
 manthara-gati calu dhari sakhi śyāmā ||
 yatana-hī nihsaru nagara durantā |
 sekhara abharaṇa bhela bahantā || [PKT. 2706.]

« A long night it is, a night black as lamp-black. On such a night the damsel of the Vraja (*i.e.*, Rādhā) goes to meet her lover. She, like a thief, steals away from home. With silent steps she walks slowly. With passionate longing, her heart is feeling exalted. Her hips are heavy with the accession of dawning youth. Her waist is slender like (the stalk of) a lotus : her two breasts are full. A victim of manifold emotions, she walks mechanically. Two youthful and sportive girls are her companions. She is in love for the first time, and she is intoxicated with (this) new sentiment. Ornaments on her person she deems as a mere burden : (so) she has put away anklets, girdle and necklace. The lotus flower she carries in her hand she spurned away. She supports herself against a dark-complexioned friend of hers, and slowly walks on. With great caution she at last gets clear of the terrible town, and (Rāya) Sekhara (follows her) carrying her ornaments. »

In the same work there are twelve poems by Bhūpati, all of which are written in Brajabuli. Of these poems four have the *h*. of 'Bhūpati'

[483, 539, 1726, 1878], two with the *bh.* of 'Bhūpatinātha' [478, 479], and six with the *bh.* of 'Siṃha Bhūpati.' [114, 477; 1080 Kṣaṇadā 147; 1698, 1736, 1983]. To these twelve we might add another Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of 'Nṛpati Siṃha Kavi' [PKT. 1940]. Gopāla-dāsa in his *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* quotes one line of verse in Brajabuli from a poet 'Nṛsiṃha Bhūpati.' These two also may be ascribed to Bhūpati. The *bh.* of the verse in the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* is very significant. I shall discuss it below under the head Nṛsiṃha-deva.

The seven poems 477-483 [four with the *bh.* of Bhūpati and three with that of Campati] are quoted successively in PKT. under the section on 'durjjaya māna' (firm attitude of love-sulk). But the poems 478 and 483 have the variant *bh.* of Campati, and the poems 480-82 have the variant *bh.* of Bhūpati, in some MSS. But what is most remarkable is that in the MS. of Mr. Sajanikānta Das [A.C. 1953-56] all these songs are given successively and in the same order, with the *bh.* of Bhūpati.

We have seen previously that there are two poems with the joint *bhaṇitā* of Rāya Campati and Govindadāsa [PKT. 531, 538],¹ and from this the conclusion is inevitable that Campati and Govindadāsa were friends. Now these two songs, with the joint *bhaṇitā*, also deal with *māna*, and if studied closely the last couplets of these two songs will reveal that Govindadāsa had in his view those songs of Campati (or Bhūpati) on 'durjjaya māna.' The couplets containing the *bh.* run thus—

| | |
|--------------------|---------------|
| viraha-mocana | e tuā locana- |
| kone herabi kāna | |
| rāya-campati | vacana mānaha |
| dāsa-govinda bhāṇa | |

[PKT. 531.]

* [A friend of Rādhā speaks to her to give up her anger against her lover:] 'You should look at Kṛṣṇa with (at least) the corner of your eyes, which will do away with all miseries suffered in disunion.' Listen to the speech of Rāya Campati. So says Govindadāsa. *

¹ The printed text of the VSP. edition has the joint *bh.* of 'Prāta Ādita' and Govindadāsa. I have rejected this and accepted the variant reading given there [PKT., Vol. i, p. 356].

jānaha puna puna so piyā parikhana
soī pūje pāca-bāṇa |
rāya-campati o-rasa gāhaka
dāsa-govinda bhāna ||

[PKT. 538.]

• [A friend of Rādhā expostulates with her on behalf of Kṛṣṇa :]
 'You know your lover thoroughly through so many tests. He, in fact, is (devotedly) worshipping the five-arrowed god (i.e., the god of love).' Rāya Campatī is an expert in respect of this sentiment. So says Govindadāsa. »

From the above discussion is it too much to conclude that Campati and Bhūpati were the same person ?

I now quote two Brajabuli poems, one with the *bhaṇitā* of each, showing the similarity of style. These two poems, it should be mentioned here, have no variant *bhaṇitā*.

madana-kuñja teji calali catura dūti
pavana-ka gati-sama gela |
kṣīti nakhe lekhi dekhi mukha jhāpala
rāi utara nāhi dela ||
caturī dūti taba mana-hi bicārala
kahata lalitū sañe bāta |
kāhe vimukha bhai baiṭhali dūbari
ki bhela āju-ka rāta ||
heri lalitū sakhi mṛḍu mṛdu bolata
hāmūri karama mati bheli |
nāgara kisora kuñje nīsi bañcala
candrāvali-sañe keli ||
hāsi hāsi niyaṛe yāi dūti baiṭhala
kahata-hi madhurima vāṇi |
iha laghu dokhe rokha yaba mānasi
ko kahe tobe siyāni ||
uṭha uṭha sundari māna dūra kari
bāhu pasāri karu kora |
phaṭaki hāta bāta nāhi sūnala
kope bharala tanu jora ||

rāika niṭhura-

vacana ṣuni saha-carī

kope bharala saba-gāta |

bhūpatinātha

rokhe taba bolata

yaba-hū phapaṭakala hāta | [PKT. 479.]

« The clever intermediary (*dūtī*) left the pleasure pavilion and proceeded with the agility of the wind. Rādhā—who was scratching on the earth with her finger-nails—saw her and covered up her face. She vouchsafed no answer. The clever *dūtī* then thought something, and she opened conversation with Lalitā. 'Why the tender girl is out of sorts to-day and sitting apart? What has happened this night?' Glancing (at Rādhā) her friend Lalitā replied in undertone. 'It has happened as our fate willed. The young gallant has passed the night in the pavilion in sports with Candrāvalī.' Smiling softly the *dūtī* went up (to Rādhā) and sat by her side. Then she put in softly: 'If you take offence in such small matters, who will take you to be a clever girl? Get up, my dear, and giving up your attitude of sulk, you stretch out your arms (to your lover) and close them in embrace.' (At this Rādhā) snatched her hand away: she was deaf to her entreaties. Her person heaved in high anger. On hearing the cruel speech of Rādhā all her friends were greatly offended. Bhūpatinātha (in his capacity as the intermediary) replied (to her) in anger when she snatched her hand away. »

so saba-ṣaṭha-guṇa-

guru-vara gurutara

achu guṇa jalanidhi-sāra |

hāma abalā ati

tāhe dūkhita-mati

kaichane pāiye pāra |

sajani, āra kata kara paralāpa |

so mujhe yaichana

kayala-hī apamāna

so baṛa hṛdaya-ka tāpa |

yo vara-nārī

sāra kari[†] leala

so pada sebaū ānande |

tākara lāgi

jāgi niśi royāū

pibaū so makarande |

tāhe lāgi anna-

pāni saba tejāū

japa karu tākara nāma |

campati-patikara

soi yuvati-vata

gāta tachu guṇa-gāma | [PK. 532.]

« [Rādhā replies:] He is by far the topmost of the crooked people. His virtues are like those of the ocean. I am, on the other hand, a very helpless girl, not to say in a sorry plight. How can I fathom their depths? My friend, how long will you continue your senseless talks? The way, he has insulted me will ever remain smarting at my heart. Let him joyfully massage the feet of the best girl he has chosen. Let him pass sleepless nights, crying for her. Let him drink of the honey (of her love). Let him give up food and drink for her sake. Let him mentally repeat her name (as an incantation). Then let that girl, dearest to the Master of Campati, sing in praise of him. »

Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura remarks that Campati was an officer of Pratāpa-rudra of Orissa. That may be or may not be true. But he was a Bengali all the same [*vide* VSPP., Vol. 36, pp. 82ff.].

Nṛsiṃha-deva.

As yet we know only four poems of Nṛsiṃha or Narasiṃha-deva. Two are in Brajabuli [PKT. 1159, 1324]. Both are in the same metre, *totāṭa*, and have the same verse (containing the *bh.*) as the last line of both. Of the other two, which are written in Bengali, one describes the anointing ceremony of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa [PKT. 1584], while the other describes the feelings of Yaśodā when her son is about to set out for pasturing the cattle [Sāṅkīrtanāmṛta 85].

I have mentioned in connection with Campati and Bhūpati that Gopālādāsa refers one Brajabuli verse to 'Nṛsiṃha Bhūpati.' From this one is tempted to connect Nṛsiṃha-deva with Campati-Bhūpati.

About Nṛsiṃha we know this much that he was the landlord of 'Pakva-palli,' and that he, as well as his courtier Rūpa-nārāyaṇa, was the disciple of Narottama-Ṭhākura. The history of their conversion has been given in full in the *Prema-vilāsa*. As we have seen above, both Nṛsiṃha and Rūpa-nārāyaṇa appear to have been friends of Govindadāsa-Kavirāja.

One Brajabuli poem in PKT. [1944] contains the joint *bhaṇitā* of 'Nara-nārāyaṇa Bhūpati' and 'Vijaya-nārāyaṇa.' Has this Nara-nārāyaṇa anything to do with our poet? It should be added that 'Vijaya-nārāyaṇa' figures with 'Rūpa-nārāyaṇa' in the *bhaṇitā* of PKT. 2388.

The ladies, with the ceremonial plate and lamp for auspicious welcome, come out and take their stand at the doors (of their houses). (Kṛṣṇa) is dressed in yellow robes : his face censures (the beauty) of the moon. Fresh flower-buds he has put on as earrings ; he has decorated his crest with a peacock's feather, and he is playing on the charming pipe of reeds. The people of the Vraja, whether young or old, gaze at his moon-like face without a wink, as if a hungry *cakora* has found the moon ; and they have not the heart to return home. All the cattle now enter their sheds, and Kṛṣṇa walks home. Then Yaśomati runs up in joy (to meet him). Delicious is the narration by Mohana. •

Rādhā and her friends are going to market at Mathurā to sell milk, curd and ghee. On the way she happens to meet Kṛṣṇa standing under a *kadamba* tree.

dadhi ghr̥ta gorase sājāiyā pasāra |
 cira-hi jhāpana deola tāra ||
 kiṅkari-gaṇa saba śira para nela |
 mukharā-saṅge dhanī tahi calī gela ||
 sahacari-saṅga-hi vinodini rāī |
 dūra-hi kānu-ka daraśana pāī ||
 pulake purala tanu gada-gada bola |
 ghāma-hi bhīgala nīla-nicola ||
 ko iha keli-kadamba-ka mūla |
 nava-meghe bijuri-jarita samatūla ||
 bāhu tuliyā uha dākaye kāy |
 mukharā kahaye iha nava-rasa-rūpya ||
 pantha-hi māgaye gorasa-dāna |
 mohana kahe mohe aīchana bhāna || [PKT. 1384.]

• Taking curd, ghee and milk in pots for sale they covered them with cloth. Then the servant girls took them on their heads, and the precious girl followed them under the lead of Mukharā. The ravishing Rādhā, walking in company of her friends, espied Kṛṣṇa from afar. Her body horripilated, and her talks became incoherent. Her blue robes were drenched with perspiration. (She asks :) 'Who is there standing at the foot of the *kelī-kadamba* tree, resembling a dark cloud surrounded by lightning streaks? Whom does he beckon by raising his arm?' Mukharā replies : 'Here is the young prince of lovers : he is demanding tolls for milk (and its products), on the way.' Mohana adds : 'So it seems to me also.' •

samaya vasanta saba-hū mana toṣai
kānane kusuma-vikāśa |
malayūcala-hī bhujaga-bbaye māruta
calata himūcala-pāśa ||
e sakhi, āichana sukhadaya mōha |
kā-sañe kānta kūma paripūraye
majhu udabega baḥhāha ||
atiśaya-capala- carita ati-lampaṭa
hāmāri marama nāhi jūna |
jha sukha-samaye āna-sañe bilasaye
eta-hū ki sahaye parāṇa ||
kahaite rāika gara-gara antara
locana jhara-jhara vūri |
saba saha-carī-gaṇa kūtara-antara
mohana sahañ nū pūri || [PKT. 2029.]

Vallabha-dasa (i, ii, iii) [c. 1583 A.C.].

In the *Padma-kalpa-taru* there are seventeen poems with the *bh.* of 'Vallabha-dāsa' (of which seven are in Brajabuli, and the rest in Bengali), seven with the *bh.* of 'Vallabha' (of which only four are in Brajabuli), and only one (Brajabuli) poem with the *bh.* of 'Śrī-vallabha' [1022]. PKT. 773 (a Brajabuli poem) appears with the *bh.* of 'Govindadāsa,' but according to the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* this poem belongs to 'Vallabha-Caudhuri.' In GPT. there are a few additional Bengali poems

by Vallabha-dāsa, two of which are of special interest. I shall discuss them subsequently. An additional Brajabuli poem is found in the *Saṅkīrtanāmṛta* [205]. Another poem occurs in APR. [433].

Now all these songs, especially the Bengali ones, suggest the hand of a single poet. The style and subject-matter of the Bengali songs and the nature of the *bhaṇitās* strongly warrant this presumption. The *bhaṇitā* of PKT. 1022, when compared with the *bhaṇitās* 2383, 2384, 2982 and 2983, will show that Śrī-vallabha was the same person as Vallabha-dāsa. In two of his poems [PKT. 225, 234] Govindadāsa Kavirāja has mentioned the name of 'Śrī-vallabha' along with his own name. This is clear evidence that Vallabha-dāsa or Śrī-vallabha was a friend of the great poet. Again Vallabha-dāsa had written an entire poem in appreciation of the Kavirāja [GPT., p. 481]. This poem is, by the way, of good historical interest in connection with the life of the great poet. Now from this it seems that Vallabha-dāsa was the same person as Śrī-vallabha.¹

There were two contemporary persons with the name 'Śrī-vallabha,' either of them was or were the poet or poets in question. They were— (i) Śrīvallabha-Ṭhākura of the village Deuli, who was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karnānanda (i), p. 17], and (ii) Śrīvallabha-Majumdār, a Brahmin disciple of Rāmacandra Kavirāja [Karnānanda (ii), p. 26]. The author of the odes to Narottama-Ṭhākura was probably Rādhāvallabha-Caudhuri [Narottama-vilāsa xii].

Śrī-vallabha, the disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, seems to have been the author of the poem [PKT. 2981]. The four poems on Narottama [PKT. 2384, 2982, 2983; GPT., p. 478] should be ascribed to Rādhāvallabha-Caudhuri. In one poem the poet remarks that he survived his teachers and friends, Śrīnivāsa, Narottama, Rāmacandra and Govindadāsa [PKT. 2981, also cf. 2983]. This poem is quoted below.

gorā-guṇe āchilā ṭhākura śrīnivāsa |
narottama rāmacandra govindadāsa ||
eku kāle kothā gela dekhite nā pāi |
ṭhākuk dekhibarāṣ kāja śunite nā pāi ||
ye karila jaga-jane karuṇā pracura |
hena prabhu kothā gela ācārya-ṭhākura ||

¹ Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Śāhityaratna wants to connect this friend of the Kavirāja with the author of the *Vaṃśī-jīkṣā*. This is manifestly impossible [vide VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 121].

rādhā-kṛṣṇa-līlā-guṇa ye kaila pracāra |
 kothā gela śrī-ācārya-ṣhākura āmāra ||
 hṛdaya-mājhāre mora rahi gela śela |
 jīte āra prabhu-saṅge daraśa nā bhela ||
 e chāra jīvane mora nūhi āra āśa |
 saṅge kari leha prabhu e vallabha-dāsa || [PKT. 2981.]

‘ My master Śrīnivāsa, and Narottama, Rāmacandra and Govindadāsa, were all (rapt) in the sweetness of Gaura’s life. But all at a time they are gone away, I cannot find where. Let finding be, I do not even know where. Where is my master gone, Ācārya the master, who was so compassionate to the people of the world? Where has he gone my master, Śrī-Ācārya, who had given currency to the graceful stories of the divine sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa? This painful regret will always abide in my heart that I shall never again meet my master as long as I live. In this useless life of mine I entertain no other hope than this: ‘Master mine, please take to your side this your servant Vallabha!’ »

The Brajabuli poems by ‘Vallabha-dāsa’ are quite remarkable. The following are given as specimens:

o-mukha śarada- sudhākara-sundara
 iha nalinī-dala gañje |
 o-tanu nava-ghana- sundara rañjita
 iha thira dāminī puñje ||
 dekha rādhā-mādhava jori |
 duhū-ka paraśa-rase duhū pulakāyita
 duhū dohā rahala āgori ||
 o nava-nūgara saba-guṇe āgora
 iha se kalāvati-sīma |
 o ati-catura- śiromaṇi bidagadha ,
 e saba-guṇa-hi garīma |
 madhura-vṛndāvane śyāma-gori-tanu
 duhū nava-kīśorī-kīśora ||
 narōttama-dāsa āśa carāṇe rahu
 śrīvallabha-mana bhora || [PKT. 1022.]

« That face (i.e., of Kṛṣṇa) is as beautiful as the moon in autumn: this face (i.e., of Rādhā) defies the petal of the lotus. That

body is as lovely as a tinted dark cloud: this one (resembles) a flash of lightning. Just have a look at the couple, Rādhā and Mādhava. Both of them are full of joy at the touch of each other's person. They are locked in each other's embrace. He there is a young gallant endowed with all the virtues: she here is the perfection of accomplished ladies. He there is very clever and witty: she here is gifted with all good qualities. In the sweet Vṛndāvana there is the young couple, one dark-complexioned, the other fair. May the heart of Śrīvallabha be devoted to and have hope in the feet of Narottama-dāsa. »¹

A friend of Rādhā comes to her and speaks about Kṛṣṇa's love-sickness.

sundari tuhū baṛi hṛdaya-pāṣāṇa |
 kānu-ka navamī- daśā heri sahacari
 dharaī nā parā parāṇa ||
 kataye kṣiṇa-tanu kahaī nā pāriye
 tejata tāhe ghana śvāse |
 tejata parāṇa aīche anumāniye
 rahata tohāri āśoyāse ||
 ki jāniye ki khane nehārāla tuā rūpa
 taba dhari ākula bheli |
 khane khane camaki camaki aba muruchae
 heri royata sakhi meli ||
 koī yaba tohāri nāma kahe śravaṇa-hi
 taba-hi nāyana-parakāśa |
 eta-hū nideśa kahala tohe sundari
 pāmari vallabha-dāsa || [PKT. 97.]

« O my beauty, you are very hard-hearted. His companions have lost heart on seeing Kānu (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) in the ninth stage (of love-sickness). His body has been so much reduced that it cannot be expressed (in adequate terms). He sighs heavily. He will give up the ghost, so it seems: he only lives in hope of you. I do not know at what moment he had eyed your beauty. Thenceforward he has become impatient. Now he gives sudden starts and then he swoons away. On meeting (your) companions he weeps with

¹ This is, in all probability, a composition of Rādhāvallabha-Caudhuri (see *infra*).

In the following Bengali poem Vallabha-dāsa mentions the works of Narottama-dāsa-Thākura and pays his tribute to them. For this it has some historical interest.

nare narottama dhanya granthakāra agraganya
 agaṇya puṇyera ekādharā |
 sādhanē sādha-śreṣṭha dayāte ati gariṣṭha
 iṣṭa prati bhakti camatkāra ||
 ‘candrikā’ pañcama sāra tina ‘maṇi’ sārātsāra
 ‘guru-śiṣya-samvāda-paṭala’ |
 tri-bhuvane anupāma ‘prārthanā’ granthera nāma
 ‘hāṭa-pattanḍ’ madhura kevala ||
 racilā asaṃkhyā pada haiyā bhavē gaḍa-gaḍa
 kavitvera sampad se saba |
 yebā śune yebā paṛe yebā tāhā gāna kare
 seī jāne padera gaurava ||
 sadā sādhu-mukhe śuni śrī-caitanya āsi puni
 narottama-rūpe janamilā |
 narottama guṇādharā vallabhe karaha pāra
 jalete bhāsō puna śilā || [GPT., pp. 478 f.]

1. Prema-bhakti-candrikā, Siddha-prema-bhakti-candrikā, Sādhya-prema-candrikā, Sādhana-bhakti-candrikā, Camatkāra-candrikā.

१ सूर्य-मणि, चन्द्र-मणि, प्रेम-भक्ति-चिन्तामणि.

Upland-patals,

heard from good men that Śrī-Caitanya came again and reincarnated in Narottama. Narottama, the receptacle of all virtues, do you save Vallabha and thus cause a stone to float in water again. »

The Brajabuli and Sanskrit lyrics in the *Kṣaṇadā*, which bear the *bh.* of 'Vallabha,' do not belong to our poet Vallabha-dāsa. They probably belong to 'Hari-vallabha' (Viśvanātha-Cakravartin).

Kavi-vallabha [c. 1598 A.C.].

In PKT. there is a single Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of 'Kavi-vallabha.' No other lyric—whether Bengali or Brajabuli—by 'Kavi-vallabha' occurs in any of the known anthologies of Vaiṣṇava lyrics. This poem, which is a very fine one, and a universal favourite with Bengalis everywhere, runs as follows : ¹

sakhi he, ki puchasi anubhava moy |
 soī pirīti anu- -raga bākhāniye
 anukhana nautuna hoy ||
 janama avadhi haite o-rūpa nehūralū
 nayana nā tirapita bbelā |
 lākha lākha yuga hāma hiye hiye mukhe mukhe
 hṛdaya juṛana nāhi gelā ||
 *vacana-amiyā-rasa anukhana sūnalū
 śruti-pathe paraśa nā bheli |
 kata madhu-yāminī rabhase goyāyalū
 nā bujhalū kaichana keli ||
 kata bidagadha-jana rasa anumodāi
 anubhava kāhu nā pekhi |
 kaha kavi-vallabha hṛdaya juṛāite
 mīlaye koṭi-me eki || [PKT. 937.]

« 'Dear friend, what do you ask me about all that I feel? That love I call *anurāga*, which becomes ever anew. Ever since my birth

¹ Some of the lines differ from the given text in the version which is usually sung by *Kīrtanīyās* and others. The current version is the following. It is believed (and there is no sure ground for this belief) that the poem is the work of the great Vidyāpati of Mithilā : Mr. Nagendranāth Gupta gives it as such in his *Vidyāpati* (No. 834) in what is evidently a reconstructed Maithili version.

I have gazed at that loveliness (of Kṛ-ṇa). but my eyes have not yet had their fill; for *lacs* and *lacs* of aeons I have (enjoyed this beauty), heart to heart, face touching face, yet my soul remains unsatisfied! I have listened incontinently to the ambrosia of his speech; still (I feel as if) its (elusive) touch (*i.e.*, sweetness) has been ever lost to my ears! So many spring-tide nights I have passed in an ecstasy of love's bliss, yet I do not know even now what love's sports are!' 'Many are the persons, wise in their knowledge of love, who talk highly of *rasa* (essence of love); but nowhere do I find the inner perception;' says Kavi-vallabha, 'To soothe the heart only one is found among a *koṭi* (ten millions).' »

This poem had been cited by Sārādā-carāṇa Mitra in his collection of Vidyāpati's poems under the *bh.* of Vidyāpati. But no authentic source of this version had been given by him. Satīśa-candra Rāy, however, had shown, on internal evidence, that in its frankly philosophical cast the poem is a learned production and was posterior to the *Ujjvala-nīlamanī* of Rūpa-Gosvāmin, and as such it cannot be ascribed to Vidyāpati [PKT., Vol. V, pp. 26 ff.].

The poet Vallabha-dāsa, who has been discussed above (pp. 158 ff.), does not seem to have been the author of this piece. We know of one Kavi-vallabha, the author of the *Rasa-kadamba*,¹ who was a very good poet. This Kavi-vallabha lived at Āroṇ near Mahāsthāna by the river Karatoyā [*op. cit.*, p. 84]. His father was Rāja-vallabha, and from this it is evident that Kavi-vallabha was his real name. The poet belonged to the Śrīkhaṇḍa school, his *guru* being Uddhava-dāsa. He wrote the *Rasa-kadamba* at the instance of Mukuṭa-Rāy (a Brahmin) who was a disciple of Narahari-Sarkār [*op. cit.*, p. 83]. In all probability this Kavi-vallabha was the author of the poem in question.

‘Vidyā-vallabha.’

In the *Kṣaṇadū* there is one Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of ‘Vidyā-vallabha.’ The poem which describes the fresh youth of Rādhā, runs as follows :

¹ The *Rasa-kadamba* by Kavi-vallabha, edited by Tārakēśvara Bhaṭṭācārya and Āśuṭoṣa Caṭṭopādhyāyā. Vaṅgīyā Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, 1932 B.E. The date of its composition is *Saka* 1520 (= 1598 A. C.).

kṣaṇe kṣaṇe nayana kōṭa anusarāi |
 kṣaṇe [kṣaṇe] vasana dhūli bharu bharaī ||
 kṣaṇe kṣaṇe dāśana-ka khaṭā-khaṭi ¹ hāsa |
 kṣaṇe kṣaṇe (eka) adhara āge gahe vāsa ||
 bālā śaiśava taruṇima bhēṭa |
 lakhaī na pāriye jētha kanēṭha ||
 hṛdaya-ja ² mukulita heri thori thōri |
 kṣaṇe aṅcala dei kṣaṇe bhaye bhōri ³ ||
 cawāki calaye kṣaṇe kṣaṇe cale manda |
 manamatha-pāṭha-ke kare anubandha ||
 dūti sañāni karaha soī ṭhāṭa |
 paṇḍita hāma-hi paṇḍāyaba pāṭha ||
 cetana majhu jhaṣa-ketana manda |
 abagahi leī śikhāwa rasa-mantra (= manta) ||
 āpana tana-kāñcali ⁴ hāme deyaī |
 yatana-hi prema-ratana bhari leyaī ||
 vidyā-vallabha iha ājīva |
 ihā binu duhū-ka jīu nā jīva || [Kṣaṇadā 6.]

« ‘Now (the pupils of) her eyes follow the corners (*i. e.*, she gives a side-long glance), and now again she fills up (the hem of) her skirt with dust (*i. e.*, trails the hem of her garment on the ground). Now she smiles, exposing the dazzling white of her teeth, and then she (bashfully) covers up her lips with (the hem of) her *sari*. The young girl is on the meeting ground of childhood and youthfulness: one cannot judge which is more prevailing (*literally*, which is the older and which the younger). Finding her breasts budding slightly she now covers them up with her *sari*, but in the next moment she has forgotten all about it. Now she runs forward with a start, and then immediately she walks in a slow gait. (It seems as if) she is conning the lessons taught by the god of love. O you clever *dūti* (messenger) ! do please bring it about in such a manner that I, a master (in the arts of love), may (have occasion to) teach her the lessons myself. The fish-bannered (god of love), till now tardy, is awake ! Let me bathe (in her love) and impart to her the *mantra* (secret formula) of

¹ ‘chaṭā-chaṭi,’ as in the PKT. version ascribed to Vidyāpati, is the better reading, which is followed in the translation. ‘khaṭā-khaṭi’ might be justified, taking this onomatopoeic as expressive of brilliance or dazzling light (*e.g.*, Modern Bengali usage with ‘raudra’). ² Text ‘hṛdaye.’ ³ ‘bherī.’ ⁴ ‘kāñcana.’

love ecstasy (*rasa*) ! Let her give over to me the garment covering her breasts, and through my care, let her take it back filled with the jewels of love.' This (*i. e.*, love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) is the sustenance of Vidyā-vallabha ; without this (union) the life of the Two cannot subsist. »

A shorter and somewhat different version of this poem occurs in PKT. with the *bh.* of Vidyāpati. It is as follows :

khene khene nayana kona ¹ anusarai ;
 khene khene vasana dhūli tanu bharaī ||
 khene khene daśana chaṭā-chaṭi hāsa |
 khene khene adhara āge karu vāsa ||
 caūki calaye khene khene calu manda |
 manamatha-pāṭha pahila anubandha ||
 hṛdaya-ja makulita heri heri thora |
 khene ācara dei khene haye bhora ||
 bālā śaiśave tāruṇa bheṭa |
 lakhaī nā pāriye jeṭha kanēṭha ||
 vidyāpati kahe śuna vara kāna |
 taruṇima śaiśava cinḥai nā jāna || [PKT. 83.]

A comparison of the two versions shows that the former is an improvement upon the latter. If the *bhāṇitā* portion of the *Kṣaṇadā* version is not corrupt, here we find a fresh poet Vidyā-vallabha, who, it may be, had worked upon or supplemented a poem by Vidyāpati.

Rādhāvallabha-dāsa.

There are altogether seventeen poems with the *bhāṇitā* of Rādhā-vallabha. All these poems bear the impress of a single writer. Two of these poems [2379, 2380] clearly show that Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya was the *guru* of the poet. But it is a bit of worry to find that Śrīnivāsa had no less than three disciples by the name of Rādhā-vallabha,—(i) Rādhāvallabha-Maṇḍala, (ii) Rādhāvallabha-dāsa, and (iii) Rādhāvallabha-dāsa Ṭhākura. Which of them was (or were) the poet (or the poets) ?

The answer is indirectly given by the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*. He refers to one poem by Rādhāvallabha-Cakravartī citing only the first

¹ PKT., Vol. I, p. 63, reads 'nāyana-koṭe,' which is evidently wrong.

In PKT. there are only seven Brajabuli poems with the *bh.* of Rādhā-vallabha [196, 220, 774, 1392, 1725, 2037, 2324]. An additional poem is found in GPT. [p. 467]. The historical poems by this poet are rather important [PKT. 2361-63, 2368, 2370; GPT., p. 467]. He devotes two poems to his *guru* [PKT. 2379, 2380], and a third to Jñānadāsa [GPT., p. 410].

friend, I have seen a wonderful girl. Her face is a compound
of the arrows of) the god of love: over it there is a mass of
blancing at me with her flitting eyes, she wore a slight smile

¹ The five arrows are the following flowers—*bandhūka*, *madhūka*, *nilotpala*, *tīla* and *kunda*, which are compared respectively to Rādhā's lower lip, cheeks, eyes, nose and teeth; cf. *Gita-govinda*, X. The mass of clouds is the tresses of her hair.

and turned away.* From that very moment I was down with love-sickness, and my life is in a crisis. Day and night, whether lying on bed or sleeping, I see nothing else: she is (the object of) my perpetual contemplation. I do not understand the way of her love: my heart is troubled and impatient. I cry out the distress of my heart to you (alone); and you are a very clever and good girl. You shall just show me that sweet vision again.' So sings Rādhā-vallabha (or the Lover of Rādhā).*

Kṛṣṇa's *dūtī* (female messenger) comes to Rādhā, and thus pleads for Kṛṣṇa.

sundari suvadani tuhū ageyāna |
 giridhara purukha taruṇa nava-kaiśora
 anukhana tohāri dheyāna ||
 yachu mukha koṭi- śarada-śaśi-lābaṇi
 so tuyā daraśana āśe |
 yachu rūpa laliṭa madana murachāyāi
 so tuyā paraśa abhilāṣe ||
 yachu guṇa akhila- bhuvana karu kīrttana
 tuyā guṇe tachu mana bhora |
 ko bihi aparupa tohe niramāyala
 śyāma-hṛdaya-maṇi-cora ||
 supurukha-pirīti amiyā-sukha-sāgara
 ataye karabi avagāha |
 takara vacane jīu niramāñchaha
 lāja dharama geha nāha ||
 so sukumāra- hṛdaya bhela ākula
 milaha tāhe ati sādhe |
 kaha rādhā-vallabha yaba-hū nā milaha
 prema karaba paramāde || [APR. 430.]

* O (my) pretty girl with a lovely face! You are an ignoramus. The man who lifted the hill up—a young fellow in early youth—is always thinking of you. He, whose face has the loveliness of a hundred lakhs of autumnal moons, (abides) with the hope of seeing you. He, at whose graceful beauty the god of love swoons away, (lives) with the desire of your touch. He, whose goodness the whole world sings about, is absorbed in contemplating your virtues. Who is the Creator that has fashioned you—the thief that has stolen the treasure of Śyāma's

Rādhā-vallabha had written a few Bengali poems in *Dhāmālī* style. One is quoted below, another is to be found in the *Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī* [p. 173].

* Gorā charms the heart, nay, he charms the world. The radiance of (his) smile is like the rays of so many moons: it rains down sweetness. The bevy of ladies desire to fill their hearts with (his) beauty. His lordship, the god of love, has smashed their pride and bashfulness. On his two sides (flaps) the upper garment of coloured silk: there are golden anklets in (his) feet, and they tinkle at each step, which makes Love to start up. Over the *mālatī* flowers in his ample fresh garland the bees hover. At the style (of the garland) hanging

« Twice blessed is Govardhana-dāsa.¹ Blessed is the village Cāda-pura.² Blessed is Balarāma-Ācārya, the family priest of Govardhana, whose house was sanctified by the saint Haridāsa. Under his (i. e., Haridāsa's) guidance Raghu performed devotional duties. Govardhana's son Raghunātha is a very great person: he read the *Bhāgavata* under Haridāsa, the *Bhāgavata* which prescribes the different devotional duties and is a boat in the sea of *bhava* (worldly existence). As is the master Haridāsa, so is his disciple Raghunātha. Giving up riches and properties, houses and palaces, and vast wealth, Raghunātha, in his prime youth, became a (religious) mendicant. Wondering from land to land, he at last came to Vṛndāvana. He practised many austerities so that he was reduced to bone and skin. Worshipping and worshipping Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, he laid down (his) life. Rādhāvallabha holds up his precious feet upon (his) head. »

‘Rādhā-dāsa’ [ante 1653 A.C.].

It is quite a mystery that no poem of Rādhā-dāsa (or, to be more precise, no poem with the *bh.* of Rādhā-dāsa) occurs in any of the known and published anthologies of Vaiṣṇava lyric literature. The only known work which contains any such poem is the *Rasa-mañjarī* of Pīṭāmbara-dāsa, where, however, only one poem with the *bh.* of Rādhā-dāsa occurs [pp. 55f.]. Notwithstanding this apparent ignorance or averseness to the poet on the part of the compilers of the anthologies there is good reason to believe that Rādhā-dāsa was a distinguished writer of verses.

The oldest portion of the Das MS. contains twenty-seven poems by Rādhā-dāsa. Eighteen of these poems are included—along with two others, one by Govindadāsa and the other by Jaḡannātha-dāsa—under the caption ‘Rāsa-pañcamadhyāya.’ These eighteen poems on the *Rāsa* theme by Rādhā-dāsa form a little MS. entitled the *Aṣṭādaśa-padāvalī* [VSP. MS. 2353]. This MS. is dated, the date of copying being B. E. 1111 (=A. C. 1708). In these poems the poet has followed the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* more or less faithfully.

¹ Father of Raghunātha-dāsa.

² Their native place, near Saptagrāma.

Now the question arises, who was this 'Rādhā-dāsa'? The last poem on the *Rāsa* theme contains the *bh.* of 'Rādhāvallabha-dāsa.' The last couplet of the poem in question runs thus :

karpūra candana kasturi-rasa ghana
(vṛndā-)vipina sukha-rāse |
madhukara kokila rati-jaya-maṅgala
kahu rādhāvallabha-dāse || [Das MS.].

'Rādhā-vallabha' must have then been the full name of this poet. The question next arises, was the poet the same Rādhā-vallabha as has been discussed above? The poet Rādhā-vallabha, as we have seen, wrote mostly in Brajabuli while 'Rādhā-dāsa' does not seem to have written much in Brajabuli, there being only one such poem. The poet Rādhā-vallabha, as we know, was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, but there were other contemporary Rādhā-vallabhas. Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya had three disciples named Rādhā-vallabha—(i) Rādhāvallabha-Manḍala, (ii) Rādhā-vallabha-dāsa and (iii) Rādhāvallabha-dāsa Thākura [Karpānanda i; Prema-vilāsa ii], while Narottama-Thākura had two—(i) Rādhāvallabha-Datta, his nephew and (ii) Rādhāvallabha-Caudhuri Prema-vilāsa xx; Narottama-vilāsa xii]. It is of course impossible to say—at least at the present state of our knowledge—which of these was our poet 'Rādhā-dāsa.'

The two following poems—one in Bengali and the other in Brajabuli—are cited from VSP. MS. 2353.

śuñiñā kānura kaṭu kātara kāmīnī |
heṭa-mukha haiyā saba lekhae dharaṇī ||
puna puna nayāne vacana dhari dhari |
parāṇa harila āge o rūpa-mādhurī ||
punu muralīra svare ānila tñaiyā |
e[be se] dharama-patha deha bujhāyā ||
pati-kula-satī jātī jīvana yauvane |
vraja-vadhū sāpiyāche o rāṅgā-carāṇe ||
strī-vadha pātaka he tomārā nāhi bhaya |
pūtanā ābāla-kāle badha mahāśaya ||
gopikā badhile eve puribeka sādha |
viṣa miśāyā pura muralīra nāda ||
ye hokā se hokā gopī tomāra carāṇe |
rādhā-dāsa kahe nilū abhaya-śaraṇe ||

« On hearing the dreadful (words) of Kṛṣṇa the young women were distressed. With hanging heads they scratched the ground (with their toes). Looking up (at Kṛṣṇa) repeatedly (they uttered these) words slowly : 'The sweetness of (your) beauty had previously carried away our hearts. Then again you have brought us down forcibly with the notes of your flute. But now you teach us the path of propriety and morality ! good ladies living with their husbands, the girls of the Vraja have dedicated their sense of propriety, youthfulness, and life even at those rose-hued feet (of you). You have indeed no scruple for the sin of murdering women, as you slew Pūtānā when a child—you are a gentleman indeed ! Now by slaying the *Gopīs* your wishes will be fulfilled. (That is why) you blow notes out of your flute, notes mingled with poison ! Be that as it may, (we) the *Gopīs* have taken refuge at your feet.' So says Rādhā-dāsa. »

The Brajabuli poem, quoted below, is rather corrupt at places. It describes the *Rāsa* dance.

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| sukha vṛndā vipine | sukha[ma]ya | rūsa-rabhasa-raṅgiyā |
| bihare mādhaba | madhura kāmīnī | vṛndā rohinī-saṅgiyā |
| cāru..... | gaṇḍa cumbana | uraja-khaṇḍana-bhāṭiyā |
| bandha nivi-ra ¹ | muñcata añcala ² | māla-torāla chāṭiyā |
| kūjita kaṇṭha- | nināda (su-)madhura | valayā nūpura kāñciyā |
| toṣi rati-pati | aṅgera vasati ³ | vṛndā-niśi-rasa-rañjiyā |
| veśa-bhūṣaṇa- | keśa vigalita | ...aṅguri-bhāṭiyā |
| pravīṇa-kāmīnī | kānu nija-kare | kata bhūṣaṇa-kāṭiyā ⁴ |
| adhika gaurava | garve garabati ⁵ | gorī-maṇḍala chāṭiyā |
| gupata kānane | kānu gopīnī | rādhā-dāsa anāthiyā ⁶ |

[VSP. MS. 2353.]

« In the blissful Vṛndā-strand, he is the sportful one, joying in the blissful joys of *Rāsa*. Mādhaba sports, in the company of sweet women—Vṛndā, and Rohinī (and others). Fair....., kissing cheeks, and beautifying the incision (by nails) of breasts. The knot of the cloth-belt (is freed), and the upper garment is given up, and the rings for the feet (*malla torāla*) are abandoned. The tinkle of the bracelets, the anklets

¹ MS. 'niviṣa'

⁵ =garabita (?)

² MS. 'bañcala'

⁶ =rādhā-dāsa-ka nathiyā (?)

³ =vāsa-bi(?)

⁴ MS. 'kāṭiyā'

and the zone ornament is sweet, like a beautiful music from the throat (of a singer). Pleasing even the lord of Rati (the god of love) by the fragrance (?) of his body, he is the adorer of the joys of the nights at Vṛndāvana. His garments and gems, and his hair are all disarrangedwith the lustre of his finger rings. Kānu with his own hands adorns his lady love, already experienced in the art of love, with so many ornaments. The hearts of the fair women feel proud with the pride of an excessive honour. In the secret woods are Kānu and the *Gopinīs*, who are the masters of Rādhā-dāsa.

Prasāda-dāsa.

Prasāda-dāsa, and his brother Jānakīrāma-dāsa, who was also a poet, were the sons of Karuṇākara-Majumdār, a Kāyastha, residing at Vana-ṣiṣṭupura. The brothers were good scribes, and so they got the title of 'Viśvāsa.' They became disciples of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya. [Karuṇānanda i; *Prama-vilāsa* xx]. There are two poems of Prasāda in the Das manuscript, in one of which he subscribes himself as 'Dukhiyā Prasāda.' In the *Pada-kalpa-taru* there is a single Brajabuli poem by Prasāda-dāsa, which is quoted below.

saba-hū milita yamunā-tīra
añjali pūri piyata nīra
bañhala tahī tarura chāya
bica nanda-nandanā |

navina-nīrada-baraṇa-joti
nāsāye lalake jhalake moti
ure vilambita kadamba-māla
bhāle tilaka-candanā |

kunda-kalikā-kalita-cūṛe
manda-pavane barihā ure
kaṭi-taṭe kiye pīta vasana
bāhe śobhita kañkaṇā |

hasita-lalita vadana-indu
alape upaje gharama-vindu
lola nayana-kamala-yugala
tāhe lalita añjanā |

nakhara ujora yaichana canda
 cakora-nikara lāgala dhanda
 lubadha heri caraṇe gheri
 saghane karata cumbanā |

aruṇa adhare purata veṇu
 ghṣṇaiyā gherata saba-hū dhenu
 sahaje sundarī virāhe bhora
 dūre baraja-aṅganā ||

śuni śuni gopī harala bola
 bhāve avāṣa cita bibhora
 rahi rahi rahi camaki uṭhata
 tharahi dharaī kampanā ||

aneka yatane cetana pāī
 calali yāhā sundarī rāī
 pheri herata beri beri
 āichana mana-rañjanā |

dāsa prasāda karata āśa
 amiyā adhika madhura bhāṣa
 śuni tirapita śravaṇa-sukha
 tāpa-nikara-bhañjanā || [PKT. 2575.]

* All (the cowherd boys) are assembled on the bank of the Yamunā. They drink the water (of the river) with the cup of their hands, and then sit under the shade of the tree near the Son of Nanda. He has a complexion resembling the tint of dark cloud : at the tip of his nose hangs a dazzling pearl. Over his chest dangles a garland of *kadamba*, and on his forehead there are decorations of sandal paste. On his crest decorated with *kunda* blossoms, a peacock's feather quivers in a soft breeze : around his waist is draped a yellow cloth ; and his arms are ornamented with bracelets. His moon-like face looks lovely in smiles : on it drops of perspiration appear with the slightest exertion. The pair of his lotus eyes is dancing, and they are beautified with collyrium. His nails are bright like the moon, about which the *cakora* birds are in a puzzle. On seeing them (*i.e.*, the nails) these birds are hungry, and they hover around and kiss them. He plays on the pipe with his rosy lips, and all the cattle crowd around him. The girls of the Vraja, from afar, are full of pangs of love. On hearing the music the *Gopīs* have lost the power of speech ; they are full of ecstatic sentiments ; they muse and muse,

and then wake with a sudden start and tremble violently. After great trouble they regain consciousness and go to where the lovely Rādhā is. They turn back and look again and again. Such is his supreme attractiveness. Their servant Prasāda hopes that (Rādhā's) sweet words that defy nectar may give pleasure to the ears when heard, and may remove all distress and pain. •

Besides the Brajabuli poem cited above there are four Bengali poems by Prasāda-dāsa incorporated in PKT. Three of these poems deal with Yaśodā's love for Child Kṛṣṇa, and the remaining poem [278=2305], which occurs in the *Kṣaṇadā* [210] also, in an ode to Nityānanda-prabhu.

Vrajānanda.

All that is known about Vrajānanda is that he was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya and that he lived at Vṛndāvana [Karṇānanda i]. There is a single Brajabuli poem by this poet in the *Pada-kalpa-taru*, which is quoted below.

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| nāgara-nikaṭa | sañe doti āola |
| rāi sunāgarī-ṭhāma | |
| śyāma-ka kata dukha | dekhai nā pāriye |
| kahaite āyalū hāma | |
| ko jāne kakhana | dekhalā tohe śyāmara |
| tuyā rūpa karata dheyāna | |
| rādhā-nāme | dvi-guṇa tanu moṛai |
| dhairāja nā dhari parāṇa | |
| śuna kahi sundari toy | |
| so hena sunāgara | saba-guṇa-sāgara |
| tohe se purukha-vadha hoy | |
| tulū ramaṇī-dhani- | mukuta-śiromaṇi |
| mohe nā karu āna chanda | |
| kaha vrajānanda | vilamba nā kara dhani |
| heraha śyāmara-canda | [PKT. 127.] |

• The messenger came from the gallant lover to the good heroine Rādhā. (She said :) 'I cannot witness so much distress of Śyāma: so I have come to tell (you). There is no knowing when Śyāma saw you.

But he always thinks of your loveliness. At the name of Rādhā he is doubly distressed, and his soul becomes impatient. Listen to me, my beauty, as I tell you. To you comes the blame of killing a man like him who is such a gallant *beau* and who possesses infinite goodness. You are a girl and the diadem of the entire host of accomplished women : do not say no to me.' Vrajānanda (too) submits : ' Do not tarry, my lady, (go and) see Śyāma, the moon.' »

Śivarāma-dāsa.

Śivarāma-dāsa, according to the *Bhakti-ratnākara* and the *Narottama-vilāsa*, was a disciple of Narottamadāsa-Ṭhākura. Nothing further is known about him. In the *Pada-kalpa-taru* there is about a score of Brajabuli poems by Śivarāma ; in five of which there is some mixture of Hindi [1070-72, 1518, 1557].

Specimens of his Brajabuli composition are given below :—

aīchana śunaīte mugadhini-ramaṇi |
 sakhi-gaṇa-iṅgite avanata-bayaṇi ||
 lāje vacana nāhi kare parakāśa |
 sakhi-gaṇa kahata-hi priyatara bhāṣa ||
 kahaīte nā kahasi rajanī-ka kāja |
 hāmāri śapati tohe yadi kara lāja ||
 pahila-samāgama lāgi eta dūkha |
 puna mīlane kata pāyabi sukha ||
 aīche vacana śuni kahe mṛdu hāsi |
 śivarāma-dāsa iha rasa parakāśi || [PKT. 255.]

« On hearing that, and understanding the meaning of her friends the simple girl lowered her face. Out of bashfulness she could not utter a syllable. Then her friends talked these sweet words to her : ' Though manifest, you are not telling us about the last night's affairs. We exhort you that you do not be bashful. So much pain (you feel at) the first meeting ! But in the next meeting you would find so much pleasure.' On hearing these words she smiled softly and began to speak. Śivarāma-dāsa here develops the sweet sentiment. »

śyāma rāsa-rasa-raṅgiyā |
 nava-yuvarāja yuvati-raṅgiyā |

| | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| cañcala-gati- | carane calata |
| sañgita-surañgiyā | |
| nāce manohara | gati..... |
| ...aṅga-bhañgiyā ' | |
| bīṇa-adhika | vividha yantra |
| bāoye upāñgiyā | |
| madhura tāla | thaĩ thaĩ thaĩ |
| bolata mṛdañgiyā | |
| kānu lapata | sura-mohona |
| lālu mañjira māna ri | |
| rucira tā tā | thaiyā thaiyā thaiyā |
| gāota sura-tāna ri | |
| vṛṣabhānu-nandini | kiśori gori |
| gāota anupāma ri | |
| śivarāma ānande | nāhika ora |
| herata rasa-dhāma ri | [PKT. 1070.] |

« Śyāma, who delights in the sport of *Rāsa*, and who is a young prince, (is dancing) in the company of young damsels. He is moving in quick steps to charming music. He dances in charming steps and with delightful movements of the body. Lutes and other musical instruments are being played to accompaniment. Drums (*mṛdaṅga*) are raising a beautiful note—*tā tā, thaĩ thaĩ thaĩ*. Kānu raises a charming music with his lovely anklets, and he is singing a fine melody in proper beats and harmony. The beautiful young daughter of Vṛṣabhānu is singing exquisitely. Śivarāma has lost his consciousness in joy, and is looking at the embodiment of *rasa* (love). »

Śyāmadāsa (ii).

The probable candidates for the poetic fame of Śyāmadāsa (ii) are as many as four : (i) Śyāmadāsa Cakravartti, a brother-in-law and disciple of Śrinivāsa-Ācārya, (ii) Śyāmadāsa-Caṭṭa, another disciple of the same, (iii) Śyāmadāsa-Cakravartti, son of Vyāsa (-Ācārya)-Cakravartti, both disciples of the same, and (iv) Śyāmasundara-dāsa, a Brahmin and disciple of the same. [For Śyāmadāsa (i) see Addenda.]

Let us first discuss the poems that bear the *bh.* of Śyāmadāsa. In PKT. there are six such poems, all in Brajabuli [1289, 1330, 2095, 2350, 2352, 2845]. In GPT. there is an additional Bengali poem [p. 272]. In the *Saṅkīrtanāmṛta* there are one Bengali and two Brajabuli poems [71, 130, 316]. In APR. there are eleven songs of which five are in Brajabuli [303, 304, 306-308]. Lastly in the *Pada-kalpa-latikā* there are two songs, one in Bengali, with the *bh.* of Dviḥ Śyāmadāsa, and the other in Brajabuli, with the *bh.* of Śyāmadāsa, which is an obvious mistake for Śyāmadāsa as is evident from the metre.

Now there is one interesting fact about the Brajabuli poems by Śyāmadāsa. These are more or less tinged with Brajbhākhā forms and idioms. This cannot be explained except on the assumption that the poet had lived for some time at Vṛndāvana. Now the *Karṇānanda* mentions that Śyāmasundara-dāsa lived at Vṛndāvana. But as the *bh.* is uniformly Śyāmadāsa, and not even once Śyāma-sundara or Śyāmasundara-dāsa, we may reject him.

Śyāmadāsa-Cakravartī, the son of Vyāsa-Ācārya, was a worthy person and a scholar too. He must have been to Vṛndāvana for his religious education. It is of course a fact that poems with the *bh.* of Śyāmadāsa are not the work of a single poet. It is also possible that there was a Brajbhākhā poet of the same name.

The following Brajabuli poem is quoted as a specimen :—

rādhe pyāri āye bāoye rabāba |
 eka-hi locana yantra-tantra-hi
 aura kāna-mukha mājha ||
 īṣata nācani gīma dolani
 alaka-tilaka sāja |
 heri murachita śyāma-sundara
 adhara murali bāja ||
 drumā āveśita pulaka-carita
 maura nāce duhū pāśa |
 rāī raṅgiṇī cau-dige berhala
 śyāmadāsa tachu āśa || [APR. 303.]

* Rādhā, the dearest girl, is coming forward, playing on the *rabāb*. One of her eyes is fixed upon the strings of the instrument, while the other is rivetted on Kṛṣṇa's face. Her gait is dancing, her neck is moving

in beat, and she is profusely decorated with *tilaka* tracings. On seeing her Śyāma the lovely one is greatly moved. He blows his pipe with his lips. Trees are bristling up in joy and are in a trance as it were. On both sides (of the two lovers) peacocks dance. Her companions make a circle round Rādhā (and Kṛṣṇa). Śyāma-dāsa hopes thereat. »

Yadunandana-dāsa (ii) [c. 1607 A.C.].

Yadunandana (ii) was born in a Vaidya family at the village Mālihaṭi near Katwa. He was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, and had later become an attendant of the Ācārya's daughter Hemalatā-devī who lived at Būdhai-pārā. The poet has given his account, though very briefly, in his *Karṇānanda*, a historical work dealing with the activities of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya. This work was completed in Śaka 1529 (=1607 A.C.).

Yadunandana (ii) was a prolific writer. Besides his lyric poems and the *Karṇānanda*, he had translated in Bengali verse, under the title *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-līlā-rasa-kadamba*, the Sanskrit drama *Vidagdha-mādhava* of Rūpa-Gosvāmin. He had similarly treated the Sanskrit epic poem *Govinda-līlāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, and also the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* along with the *Sāraṅga-raṅgadā*, the commentary thereon by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Some of the lyric poems of Yadunandana, found in the anthologies, are taken from his translations of the *Vidagdha-mādhava* and the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*.

Yadunandana (ii) was certainly the last of the great poets of Brajabuli. As a translator he has not been surpassed by any. The diction of his Bengali verses is smooth and dignified.

In PKT. there are more than two scores of Brajabuli verses with the *bh.* of 'Yadunandana,' and a few more with the *bh.* of 'Yadu' and 'Yadunātha.' 'Yadu' can very well be an abbreviation of the fuller name 'Yadunandana.' But the trouble is that Yadunandana (ii) has often subscribed himself as Yadunātha in his *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-līlā-rasa-kadamba* for obvious metrical reasons. So it is difficult to assign them to the proper poet or poets.

The following Brajabuli poem, taken from the *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-līlā-rasa-kadamba*, is undoubtedly from the pen of Yadunandana-dāsa (ii) :—

parijana-sudhādhara-vāpi |
nā śunasi kāhe ageyāni |

so vara-nāgara-rāja |
 tapana-tanayā-taṭe nipa-taru-nikaṭe
 hilana naṭavara-sūja ||
 marakata-ratana- mukura jini lābaṇi
 prati-tanu piriti-pasāra |
 sūrada-cāda- phāda mukha-maṇḍala
 kuṇḍala śravape vihāra ||
 nācata bhaṇa- madana-dhanu-bhaṅgima
 diṭhi khañjana-naṭa-jora |
 bāndhuli-adhare murali-rava-mādhuri
 umatāyala mana mora ||
 ūrata cūre cāru śikhi-candraka
 manda-pavana sañie mela |
 kahe yadunandana śravapa-rasāyana
 tanu mana saba hari nela || [APR. 263.]

« That prince of gallant lovers, dressed as a great dancer, is standing at his ease under a *nīpa* tree by the bank of the Daughter of the Sun (Yamunā). The loveliness of his complexion surpasses that of a mirror made of pure emerald. Every item of his person is a riot of love. The oval of his face is (as beautiful) as the round of the moon. Earrings decorate his ears. Under the arches of the eyebrows that are the veritable bows of the god of love dance his eyes like a pair of hopping *khañjana* birds. The sweetness of the notes of the flute at his lips that resemble buds of *bāndhulī* flower has intoxicated my heart. On his crest shivers the lovely peacock's feather in slight breeze. So says Yadunandana in a way that is ambrosiac to the ear : ' He has stolen everything, both body and soul.' »

The following Bengali poem, also from his *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-līlā-rasa-kadamba* is a good specimen of Yadunandana's power of effective translation. The influence of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja is quite noticeable here :—

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| kadambēra vana haite | kibā śabda ācambite |
| āsiyā paśila mora kāne | |
| amṛta nichiyā peli | ki mād'hurya padāvali |
| ki jāni kemana'kare prāṇe | |
| sakhi he, niścaya kariyā kahi tore | |
| hā hā kulāṅganā-mana | grahibāre dhairya-gaṇa |
| yāhe hena daśā haila more | |
| śuniyā lalitā kahe | anya kona śabda nahe |
| mohana-murali-dhvani eha | |
| se śabda śuniyā kene | hailā tumi vimohane |
| raha nija citte dhari theha | |
| rāi kahe kebā hena | murali bājāy yena |
| viśāmṛta ekatra kariyā | |
| jala nahe hime yānu | kāpāiche saba tanu |
| prati-tanu śītala kariyā | |
| astra nahe mane phuṭe | kāṭārīte yena kāṭe |
| chedana nā kare hiyā mora | |
| tāpa nahe uṣṇa ati | poṛāye āmāra mati |
| • bicārite nā pāiye ora | |
| eteka kahiyā dhanī | udvega bāṛila jani |
| nāre citta prabodha karite | |
| kahe śuna āre sakhi | tumi mithyā kaile dekhi |
| muralira nahe hena rīte | |

kona sunāgara eha mahāmantra paṇe yeha
harite āmāra dhairya yata ।
dekhiyā ai-saba rita camaka lāgila cita
dāsa-yadunandanera mata ॥ [Act. i]

«[Rādhā speaks to her friend on hearing the notes of Kṛṣṇa's flute:] 'From within the *kāḍamba* grove what a note comes to my ears all on a sudden! What a sweet song! One is tempted to throw away ambrosia as being nothing to it. I cannot describe what my heart feels. My friend, I tell you (this) for certain: can the heart of a girl of a good family ever check itself (on hearing) that which is responsible for this my condition?' On hearing this Lalitā replies: 'This sound is nothing but the melodies of the enchanting flute. On hearing it why are you perturbed? Just restrain your heart.' Then Rādhā speaks again: 'Who is he that plays upon the flute in this way, as if mixing up a portion of nectar and gall? It is no water, but it makes me shiver and renders my limbs all cold; it is no weapon, but it pierces my heart as if with a dagger; even then it does not cut my heart into two; it is not heat, still it is very hot and it burns my determination (to ashes); and when I ponder I come to no conclusions.' Speaking thus the precious girl becomes all the more impatient; she can in no way console her heart, and she says: 'Listen to me, my friend; you have lied to me, I see; such can never be the way of a flute. He is some gallant lover who is uttering an incantation to take away all my self-control. On seeing all this affair, wonder has sprung on my heart as on that of the servant Yadunandana.' »

Mathurā-dāsa.

Mathurānātha-dāsa or Mathurā-dāsa was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karnānanda i]. Nothing further is known about the poet. In PKT. there is one Bengali poem with the *bh.* of Mathurā-dāsa [789]. This poem shows that the poet must have been a good scholar of Sanskrit. In the *San̥kīrttanāmṛta*, however, two Brajabuli poems are found with the *bh.* of 'Mathureśa-dāsa' [206, 317]. There is nothing remarkable in them.

Giridhara-dāsa.

There is only one Brajabuli poem by Giridhara-dāsa in the *Kṣaṇadā* [301 = APR. 415]. In the *Śaṅkīrttanāmṛta* there is another poem with the *bh.* of Giridhara-dāsa [386], which is found with the *bh.* of Govinda-dāsa in PKT. [430]. As this poem lacks the finish of the Kavirāja, it is quite possible that Giridhara-dāsa was the real author of the piece.

Giridhara-dāsa was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya. He was one of the persons to whom the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* has acknowledged his indebtedness.

Divyasimha [c. 1583 A.C.].

Divyasimha was the son of Govindadāsa Kavirāja, and like his father he was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karpānanda i]. The name Divyasimha ('divine lion' the *vāhana* of Śakti) supports the fact that Govindadāsa Kavirāja was a worshipper of Śakti in his earlier life.

The only available poem by Divyasimha is a Brajabuli one, occurring in the *Śaṅkīrttanāmṛta* [191]. This poem, which describes Rādhā's agonies on seeing Kṛṣṇa from a distance and falling at once in love with him, is quoted below :—

yaba dhari pekhalū kālindī-tīra |
 nayane jharaye kata vāri athīra ||
 kāhe kahaba sakhi marama-ka kheda |
 cīta-hī nā bhāye kusumita śeja ||
 nava-jaladhara jiti barāṇa ujora |
 herāite hṛdi māsā paīṭhala mora ||
 taba dhari manasija hānaye bāṇa |
 nayane kāhna binu nā heriye āna ||
 divyasimha kahe śuna vraja-rāmā |
 rāī kāhna eka-tanu duhū eku ṭhāmā ||

• Since I have seen the bank of the Kālindī (Yamunā), tears stream down incessantly from my eyes. To whom, O my friend, shall I confide the secret pangs of my heart? Even the flower-strewn bed does not appeal to me. He whose shining complexion puts to shade the tinge

of dark cloud, has entered into my heart as soon as merely eyed. Thenceforward the god of love is piercing me with his shafts, and I do not see with my eyes anything or anybody except Kṛṣṇa. Divyasimha replies: 'Listen to me, O girl of the Vraja, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are the same personality, and they are always together.' •

Gokulānanda [*ante* 1653 A.C.].

In the earlier portion of the Das MS. there are nine poems (all in Bengali) by Gokulānanda. One Bengali poem—an ode to Advaita-prabhu—with the same *bhāṇitā* occurs in PKT. [2351]. One Brajabuli and two Bengali poems (including the one cited in PKT.) by Gokulānanda have been incorporated in GPT.

I quote here the only Brajabuli poem by Gokulānanda. The language of the poem is not pure: it contains more Bengali than is usual. Its metre also is defective, showing indifferent copying.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| saṅge parikara | gaura-vara-sundara |
| yāota suradhunī-tīra | |
| o-rūpa nehāri | cita umatāola |
| sarama bharama geo haṇu athīra | |
| sajanī gorā-rūperā kataī mādhuri | |
| satī kulavati hāma | aīchana beyākula |
| nimikhete haīla baūri | |
| atanu-kusuma-śare | antara jara-jara |
| dūre geo loka-parivāda | |
| gaura-rūpa-sāyare | jīvana (yauvana) dāraba |
| iba majhu mane sādha | |
| yata guru-garahita | saba hāma tejaba |
| nā karaba kulera vicara | |
| gokulānandera hiyā | rūpera sāyara mājhe |
| dūhala nā jāne sātāra ¹ | [GPT., p. 147.] |

¹ The compiler of GPT., without any justification, ascribes this as well as the other two poems to Gokulānanda-Sena *alias* Vaiṣṇava-dāsa, the compiler of PKT. But there is not the least evidence to show that Vaiṣṇava-dāsa had ever used his real name in the colophon of any of his poems.

« In company with his followers Gaura the handsome and superb was going to the bank of the Ganges. Looking at that beauty all my bashfulness and decorum fled away, and I became restless. O friend ! manifold are the charms of Gorā's loveliness : I am a lady of a noble family, and yet I am so much perturbed, and in a moment, have become mad, as it were. My heart is pierced through and through with the darts of the Bodyless One (i.e., the god of love) : slander by men is at a distance (i.e., is of no concern to me). In the sea of Gaura's loveliness I shall throw down my life and my youthfulness : this is the desire of my heart. All sense of decorum and reverence for my superiors I will forsake : I will care nothing or the dignity of my family. The heart of Gokulānanda has drowned itself into the sea of that loveliness, and it does not know how to swim (back). »

I quote below one Bengali poem by Gokulānanda from the earlier portion of the Das MS.

dekha nā śrī aparupa nikuñjera mājhe |
 rādhā-śyāma anupāma kibā se birāje ||
 cāhite jhāmāre ākhi rūpa gorā kālā |
 vinodī vinodinī rūpe nidhuvana ālā ||
 samāna vayasā veśa kiśorī kiśora |
 duhākārā rūpa dekhi saba-hū bibhora ||
 kuñje nā guñjare ali maūri nā nāce |
 piku bisarala dhvani mukha heri āche ||
 rūpa dekhi sārī śuka bisarala gāna |
 animikhe dekhe rūpa jharaye nayāna ||
 āhā mari mari mṛgī tṛṇa mukhe kari |
 mṛga-śīśu dekhe rūpa stana mukhe kari ||
 gokulānandete kahe ki baliba tāhā |
 mari mari balihāri āhā āhā āhā ||

« Look at the superb beauty in the woodland grove : Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, the unparalleled (couple), look so resplendent. Eyes, when looking at (their respective) fair and dark complexions, become dazed : the loveliness of the Charming Lady and the Charming Gallant has illumined the pleasure garden. The Youngwoman and the Youngman are of the same age and are dressed equally (fine) : everybody (man

and animal) is ravished, looking at their superb beauty. The bee does not hum in the grove, nor does the peahen dance: the cuckoo has forgotten its notes, and is gazing on at their faces. On looking at their beauty the *sārikā* (mynah) and the *śuka* (parrot) forget their song: with eyes that have stopped their twinkle they feast on that beauty, and their eyes are streaming (with tears of joy). O the wonder! the doe with grass in her mouth and the fawn with its mother's teat in mouth are looking on. Says Gokulānanda: 'How shall I describe it? Ah me! I feel carried away, ah!'

Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya had three disciples named Gokulānanda: (i) Gokulānanda-Ācārya, the elder son of Haridāsa-Ācārya, (ii) Gokulānandadāsa-Cakravartī, and (iii) Gokulānanda-dāsa [Karaṇānanda i (pp. 9, 15); Prema-vilāsa xx]. It is quite possible that any one (or more than one) of these three was (or were) the poet (or poets) in question.

Gokuladāsa (i).

In PKT. there is a single Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of Gokuladāsa. The poem is only a series of names and epithets of Kṛṣṇa, the Supreme Deity [2975]. According to the *Bhakti-ratnākara* [x] Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya had a disciple named Gokuladāsa who was a good poet ('kavīndra'). He came originally from 'Karaṇā' and settled later at Seragaṛa in Pañcakōṭa.

pañcakūṭe seragaṛa-vāsi śrī-gokula |
pūrva-vāsa karaṇā kavīndra bhaktyātula ||

[*op. cit.*, p. 619].

It may be that this Gokula or Gokuladāsa was the poet of the piece. 'Gokula' may also be a short form of 'Gokulānanda.'

Vaṁśīdāsa (ii).

We have seen previously [p. 42] that the poet Vaṁśī-vadana used the *bh.* 'Vaṁśī-dāsa' as well. But there is evidence to show that there was also another poet Vaṁśīdāsa who was posterior to Vaṁśī-vadana. Of the five poems with the *bh.* of 'Vaṁśī-dāsa' and

twelve poems with the *bh.* of 'Vamśī' in PKT. a few may belong to the later poet.' A few other poems with the *bh.* of 'Vamśī-dāsa' occur in APR.

The only poem that can be unhesitatingly assigned to Vamśīdāsa (ii) is an ode to Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya. This poem also shows that the poet was, in all likelihood, a disciple of the Ācārya. The poem is quoted below.

jaya re jaya re mora gaurāṅga-rāyṣṭ |
 jaya nityānanda-candra jaya gaura-bhak a-vṛnda
 sītānātha deha pada-chāyṣṭ ||
 jaya jaya mora ācārya-ṭhākura
 agati patita ati |
 karuṇā kariyā sva-carāṇe rākha
 e mora pāpiṣṭha-mati ||
 tomāra carāṇa bharasā kebala
 nā dekhi āra upāyṣṭ |
 mora duṣṭa-mane rākha śrī-carāṇe
 ei māgo tuā pāy ||
 sadā manoratha ye kichu āmāra
 sakala jānaha tumi |
 kahe vamśīdāsa pura saba āśa
 ki āra kahiba āmi || * [GPT., p. 5.]

« 'Twofold glory be to my Gaurāṅga the King! Glory be to the moon-like Nityānanda! Glory be to the host of Gaura's devotees! O Lord of Itā (Advaita)! give me the shade of thy feet. Twofold glory be to my Ācārya-ṭhākura (i.e., Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya! (I am) hopeless and very wretched: taking pity (on me), do thou keep at thy feet this my sinful heart. My only hope (lies) at thy feet: I do not find any other way. My erring mind—do thou keep at thy feet: this I desire at thy feet. All my desires thou knowest full well: do thou fulfil them. What more shall I say? ' So says Vamśīdāsa. »

* Satīśa-candra Rāy was of firm opinion that all these seventeen poems belong to Vamśī-vadana [vide PKT., Vol. V, p. 180].

* Apparently this poem may seem to be an ode to Advaita-prabhu, but he is mentioned regularly as 'Ācārya-prabhu' and never as 'Ācārya-ṭhākura.'

śrī-vamśīdāsa-ṭhākuraḥ yei mahāśaya ।
prabhuraḥ priya śākhā hay madhura āśaya ॥ [i].

One Vamśidāsa translated the *Nikuñja-rahasya-stava* (consisting of thirty-two verses) of Rūpa-Gosvāmin. The translation consists of thirty-three lyrics (including the introductory piece) written mostly in Brajabuli. These have been published by Nitya-svarūpa Brahmācārī from Vṛndāvana (*Samvat* 1957). It is quite likely that this Vamśidāsa was the same poet as has been discussed above.

Inspite of his apparently small output Dharanī was quite a good poet, as will be evident from the poem quoted below.

āre manamatha nāhi tuā dharama-vicāra |
 ko karu dokha rokha karu kā-sañe
 bara tuhū murukha gonāra ||
 sunaite rūpa kalā guṇa mādhuri
 tefi diṭhi herala kāna |
 soī yodha-pati tāhe nāhi pārali
 hṛdaye hānali pāca-bāṇa ||
 kiye guṇe rati tohe pati kari mānala
 nāma ke rākhala kāma |
 nāsasi kāma kulaṭṭ-pada deosi
 aba tohe cīnalū hāma ||
 devī-pati śiva jīva tuā rākhala
 chiye chiye e bare dūkhe |
 tā-sañe vāda sādhi yaiche dhāoli
 taiche anala dila mukhe ||

In PKT. there is one Bengali poem with the bh. of 'Rasikānanda' [2224], and one Brajabuli poem with the bh. of 'Rasika-dāsa' [541].

Three Bengali poems (of which one is the same as PKT. 2224) with the *ślo.* of 'Rasika' [p. 172], 'Rasikānanda' [pp. 369f.] and 'Rasika-ānanda' [p. 371] occur in GPT. All the three songs are on Caitanya-deva, the last two depicting the sorrowful incident of the Master's shaving his head on the occasion of his *sannyāsa*. These two poems are extremely realistic, and they bear the impress of one who either saw the incident himself or heard it from one who had actually seen it. It shows that the poet Rasikānanda had a vivid imagination. One Bengali poem by 'Rasika-dāsa' occurs in the earlier portions of the Das MS.

The following is the only Brajabuli poem by Rasika-dāsa. There is quite a number of Bengali forms in it, and it is as much Bengali as Brajabuli.

nā kaha re sakhi uhāra kathā |
 dviguṇa hṛdaye nā deha vyathā ||
 yaichana catura śāṭhera pahū |
 taichana tāhāra dūtī se tubū ||
 nikufje hṛdaye dharala ye |
 tāhāre nā kaha sebaū se ||
 soī kalāvati nibase yāhā |
 turite gamana karaha tāhā ||
 emati tāhāre sādhaba yāī |
 ye sukha pāobi avadhi nāī ||
 puna nā āsiha āmāra pāsa |
 śuniyā calala rasika-dāsa || [PKT. 541.]

* [Rādhā is cross with her lover, and she speaks to his messenger :]
 'Do not, O friend, speak of him (*i. e.*, Kṛṣṇa) : do not redouble the sorrow of my heart. As he is the clever master of cheats, so you are his (fitting) messenger. Go and tell her, who embraced him in the garden house, to minister to his pleasures. You go quickly where that accomplished girl is; and speak to her in such a manner that it will bring you unlimited happiness. Never come back to me again.' On hearing this Rasika-dāsa moved away. *

The poet was, in all probability, the celebrated disciple of Śyāmānanda, the colleague of Śrīnivāsa. Rasikānanda was a Brahmin. His father, Rājā Acyutānanda, was a rich landholder. Their native place was Rayani in modern Dhalbhum. Rasikānanda's wife was Mālātī [Prema-vilāsa xx].

his arms and gives her the medicine of his kisses. The gallant lover and the beloved girl both are adepts in that art (i. e., in the ways of love): Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa have the same soul between them. The *sārikā*, the *śuka*, and the cuckoo are singing a song celebrating them—all in a very charming manner: throughout the entire Vṛndāvana there has set in the monsoon of *rasa* (divine love), of which Tulasī-dāsa sings in joy). »

This poem appears in the *Kīrttanānanda* thus :

dekha rāi mād̥hava duhū baiṭhata
nikuñja-mandira-mājha re |
caudike vraja-vadhū maṅgala gāyata
teji kula-bhaya lāja re ||
śarada-yāmīni o kula-kāmīni
teracha-nayane cāy re |
madana-bhujaṅgame rāi[-ka] daṁśala
he[li] paṛe śyāma-gāy re ||
kānu-dhanvantari rāi kole kari
barikhe cumbana-dāna re |
nāgara nāgarī o rasa-sāgarī
[rāi] kānu ekaī parāṇa re ||
sāri śuka pika maṅgala gāyata
ati se sulalita tāna re |
vṛndāvana bhari rasera bādara
ulasita o-rasa gāna re || [Kirttanānanda, p. 155.]

The last line of this poem has an echo in a poem by the poet (*kavi*) Śekhara [Kīrttanānanda, p. 261]. Thus :

vṛndāvana bhari rāsera bādara
kavi-śekhara iha rasa' gāy ॥

From this one is tempted to ascribe the poem to Śekhara (or Kavi-śekhara). The last cæsura of the *Kirttanānanda* version is frankly a misreading of the corresponding portion of the *Kṣapadā* version. The *Kṣapadā* was known to Gaura-sundara, the compiler of the *Kirttanānanda*; he cited two poems by 'Harivallabha' who was probably no other than Viśvanātha-Cakravartin, in his anthology [pp. 187, 161].

The problem however is not so simple. A work, preceding the *Kṣaṇadā* by about half a century (*viz.*, Das MS., earlier part), quotes another version of this poem, closely akin to the *Kṣaṇadā* version, where occurs the *bh.* of Govindadāsa. The Das MS. version runs as follows :—

rādhā-śyāma nikuñja-mandira-mājha |
 caudike vraja-vadhū maṅgala gāyata
 teji kula-bhaya lāja ||
 śarada-yāminī sundara-kāminī
 cañcala-locane cāy |
 madana-bhujāṅgame rāi-re ḍaṁśala
 ḍholi pañiche śyāma-gāy ||
 nāgara nāgarī o-rase āgarī
 karata-hi puṣpa-ki rāsa |
 nānā yantra meli bājata muralī
 kahata-hī govindadāsa ||

It should be noted that the last couplet here is entirely different and that the poem lacks one couplet. Now the question is, who was the original writer of the poem? Govindadāsa has of course the oldest available evidence in his favour, but Tulasī-dāsa's version materially differs from Govindadāsa's version as regards the last couplet. Was the poem really by Govindadāsa, and later it was amplified with a couplet bearing the name of Tulasī-dāsa? Or was it due to the fact that there was a still earlier (fragmentary) prototype to which both Govindadāsa and Tulasī-dāsa are indebted? And so also Śekhara (or Kavi-śekhara)?

The only Tulasī-dāsa known in Neo-Vaiṣṇava literature in Bengal is one Tulasīrāma-dāsa, a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya. He was a weaver by caste [Prema-vilāsa xx; Karṇānanda i].

Raghunātha-dāsa (ii).

The poet Raghunātha-dāsa (ii), to whom should be ascribed the Brajabuli poem PKT. 2387 (an ode to Jayadeva) as well as an ode to Jīva-Gosvāmin [Bṛhad-bhakti-tattva-sāra, Vol. II, pp. 871 ff.], was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, as is evident from the following Brajabuli poem which is an ode to the Ācārya :—

bhāvera bhūṣaṇa rūpa ॥
 vṛndāvana guṇa nāma vilāsa |
 varṇana gaura-cāṇḍa abhilāṣa ॥
 vaiyāsaki-sama śrī śrīnivāsa |
 viracita-līlā-guṇa-vilāsa ॥
 bāhu viśale dhari deaī kora |
 bālaka-keli karata pahū bhora ॥
 bāula saba-jana rodana hāsa |
 vañcita bhela taī raghunātha-dāsa ॥

[VSP. MS. 2322.]

•(His) beauty is an embellishment to his devotional feelings. His supreme enjoyment is in the glory of Vṛndāvana, and in the Name. His highest desire, talking about Gaura the moon (*i.e.* Caitanya-deva). The resplendent Śrīnivāsa, like the son of Vyūsa (*i.e.* Śuka-deva), dilates upon the sportiveness and virtues (of God). With his big arms he gives embrace (to all miserable people); and in (divine) ecstasy the master makes boyish sports in company with boys. All the people have become mad, as it were: they weep, they laugh. (Only) Raghunātha-dāsa is deprived thereof. •

A Bengali poem (an ode to Caitanya-deva) by this poet occurs along with the above poem in the same MS. One poem in KPS. [p. 14] probably belongs to this Raghunātha-dāsa.

Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya had two disciples by the name of Raghunātha: (i) Raghunātha-Kara, and (ii) Raghunātha-dāsa [Prema-vilāsa xx]. One of these two must have been the poet in question.

Jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa.

Eleven poems (Bengali and Brajabuli) by Jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa occur in the oldest part of the Das MS. (1653-1656 A.C.). Nine of these poems are on the *Subala-saṁvāda*.¹ Three Bengali poems on the same

¹ 'Subala-saṁvāda' (the message of Subala) is the technical term for an episode of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend. Kṛṣṇa is extremely anxious to meet Rādhā, and Subala, her brother, acts as the messenger. He meets Rādhā at her home and exchanges his own garb with her. He then stays at home impersonating Rādhā, while the latter, dressed up as Subala, meets Kṛṣṇa in the pasture ground where Kṛṣṇa is waiting. Nobody suspects her.

Karṇānanda [iii] Jayakṛṣṇa-Ācārya was a disciple of Rāmacandra Kavirāja, but according to the author of the *Narottama-vilāsa* [xii] he was a disciple of Narottama-Ṭhākura.

‘Jayacandra-dāsa.’

In APR. there are three Bengali poems [492-494] on the *Subālamilana* episode by ‘Jayacandra-dāsa.’ It is quite likely that these poems have come from the pen of Jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa discussed above, and that ‘Jayacandra’ is a scribal error for ‘Jayakṛṣṇa.’

Jānakī-vallabha.

In APR. there is a single Brajabuli poem by Jānakī-vallabha. It is as follows :—

ki kahaba niṭhura murāri |
 aba ki jibaī vara-nārī ||
 tuā tanu neha-bhujānge |
 daṁṣāla komala aūge ||
 aukhada gada nāhi māne |
 tāgā tuhārī dheyāne ||
 śyāma du-ākhara manta |
 te dhanī-dhairaja anta ||
 eka āchaye pratikāre |
 tuhārī pāṇi pūni-sāre ||
 tuā diṭhi sāraka āse |
 aba-hi bahāi mṛdu ś(v)āse ||
 śunaīte murachita kāna |
 jānakī-vallabha ageyāna ||’ [APR. 495.]

• [A friend of Rādhā comes to Kṛṣṇa and describes Rādhā’s love-sickness. Rādhā has been compared here to a person bitten by a poisonous snake.] ‘What shall I say to thee, O cruel Murāri (*i. e.*, Kṛṣṇa) ! Is the fair lady still living ? Her love (inspired by) thy slender body, like a

snake has bit her tender limbs. The poison cannot be checked by medicine: only thought of thee (can act as) the strong bandage (tied above the bitten spot to stay the poison). (If she but hears) the two syllabled *mantra* (secret formula), which is thy name, *Śyāma*, the fair lady's self-control is at an end. Only one remedy is there: it is (a touch of) thy hand, which will be like the 'water-remedy' (*pāni-sāra*, a process in curing snake-bite). In expectation of a sight of thee as a sovran remedy, her breath still continues, though very faintly.' On hearing this Kṛṣṇa lost his senses; and Jūnaki-vallabha too lost his consciousness. »

There was one Jānakivallabha-Caudhuri among the disciples of Narottama-Ṭhākura [Prema-vilāsa xx]. He was, in all probability, a Brahmin; as Narahari-Cakravartti mentions him as 'Jānakivallabha-Caudhuri Ṭhākura' [Narottama-vilāsa xii].

'Dvija Jānakī.'

Two poems with the *bh.* of '*dvi*ja Jānakī' occur in the oldest portion of the Das MS. 'Jānakī' may be the short form of the fuller names 'Jūnaki-vallabha' or 'Jūnaki-nātha.' As we have seen above the poet Jānakī-vallabha was, very probably, a Brahmin. One Brahmin (*vīpra*) Jānakī-nātha was present at the Khetari festival. The former, however, has the better chance of being the author of the poems in question.

'Dāsa Jānakī.'

One Bengali poem with the above *bh.* occurs in the oldest portion of the Das MS. Though there is mention of one Jānakīrāma-dāsa among the disciples of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karpānanda ii; Prema-vilāsa xx], I am inclined to think that the poet 'Dāsa Jānakī' was the same person as 'Dvi

Gaurakīśora-dāsa.

A MS. [2050] in the library of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad contains a few poems by Gaurakīśora-dāsa. One of these poems bear the *bh.* of 'Kīśora-dāsa,' apparently *metri causa.* [As I am not sure that

the poet Kīśora-dāsa was the same as the poet in question I have dealt with the former separately.]

The following poem is quoted as a specimen of the poet's Brajabuli writing :—

phāguā khelata raṅge nadiyā-vihārī |
 gadādhara dāmodara saṅge narahari ||
 śrīvāsa mukunda vāsu āra śrī-mukunda |
 gorā-aṅge phāgu dei nehāre ānanda ||
 cau-dige bhakata saba gāoye bāoye tāla |
 ānande nācata pahu śacira dulāla ||
 śrī-yugalakṣṇa pahū dei karatāri |
 gaurakīśora-dāsa yāoye balihārī ||

« The Gallant of Nadiya (*i. e.*, Caitanya-deva) was joyously engaged in *Holi* sport in company of Gadādhara, Dāmodara, and Narahari. Śrīvāsa, Mukunda, Vāsu and Śrī-Mukunda were throwing the red powder at Gorā's person, and were looking on with delight. Around (them) the devotees were singing and beating measure, and the Master, the beloved Son of Śacī, was dancing in joy. Śrī-Yugalakṣṇa, the master, was clapping hands (in unison). Gaurakīśora-dāsa is entranced thereat. »

From this poem one may conclude that Caitanya-deva had a follower named Yugalakṣṇa and that the latter was the *guru* of the poet. But no such follower of the Master is known to us, and so I hesitatingly include Gaurakīśora among the poets of the late sixteenth century. It may be that the poet was a much later one.

‘ Kīśora-dāsa’ [? c. 1583 A. C.].

There is a Brajabuli poem by Kīśora-dāsa in the later portion of the Das MS. The same poem *minus* the last line containing the *bh.* occurs in the oldest portion of the same MS. Two Bengali poems with the *bh.* of ‘ Kīśora’ have been cited in APR. [480, 481]. Another Bengali poem by Kīśora-dāsa occurs in KPS. [pp. 145f.].

It has been mentioned above that the poet Gaurakīśora-dāsa had at least once used the shorter form ‘ Kīśora-dāsa’ as the *bhāṇitā*. We may also suppose, for the sake of argument, that some other poet such as Vraja-kīśora, Nanda-kīśora, etc., may have done the same. But as there

is nothing to disprove the existence of a poet Kisorā-dāsa he should be accepted as a distinct poet.

The following Brajabuli poem is a remarkably good one, which would be regarded as being not unworthy of the pen of Govindadāsa Kavirāja :—

jaya jaya jaya bijai kuñje
 kuñjara-vara-gamanī |
 prema-taraṅge bharala aṅge
 saṅge baraja-ramanī ||
 gagana-maṇḍala ati-niramala
 śarada sukhada yāminī |
 nila-vasana hāṭaka-varaṇa
 jhalakata ghana dāminī ||
 drimiki drimiki rabāba-pākhāja-
 ṭhāma-ṭhamaki calanī |
 runu runu runu jhunu jhunu jhunu
 bājata nūpara kiṅkiṇī ||
 yantra-tantra tāna-māna
 dhani dhani nava-yauvanī |
 tā-nā-nā-nā-nā-nā sulalita-viṇā
 bāyata sughaṛa ramanī ||
 milala śyāma- kuñja-dhāma
 anupāma-sukha-śohinī |
 dāsa kisorā sukhera nāhi ora
 heri śyāma-mana-mohinī ||

« Hail! Hail! Hail! The girl with the gait of an elephant (*i. e.*, Rādhā) is proceeding to the bower-pavilion. Her limbs are surging with the waves of (the sea of) love. In her train are the young women of the Vraja. The vault of the sky is bright and clear, and the autumn night brings happiness to all. Her garment is blue coloured, and her complexion is that of gold: (it look as if) lightning is flashing through a mass of clouds. She walks to the concert of *rabāb* and *pākhāwaj*: her anklets and the tiny bells at her girdle jingle and tinkle musically. All sorts of musical instruments (are playing) perfect music; —wonderful, wonderful! the lady in her early youth! Her clever companions are playing on sweet-toned lutes—*tā-nā-nā nā-nā-nā*! She (*i. e.*, Rādhā), resplendent with unparalleled blissfulness, meets the Dark-complexioned One (*i. e.*, Kṛṣṇa) in the garden house. On looking at the

face of the charmer of the heart of the Dark-complexioned Lover Kīśora-dāsa's joy knows no bounds. »

Kīśorī-dāsa [? c. 1583 A. C.].

I have come across one Bengali poem by Kīśorī-dāsa [VSP. MS. 202], which is quoted below. The poet is otherwise quite unknown.

ki herilāmṣ kālindīra ghāṭe |
se-rūpe koṭi madana nā āṭe ||
jalada-baraṇa seī yuvā |
yuvatīra jāti-kula-lubā ||
hiyā jara-jara anurāge |
tā bine jhagaṇa saba lūge ||
diyā jāti-kulera bidāy |
śaraṇa lailāmṣ tachu pāy ||
kīśorī-dāsera cite jāge |
se-rūpa dekhība cala āge ||

« 'What indeed did I see at the bathing *ghat* on the Kūlindī (*i. e.* Yamunā) ! Tens of millions of gods of love cannot rival that loveliness. That young man with the complexion of the dark clouds is the pool to sink the caste and family ties of young women. My heart is being eaten up with love : without (a sight of) him everything strikes me as a (bootless) wrangle. Bidding adieu to my caste pride and family ties I have taken refuge at his feet.' The thought rises in the heart of Kīśorī-dāsa : ' Let us go forward and have a look at that Gracefulness.' »

We have previously seen that Parameśvara-dāsa sometimes mentioned himself as Parameśvari-dāsa. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that Kīśorī-dāsa sometimes mentioned himself as Kīśora-dāsa, or *vice versa*. Śyāmānanda had a disciple who has been mentioned by the author of the *Prema-vilāsa* [xx] as Kīśorī-dāsa and by the author of the *Bhakti-ratnākara* [p. 1055] as Kīśora-dāsa. Was he the poet in question ? This Kīśora-dāsa (or Kīśorī-dāsa) was present at the Khetarī festival [Narotama-vilāsa vi, vii]. There was another Kīśorī-dāsa. He was the third son of the poet Govindadāsa-Cakravartī. Both the father and the son were disciples of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karnānanda, ii, iii]. It is very likely that this latter Kīśorī-dāsa was our poet.

•

« Alas, alas ! What a wretched fate I have ! When Gaura (*i. e.*,

Rāmacandra, better known as Rāmacandra-Gosvāmī, was adopted as

Rāmacandra (ii).

Two Bengali poems by 'Rāmacandra' on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa topic

kāhāre kaḥiba manera kathā
kebā yāy paratīta ।
hiyāra mājhāre marama-vedana
sadāī camake cita ॥

and others. But there is at least one poem, which is undoubtedly of his authorship. It is imbedded in his long poem *Smaraṇa-darpaṇa*,² a work of the type of—in fact the prototype of—Narottama's *Prema-bhakti-candrikā*. The poem is quoted below. There are traces of Brajabuli forms in it.

dekha dekha āre bhāi gaurāṅga-cānda parakāśa |
 pūrṇimāra cānda yena uḍita ākāśa ||
 siṃha-rāśī paurṇamāsī gorū avatūra |
 chāṛala yugera bhūra dharaṇī nistūra ||
 mahi-tale āchena yateka jiva-tāpa |
 harala sakala pahū nija-hi pratāpa |
 kali-yuge tapa yajña nāhi kona tantra |
 prakāśila mahāprabhu 'hare kṛṣṇa' mantra ||
 premara bādara kari bharila saṃsāra |
 pātakī nārakī saba pāila nistūra ||
 andha avadhi yata kare parakāśa |
 vindu nā paṛila mukhe rāmacandra-dāsa ||

[*Smaraṇa-darpaṇa*, pp. 20 f.]

« Behold, O my brother ! behold the rise of the Moon-like Gaurāṅga ! He is a veritable full moon resplendent on the sky. On a fullmoon night, (when the sun was) in the mansion of Lion, Gorū incarnated. The weight (of the accumulated sins) of the *yugas* (aeons) is removed and the earth is relieved. All the sufferings of creatures upon the surface of the earth the Master has removed with his own prowess. In the *Kali-yuga* (dark age) there is neither penance, nor religious sacrifice, nor any especial esoteric practices. The Great Master has proclaimed the *mantra* (sacred formula), *viz.*, 'Hare Kṛṣṇa' (O Hari ! O Kṛṣṇa !). Bringing down the showers of Divine Love, he has filled the earth, and thereby all sinners, all dwellers of Hell have received salvation. He makes things clear even for the blind (to see). But not a drop has fallen to the lips of Rāmacandra-dāsa. »

¹ Besides the two Rāmacandras discussed above there was an older poet Rāmacandra-Mallikā as well as a much later Rāmacandra. Both these Rāmacandras have been discussed *infra*.

² Edited by Acyuta-carāṇa Candhuri, Bhakti-prabhā Press, Alāṭī, Hūgli.

Śacīnandana-dāsa (i).

Śacīnandana, the younger brother of Rāmacandra-Gosvāmī [pp. 202 f.] was the second son of the poet Caitanya-dāsa and grandson of the poet Vamśi-vadana. Besides some lyrics he is said to have written a narrative poem entitled *Śrī-Gaurāṅga-vijaya* [cf. GPT., Introduction, p. 178].

Only two poems by Śacīnandana (i) are known. One is in Bengali [PKT. 2237=GPT., pp. 381f.]. It graphically describes the sorrows of the Master's prominent followers when he leaves Śāntipura for Nīlūcala. The other poem, written in Brajabuli, is a series of twelve lyrics describing Viṣṇupriyā's sorrows during each month of the year,¹ after her husband, Caitanya-deva, had renounced home life [PKT. 1765-1776=GPT., pp. 395 ff.]. The poem begins with the month of *Māgha* (January-February), because it was this month when the Master adopted *sannyāsa*. I quote below one of these lyrics as a specimen of Śacīnandana's Brajabuli composition.

iha mādHAVī parabeśa |
 piyā gela kiye dūra-deśa ||
 iha vasanā tanu-sukha choṛa |
 aba dharala kaupīna ḍora ||
 aba dharala kaupīna ḍora aruṇa-hi
 vāsa choṛala candane |
 teji sukhamaya śayana ūsana
 dhūlāy paṛi karu krandane ||
 yo buka parisara heri kāmīni
 paraśa-rasa lāgi mohāi |
 so kiye pāmāra patita kole kari
 avani murachita royaī || [PKT. 1768.]

• Now enters the month of MādHAVī : ² my Beloved One has gone away to such a far-off land ! Casting away garments pleasant for the body he has now put on a loin-cloth (tied) with a rope ! Now he has put on a loin-cloth (tied) with a rope, and an ochre-coloured wrapper : he has given up sandal-paste (decorations) ! Giving up cosy

¹ Such poems are technically known as *Bāramāsyā* poems.

² Vaisākha—April-May.

bed and comfortable seat, he now rolls on dust and weeps. His broad chest once made women long for a mere touch: now indeed, he presses against it sinners and outcasts, and weeps, grovelling on the ground ! »

Kavi-kaṇṭhahāra.

In the *Kṣaṇadā* [92] there is a Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of 'Sukavi (good poet) Kaṇṭhahāra.' The same poem, however, occurs in PKT. [488] with the *bh.* of 'Kavi Bhūpati Kaṇṭhahāra.' The poem runs thus.

| | |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| viraha-vyākula | bakula-taru-tale |
| pekhalū nanda-kumāra re | |
| nila-nīraja- | nayāna-sō sakhi |
| jharāī nīra apāra re | |
| dekhi malayaja- | pañka mṛgamada |
| tāmarasa ghanasāra re | |
| (nija) pāṇi-pallave | mudi locana |
| dharāṇī paṛu asambhāra re | |
| bahaye manda | sugandha śītala |
| mañju malaya-samīra re | |
| (janu) pralaya-kāla-ko | prabala pāvaka |
| paraśe dahaī śarīra re | |
| adbika vepathu | ṭuṭi paṛu kṣiti |
| maṣṇa mukutā-mūla re | |
| anila-tarala | tamāla-taru janu |
| muñca sumanasa-jūla re | |
| mūna-maṇi tyaji | sudatī calu yahī |
| rāya rasika sujūna re | |
| sukhada-śruti ati | sarasa daṇḍaka |
| sukavi bhāṇa kaṇṭhahāra re | |

[Kṣaṇadā, 92 ; PKT., 488.]

• [Kṛṣṇa is sorely distressed at Rādhā's love-sulk. One of the latter's friends finds him in this condition and reports to Rādhā as follows.] 'I saw the Son of Nanda (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) seated, under a *bakula* tree, in great distress caused by separation (from you). From his eyes,

like blue lotuses, O my friend, were flowing profuse tears, and on looking at sandal-paste, musk, lotus and camphor¹ he covered his eyes with his own hands and fell down helpless on the ground. A cool, fragrant and sweet southern breeze was blowing softly, (and at a touch of this he felt) as if the terrible fire of the final destruction was burning his body. Through excessive shaking his necklace of smooth pearls snapped, (and the pearls were scattering) on the ground, and it seemed as if a *tamāla* plant, shaken by the wind, was shedding its blossoms.' (On hearing these words of her friend, Rādhā) the lady of the beautiful teeth gave up her love-sulk and came over to where the Prince of the accomplished gallants was. The good poet Kaṇṭhahāra (or the poet whose name is Kavi-kaṇṭhahāra) composes this mellifluous and very charming poem in the *daṇḍaka* metre. *

Two additional poems by Kavi-kaṇṭhahāra occur in the *Kīrttanānanda* [pp. 177 ff.]. A few additional poems have been cited in Nagendranātha Gupta's collection of Vidyāpati's poems² [20, 60, 80]. Kavi-kaṇṭhahāra is generally identified with Vidyāpati. Some however identify him with Bhūpati or with Campati [*vide* PKT., Vol. V, pp. 24 f.]. The only fact about which we are certain is that Kavi-kaṇṭhahāra was a Bengali. This fact is deduced from the existence of a Bengali poem by Kavi-kaṇṭhahāra, which occurs in Dacca University MS. 2353. [This poem, however, occurs in APR. with the *uk.* of Rāya Śekhara.]

saī prema aparupa |
 kiśora kiśorī pasarā pasāri
 rabhasa-rasera kūpa ||
 nalinī-kiraṇe malina indu
 kumuda mudita lāje |
 cādera bharama cakora mātala
 indīvara hāse mājhe ||
 yamunā-taraṇe aruṇa uḍita
 tārāra pasāra tathā |
 capalā jhāpiyā timira uyala
 ki adabhuta kathā ||

¹ All these are articles for toilet to counteract summer heat. Moreover, they reminded him of Rādhā poignantly.

² Vidyāpati-padāvalī, edited by Nagendranātha Gupta, published by the Vāṅmīya Śāhitya-Pariṣad, Calcutta, B.E. 1316.

« My friend ! Love is wonderful. The Youth and the Girl (*i.e.*, *gā* and *Rādhā*) have exhibited (Love as) a commodity (for sale or distribution): (they two are) the deep well of ecstatic Love. The moon has been made dim by the glow of the lotus, and the lily has gathered her petals in shame. Making a mistake for the moon, the *caṅkora* (in joy), and the blue lotus smiles in their midst. The early sun has risen over the ripples of the Yamunā, and there is still the glow of stars. Shutting out lightning the darkness prevailed: what a treacherous affair it is ! On a creeper of gold appears the crop of pearls: who can really believe (this) ? (Only) the sympathetic people look over this at their hearts. So sings Kavi-kanthahāra. »¹

Nṛpa Vaidyanātha.

In the Tipperah fragment of a MS. of the *Gita-candrodaya* of Narahari-Cakravartti there is a Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of 'Nṛpa Vaidyanātha.' The poem is quoted below. *

hāma nava-nāyari mādhai³ । .
 bale jani⁴ paraśaha madana dohūi ॥
 haṭha yadi karaha hāmāy ।
 ūrati parama-dhana kaba-hi nā pāy ॥
 ati-rase nā haṭha bhorū ।
 hāma kamalini tuṭṭu bhukhila bhawārū ॥ •

¹ This name literally means 'the necklace (i.e., the central gem) among poets.'

² For this poem I am indebted to Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna.

3 MS. 'madhāt.'

4 'yadi' in MS.

bhawārā nāgara duhū tūle |
 mukulita kusume seha nāhi bhūle ||
 śuna śuna binati hāmārā |
 sahaje bhūjaba rati hāma nārī abarā ||
 lahū lahū paraśiha more |
 bhāge nā¹ mīlaye dulaha piyāre ||
 ebe nava uyala yauvane |
 kāca kanayā phala badarī-samāne ||
 minati karahū tuā pūy |
 abalāe bala karite nā juyāy ||
 tuhū bidagadha-śiromaṇi |
 minati kariyā bolḥ hāma se nabinī ||
 nṛpa vaidyanātha kaha bhābi |
 bālā-ramaṇi bahuta-puṇye pūbi ||

• [Rādhā meets Kṛṣṇa for the first time and she is apprehensive of Kṛṣṇa's aggressive love. She speaks to him in this way.] 'O Mādhāi (*i.e.*, Mādhava, Kṛṣṇa)! I am a very young bride. Do not touch me forcibly: I call on the God of Love for help. If you use force with me you shall never find satisfaction, which is the most coveted thing. Do not be mad with excessive desire: I am a tender girl (*literally* a lotus) and you are a hungry bee. A bee and a lover are similar: even he (*i.e.*, the bee) does not feel any temptation for the flower that is yet a bud. Listen, O listen to my entreaty: you should make your love easy,—a frail slip of a girl as I am. Touch me gently. Only through good fortune one can get a sweetheart that is rare. My youth is quite fresh—like unripe golden fruits, even like the *badara* fruit. I pray humbly at your feet: it never behoves you to use force against a helpless girl. You are the crest-jewel among gallants: I entreat you, I am a young girl.' The King (*nṛpa*) Vaidyanātha ponders, and says: 'A young girl can be obtained (only) through much merit.' •

I do not know who this 'King' Vaidyanātha was. The name occurs in a few poems ascribed to Vidyāpati. It occurs also in a poem with the *bh.* of 'Rūpa-nārāyaṇa Vijaya-nārāyaṇa' [PKT., 2381]. The poet was, in all probability, a Maithil, and the poem has the same ring as the amorous poems by Vidyāpati. It would appear to be fairly old.

¹ 'na' in MS.

Ācārya Candra [ante 1653 A. C.].

In the earlier portion of the Das MS. there is a Brajabuli poem (mixed with Bengali forms), which is an ode to Nityānanda-prabhu. The same poem occurs in another old MS. (dated 1091 B.E.=1684 A.C.) deposited at the Calcutta University Library [MS. 2491].

I quote this poem below.

nitāi¹ ki sādhanē pāba |
 śītala-carape chāyā pūiyā²
 kata-dine jurāiba ||
 nitāi-cāda³ mora premera bhāṇḍāra
 añjali kariyā dila |
 sei prema-dhana ye nā kuṣṇā khāila⁴
 tāra lāgi nitāi¹ kādila⁵ ||
 madhura nityānanda carape makaranda
 kāhini kahane nā yāe |
 o rasa-sāyare aba-hu ḍubi rahu
 tā bine āna nābi bhāe ||
 nayāne⁶ nityānanda bayāne nityānanda
 hṛdaye⁷ nityānanda pāy re |
 nācata nityānanda gāyata nityānanda
 caudike nityānanda-rāy⁸ re ||
 divasa-rajani āna nāhi jāni
 bhāiyāra⁹ preme mātoyāra re |
 matta-siṃha jini garjjana puni puni
 sadāi bhāiyā bhāiyā⁹ bola re ||
 japata nityānanda tapata nityānanda
 nitāi¹ bhāva-bhakati re |
 o rāgū-carape śaraṇa māgaī
 ācārya-candra bhārati re ||

* How (*literally* with what religious practices) shall I attain (the grace of) Nitāi? At what length of time shall I obtain peace (*literally*

1 'nityāi' MS.

2 'pāyyā' MS.

3 'nityāi-cāda' MS.

4 'khāiyā' MS.

5 'kāndila' MS.

6 'nayāne' MS.

7 'ridaye' MS.

8 'bhāyyāra' MS.

9 'bhāyyā-bhāyyā' MS.

shade) at his cool feet and shall be soothed? My Nitāi the moon distributed in handfuls the treasure of (divine) Love: he wept for him who did not pick it up and taste it. Sweet is Nityānanda, and honey lies at his feet: the story cannot be told (*i.e.*, too strange to be believed). May (all people) remain ever plunged into that sea of divine Love: without him (*i.e.*, Nityānanda) nothing appeals (to me). May they (see) Nityānanda with their eyes; may they (sing of) Nityānanda with their tongue (*literally* mouth); may they (secure) Nityānanda in their hearts. May they dance of Nityānanda; may they sing of Nityānanda; and (may they realise that) Nityānanda the king is on all sides. Through day and night he (*i.e.*, Nityānanda) knows nothing else: he is full of love for his Brother (*i.e.*, Caitanya-deva). Like a mad lion, he roars again and again: he always cries out, 'Brother! Brother!' Do you mutter (the name of) Nityānanda; do you worship Nityānanda. (May) Nitāi (be your) devotion and piety. At those rosy feet (of Nityānanda) seeks refuge the speech of Ācārya Candra. »

Vṛndāvana-dāsa in his *Caitanya-bhāgavata* [iii. 5] (and also Devakī-nandana in his *Vaiṣṇava-nandanā*) mentions one Ācārya Candra. He must have been our poet. Was this Ācārya Candra the same person as Candra-śekhara Ācāryaratna? If this surmise be true, we find here a specimen of Candra-śekhara Ācāryaratna's poetic composition. Candra-śekhara Ācāryaratna was an uncle-in-law to Caitanya-deva. He was also an ardent follower of the Master.

LATE SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY POETS

There are two poems by Gati-govinda incorporated in the *Kṣāṇadā Gīta-cintāmaṇi* [145, 196]. The last poem, occurring also in PKT. [2318], is in Brajabuli and the other is in Bengali. I have found a third poem by Gati-govinda [VSP. MS. 2416 (containing among others a stray leaf in an apparently old handwriting)].¹ This poem is written in Bengali. The first two poems deal with Nityānanda-prabhu and the last one is concerned with the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa story.

I quote below the Brajabuli poem as a specimen of Gati-govinda's composition. (This poem however is more Bengali than Brajabuli.)

1 Another version of this poem appears in APR. [499].
2 'manthars' PKT.

of Nityānanda-prabhu. (This work has been published by Vaiṣṇava-caraṇa Basāk, Calcutta.) It is complete in four chapters which end in the following couplet :

mahāprabhu vīra-candra amūlya pada-dvandve |
śrīnivāsa-suta kahe e gati-govinde ||

« At the precious feet of the great master Vira-candra this (humble) Gati-govinda, a son of Śrīnivāsa (Ācārya) submits (this). »

Ghanaśyāma-dāsa (i) [*ante* 1653 A.C.].

Ghanaśyāma-dāsa (i),¹ or Ghanaśyāma-Kavirāja, was the son of Divya-simha and the grandson of Govindadāsa Kavirāja. Ghanaśyāma was a disciple of Gati-govinda, the youngest son of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karnānanda ii (p. 29)].

Ghanaśyāma was a good and prolific writer in Brajabuli. Upon him had apparently descended the mantle of his grandfather. But it is a very deplorable affair that the poems of Ghanaśyāma-Kavirāja have been mixed up with those of a later poet. This later poet was no other than Narahari-dāsa (Cakravartti), who had written several Brajabuli poems with the *bh.* of 'Ghanaśyāma-dāsa.' Still it is not impossible to extricate a few of Ghanaśyāma-Kavirāja's poems from out of this mix-up. There is a Bengali poem by Ghanaśyāma—an ode to Nityānanda-prabhu—in the *Kṣaṇadā* [46], which undoubtedly goes to the earlier poet as the later Ghanaśyāma was posterior to Viśvanātha, the compiler of the *Kṣaṇadā*. The later Ghanaśyāma's father, Jagannātha, was a disciple of Viśvanātha, and so it is extremely unlikely that any of his poems could have been incorporated in the *Kṣaṇadā*. As a matter of fact this poem occurs in the *Govinda-rati-mañjarī* of Ghanaśyāma Kavirāja [Calcutta University MS. 352]. One Brajabuli poem by Ghanaśyāma occurs in Pītambara-dāsa's *Rasa-mañjarī* [pp. 57 f.; PKT. 1633]. This poem also occurs in the *Govinda-rati-mañjarī*. This song, therefore, goes to the earlier poet. The bulk of the poems with the *bh.* of 'Ghanaśyāma,' occurring in PKT.

¹ There was a later Ghanaśyāma, or Ghanaśyāma-dāsa (ii), whose other name was Narahari-dāsa. He was the author of the *Bhakti-ratnākara* and the *Narottama-vilāsa*. He has been discussed later on.

(numbering about forty-two), is to be credited to the earlier poet. The *Govinda-rati-mañjarī*, which is a poetico-rhetorical work of the type of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* or the *Rasa-mañjarī*, has not yet been published in entirety. Venī-mādhava De has published it, but his edition seems to be incomplete. I have examined a complete MS. of this work [Calcutta University MS. 352]. The *Govinda-rati-mañjarī* contains forty-six poems, all by the author himself. I find that the following poems in PKT. occur in the *Govinda-rati-mañjarī*: 55, 150, 151, 155, 350, 384, 466, 467, 491, 537, 1601, 1607, 1633 (= *Rasa-mañjarī*), 1694-96, 1723, 1815-26, 1927, 1971, 1988,¹ 2010, 2021, 2310 (= *Kṣaṇadā* 46), 2421, 2720, 2739, 2914.

In the earlier portion of the Das MS. (1653-1656 A.C.) there are fourteen poems by Ghanaśyāma, which must be ascribed to Ghanaśyāma-Kavirāja. A few additional poems by Ghanaśyāma-Kavirāja occur in the *Śaṅkīrtanāmṛta*.

In one Brajabuli poem of his Ghanaśyāma mentions one Madana-Rāya, who was apparently one of his friends [PKT. 2421; Kīrttanānanda]. Was he Gopāla-dasa's elder brother Madana-Rāya, who is said to have translated the *Govinda-līlāmṛta* in Bengal verse? [vide VSPP., Vol. 37, pp. 101, 121-122]. There was one Madana-Cakravartī who was also a fellow-disciple of Ghanaśyāma [Karnānanda ii (p. 29)]. He may have been the person in question.

The following poems are given as specimens of Ghanaśyāma's composition. Ghanaśyāma wrote almost exclusively in Brajabuli.

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| pekhalū gokula- | vasati beyākula |
| gopa-ramaṇī-gaṇa roī | |
| bhīgala vasana | lāgi rahala tanu |
| toḥāri gaṇāna-patha joī | |
| hari he dūra-nagare majhu geha | |
| yaba tuḥū āoli | saṅga-hi gopa saba |
| taba hāma gokula theha | |
| taḥī eka ramaṇī | thoṛi-vayasa dhani |
| citra-putalī sama ṭhāri | |
| yaba locana-patha- | dūra-hi gela ratha |
| taba-hi paṛala tanu ḍhāri | |

¹ PKT. has the bh. of Govindadāsa.

¹gherala sakala sakhi-gaṇa caudise
 royata sakhi ageyāna |
 kahe ghanaśyāma taba-hi calī āolū
 puna kiye bhela nāhi jāna ||
 [Goyinda-rati-mañjarī ; Rasa-mañjarī, pp. 57f. : PKT. 1633.]

• [Kṛṣṇa is at Mathurā. Some one comes to him and speaks about the young women of the Vraja afflicted by their separation from him :]
 'I saw the host of *Gopa* women living at Gokula, weeping piteously. Watching the path of your return (and weeping) continually, their *sāris* are quite wet and cling to their limbs. O Hari, my home is in a far-off city. When you left (the Vraja) along with the *Gopa* men, I was staying at Gokula. (Among the people assembled) there I noted a young woman of tender age, standing fixed like a statue. When your car vanished from sight, at once she reeled and fell down (on the ground). All her friends gathered around her, and (being) ignorant (of the true fact) they wept.' Ghanaśyāma adds : 'I came away then and there : so I do not know what happened next.' •

ko iha puna puna karata huñkāra |
 hari hāma jāni nū kara paracūra ||
 parihari so giri-kandara-māṇja |
 mandire kāhe āoba mṛga-rāja ||
 so hari nahō madhusūdana nāma | ²
 calu kamalālaya madhukari-ṭhāma ||
 e dhani so naha hāma ghanaśyāma | ³
 tanu binu guṇa kiye kahe nija-nāma ||
 śyāma-mūrati hāma tuhū ki nū jāna |
 tārā-pati-bhaye bujhi anumāna ||

¹ Henceforth PKT. reads as follows :

gherala sakala sakhi-gaṇa royaḥ
 kī bhela bali abadhāri |
 kuntala toraḥ vasana koḥ phāraḥ
 vidhi-re deḥ keha gāri |
 koḥ āire kañkaṇa hānaḥ ghana-ghana
 koi koi haraḥ geyāna |
 kahe ghanaśyāma hāma calī āolu
 puna kiye bhela nā jāna |

² PKT. (i, p. 225) has 'so naha dhani madhusūdana hāma.'
 This couplet is lacking in the PKT. version.

ghara-māhā ¹ ratana-dīpa ujjiyāra |
 kaichane paīṭhaba ghana-ādhīyāra ||
 rādhā-ramaṇa hāma kahi paracāra |
 rākā-rajani naha ghana-ādhīyāra ||
 paricaya-pada yaba saba ² bhela āna |
 taba-hi parābhava mānala kāna ||
 taikhane upajala manamatha-sūra |
 aba ghanaśyāma-manoratha pūra ||

[Govinda-rati-mañjarī; PKT. 350.]

« [Kṛṣṇa comes of a night to Rādhā's place and knocks at her door. Rādhā asks, 'Who are you?' Kṛṣṇa answers, but Rādhā would not understand it. This poem is taken up with the questions and answers of the Two.] 'Who is making that roaring noise again and again?' 'I am Hari' (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa, *also* a lion). 'I do not understand. Do you explain (yourself). Leaving the interior of mountain caves why should he (*i.e.*, a lion) come to a human habitation?' 'I am not that *hari* (*i.e.*, lion): my name is Madhusūdana' (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa, the killer of the demon Madhu, *also* honey-sucker, *i.e.*, the bee). 'Then go to the lotus bed and to the female bee.' 'O my precious lady! I am not that; I am Ghanaśyāma' (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa, who is dark-complexioned like cloud, *also* darkness of cloud). 'Can a mere attribute without any receptacle speak out its name?' 'I am the Dark-Complexioned One (*śyāma-mūrati*, *i.e.* Kṛṣṇa, *also* massive darkness). Do you not know this?' 'Afraid of the lord of stars (*i.e.*, the moon), I suppose. But a jewelled lamp is aflame in the room: how can dense darkness come in then?' 'I am the lover of Rādhā (*also* the fullmoon who is particularly fond of the constellation Rādhā), I say (this) clearly.' 'But it is no full moon night, (on the other hand the night is) deep dark.' When all the expressions of introduction thus failed, Kṛṣṇa admitted defeat. At once arose the sun of love, and now the desire of Ghanaśyāma (Kṛṣṇa *or* the poet) would be fulfilled. »

The above poem is an adaptation of the following Sanskrit verse [Padyāvalī 282]:

aṅgulyā kaḥ kapāṭham praharati kuṭile mādhabaḥ kim vasanto
 no cakri kṛp kulālo na hi dharāṇi-dharaḥ kim dvijihvaḥ phaṇīndraḥ |
 nāhaṃ ghorāhi-mardī kim asi khaga-patir no hariḥ kim kapīṣo
 rādhā-vāṇibhir ittham prahasita-vadanaḥ pātu vaś cakrapāṇiḥ ||

¹ 'ghara-hu' PKT.

² 'yabe saba' PKT.

Yadunandana-dāsa (iii).

Yadunandana (iii) was a disciple of Hemalatā-devī, the eldest daughter of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karnānanda ii (pp. 27f. etc.) ; Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-līlā-rasa-kadamba (Vidagdha-mādhava), p. 108 ; Govinda-līlāmṛta, pp. 3, 224, 254]. Yadunandana-dāsa (ii) has been dealt with above [pp. 180ff.]. This Yadunandana-dāsa (iii) may have been identical with Yadunandana (ii), but the *Samgraha-toṣaṇī* suggests a different hand. As I am unable to assign the *Karnānanda*, etc., to the proper poet I deal with them here also.

Yadunandana (iii) was the author of the following works (in addition to a number of lyric poems) [see *supra*, p. 180].

1. The *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-līlā-rasa-kadamba*, or briefly *Rasa-kadamba*.¹ This work is a translation of Rūpa-Gosvāmin's *Vidagdha-mādhava*. Yadunandana has rendered the prose portion of the Sanskrit drama as well as a few songs in running *payāra* metre, while most verses have been turned into lyric poems. The work is no translation, properly speaking. It may be termed a free adaptation.

The *Rasa-kadamba* contains fifty-four lyric poems, of which only seven are written in Brajabuli. One of these Bengali poems is an ode to Gadādhara-dāsa, a follower of Caitanya-deva. This poem contains the *bh.* 'Yadu' [p. 61]. I have shown previously that Yadunandana (i) was a disciple of Gadādhara-dāsa. This poem, therefore, was very possibly the composition of the older Yadunandana, which has been interpolated through scribal error. It is also not impossible that this Yadunandana also wrote a few poems on the Gaura-Gadadhara theme.²

2. The *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*.³ This is an adaptation of Bilva-maṅgala's *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* together with the commentary (entitled *Rasika-raṅgalā*) by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. It has been published from the Rādhāramaṇa Yantra, Berhampore, B.E. 1297 (= A.C. 1890). There are only five lyric poems in this work of Yadunandana [20, 40, 41, 42, 112]. These are rather long poems and were not meant to be sung.

¹ Generally known as *Rasa-kadamba* or *Vidagdha-mādhava*. Published by Sarat-candra Ṣīl, Bijali Press, Calcutta, B.E. 1327.

² According to Jagadbandhu Bhadra Yadunandana (i), that is Yadunandana-Chakravartī, a disciple of Gadādhara-dāsa, had written a poetical work entitled the *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-rasa-līlā-kadamba*, and that it contained six thousand *śloka*s. [GPT., Introduction, p. 156.] He did not mention whether it was written in Sanskrit or in vernacular. The existence of such a work, however, is extremely doubtful in face of the preposterous fact that the two poets having identical names wrote poems with identical titles.

³ Published from the Rādhāramaṇa Yantra, Berhampore.

3. The *Govinda-līlāmṛta*.¹ This is an adaptation of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Sanskrit epic poem (in twenty-three cantos) called the *Govinda-līlāmṛta*. This work of Yadunandana (ii or iii) is written entirely in *paṇḍarā* metre, with the exception of twenty-three poems. These poems are all in *tripadī* metre, and they are rather long narrative poems and as such cannot properly be called lyrics. The main narrative as well as the lyric poems is written exclusively in Bengali.

4. The *Karṇānanda*.² This is a historical work of the type of the *Prema-vilāsa*. It briefly describes the preaching activities of Śrīnivāsa Ācārya and incidentally gives some religious discourses on Neo-Vaiṣṇavism as propounded by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. The *Karṇānanda* was completed on the full-moon in the month of Vaiśākha, Śaka 1529 (=1607 A.C.). The title 'Karṇānanda' was given to the work by Hemalatū-devī. Thus the author says—

būdhai-pūrāte rahi śrīmatī nikaṭe |
 sadāi ānande bhāsi jāhnāvira taṭe ||
 pañca-daśa śata āra vatsara unṣṭriśe |
 vaiśākha māsete āra pūnimā divase ||
 nija-prabhurṣṭ pāda-padma mastake kariyā |
 sampūrṇa karila grantha śuna mana diyā ||
 śrī-kṛṣṇacaitanya-prabhurṣṭ dāserṣṭ anudāsa |
 tāra dāserṣṭ dāsa ei Yadunandaṅḍ-dāsa ||
 grantha śuni ṭhākūrānirṣṭ manera ānanda |
 śrī-mukhe rākhilā nāma grantha karṇānanda ||

[Karṇānanda vi (pp. 118f.).]

The *Karṇānanda* is complete in seven chapters. Each chapter is termed 'Niryāsa' (essence). It contains five lyric poems—two by Vira-Hāmbīra, the king of Viṣṇupura [pp. 19f.], and four by Śrīnivāsa Ācārya [pp. 111f., 113f., 116].

Except in the *Karṇānanda* and in the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* Yadunandana's works contain indiscriminately the *bhaṇitās* 'Yadunandana,' 'Yadu' and 'Yadunātha.' 'Yadu' can of course be the short form of

¹ Published by Maheśa-candra Śil, Hindu Press, Calcutta, the 10th Pauṣa, B.E. 1274.

² Published from the Rādhāramaṇa Yantra, Berhampore, second edition, B.E. 1285.

‘Yadunandana’ or of ‘Yadunātha.’ The last *bh.* is of course *metri causa*.¹
Thus :—

e-mate rādhikā vyākula adbhikā
 bhāvera taraṅge bhāse |
anurāge manaḥ dbairya nahe punaḥ
 bhāṇe yadunātha-dāse ||
[Vidagdha-mādhava, p. 51.]

bhāsala bhuvana prema-rase |
e yadu eṣāla dina doṣe ||² [op. cit., p. 61.]

nikuñje niśānte keli madhura-vilāsa |
saṅkṣepe kahiye kichu yadunātha-dāsa ||
[Govinda-līlāmṛta, p. 18.]

rādhā-kṛṣṇa-pāda-padma-sevā-abhilāṣa |
govinda-carita kahe yadunātha-dāsa || [op. cit., p. 28.]

In PKT. there are about forty Brajabuli poems with the *bh.* of ‘Yadunandana.’ The number of such poems with the *bh.* of ‘Yadunātha’ is only six, and there is only one Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of ‘Yadu.’ There was a poet Yadunātha as well as an earlier poet Yadunandana. We are not sure how many of these poems go to this later Yadunandana. The following poems (in PKT.) however undoubtedly go to the latter as they occur in the *Govinda-līlāmṛta*, in the *Rasa-kadamba* (*Vidagdha-mādhava*), or in the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* : 142, 187, 1505, 2050, 2099 [=Vidagdha-mādhava, pp. 24f., 48, 123, 124, 142f.] ; 2591, 2613, 2659, 2757, 2816 [=Govinda-līlāmṛta, pp. 73f., 149f., 188f., 23f., 237f.].

In the *Padāmṛta-samudra* poems with the *bh.* of Yadunandana number only seventeen [pp. 37f., 38, 56f., 66, 79f., 101f., 157f., 158., 248f., 250, 251, 259, 267f., 268, 275, 394, 436f.]. Of these only three or four are in Bengali [pp. 76f., 248f., 268, 436f.], and the rest in Brajabuli. None

¹ The *bh.* ‘Yadunandana’ has sometimes been used where the reading ‘Yadunātha’ should have been preferred. Thus :

rādhā-kṛṣṇa-pāda-padma-sevā-abhilāṣe |
govinda-carita kahe yadunandana-dāse || [Govinda-līlāmṛta, p. 45.]

This is, however, a possible scribal error.

² This poem however may be the composition of Yadunandana (i).

of these poems seem to occur in the *Vidagdha-mādhava* or in the *Govinda-līlāmṛta*. In the earlier portion of the Das MS. there are four poems with the *bh.* of 'Yadunandana' and twelve with the *bh.* of 'Yadunātha.' These sixteen poems are all written in Bengali. No poem by 'Yadunandana' occurs in the *Kṣaṇadā-Gītacintāmaṇi*; there are however five poems with the *bh.* of 'Yadunātha,' who was probably the same person as 'Yadunandana' (i).

Yadunandana (iii) was one of the best lyric poets in the late sixteenth century. He was no mere translator. His poems are more creations than translations. Yadunandana seems to have been an intense admirer of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, and he has marvellously achieved the dignified and condensed style of the Kavirāja. In fact some of Yadunandana's poems seem to be echoes from the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. Yadunandana was the only lyric poet whose language (Bengali, not Brajabuli) and diction have approached to something like classic dignity. This is certainly no mean contribution to Bengali literature in general. Yadunandana was certainly a very good scholar in Sanskrit as his translations show, and he had quite profitably mastered the works of the Gosvāmins and their followers at Vṛndāvana.

I cite the following poems to illustrate Yadunandana's power of adaptation as well as his stylistic achievement.

(Original)

nādaḥ kadamba-viṭapāntarito visarpan
ko nāma karna-padavīm aviśan na jāne |
hā hā kulīna-gr̥hiṇī-gaṇa-garhaṇīyāṃ
yenādyā kām api daśāṃ sakhi lambhitāsmi ||

[Vidagdha-mādhava, Act. i.]

(Adaptation by Yadunandana)

kadambura vana haite kibā sabda āṇambite
 āśiñā paśila mora kāne |
amṛta nichiyā peli su-mādhurya padāvali
 ki jāni kemana kare mane ||
 sakhi he, niscaya kariyā kahi tohe |
hā hā kula-ramaṇīra grahaṇa karite dhira ¹
 yāte kona daśā kaila mohe ||

¹ 'hā hā kulāṅganā-mana grahibāre dhairya-gaṇa' [PKT. 142].

śuniyā lalitā kahe anya kona śabda nahe
 mohana muralī-dhvani eha |
se śabda śuniñā kene haile tumi vimohane
 raha tumi citte bādhi theha ||

rāī kahe kebā hena muralī bājy yena
 viṣāmṛte miśala kariñā |
hima nabe tabhu ¹ tanu kāpāiche hima janu
 prati-tanu śitala kariñā ||

astra nahe mane phuṭe kātārite yena kūṭe
 chedana nū kare hiyā mora |
tūpa nahe uṣṇa ati poṟaye āmāra mati
 bicūrte nū pāye ora ||

eteka kahiyā dhani udvega bāṛila jāni
 nāre citta prabodha karite |
kahe śuna āre sakhi tumi mithyā kaile dekhi
 muralira nabe hena rīte ||

kona su-nāgara ei moha-mantra paṛe yei
 harite āmāra ² dhairya yata |
dekhiyā oi-saba rita camaka lāgila cita
 dūsa yadunandanera mata ||

[Rasa-kadamba, pp. 24f.; *cf.* PKT. 142.]

• [Rādhā hears Kṛṣṇa playing on his flute. She says to her friend:] 'From the grove of *kadaṃba* trees what notes have all on a sudden entered into my ears! (On hearing such ravishing notes) one can (very well) throw away ambrosia—such a sweet song (it is)! I cannot express what my heart feels. My friend, I tell you (this) for certain—he is, alas, (ready) to take away the endurance of a woman of good family (*i.e.*, to make her leave her home at the call of the flute): therefore he has brought down such (misery) upon me!' Hearing (this) Lalitā replies, 'This sound is nothing else: it is the music of the charming flute. On hearing this (sound) why do you lose self-control? You just take heart and be firm.' Rādhikā says: 'Who is he that plays on the flute (a melody which is) a compound of poison and nectar? It is no snow, yet it freezes every limb, and causes the body to shiver as if in (intense) cold. It is

1 Text reads 'taba.'

² Text reads 'tom5ra.'

not a weapon, yet it pierces the heart—nay—it cuts through like a chopper. But (why) does it not cut my heart off (once for all)? Neither it is heat, yet it feels very hot: it burns my mind. When reckoning I find no limit.' When the lady spoke this much, her anguish she found to be on the increase, and she could no longer control herself. She said: 'Listen to me, my friend. I see that you lie: such is never the way of a flute. It must be some gallant young man who is uttering an incantation in order to destroy all my (attempts at) self-control.' At these behaviours (*i.e.*, of Kṛṣṇa and of Rādhā) one's heart is struck with wonder. This is the opinion of Yadunandana-dāsa. »

(Original)

saundaryāmṛta-sindhu-bhaṅga-lalanā-cittādri-samplāvakaḥ
 karṇānandi-sanarma-ramya-vacanaḥ koṇḍu-śītāṅgakaḥ |
 saurabhyāmṛta-samplavāvṛta-jagat piyūṣa-ramyādharāḥ
 śrī-gopendra-sutaḥ sa karṣati balāt pañcendriyāṇy āli me ||
 navāmbuda-lasad-dyutir nava-taḍin-manojñāmbaraḥ
 sucitra-murali-sphurac-charad-amanda-candrānanaḥ |
 mayūra-dala-bhūṣitaḥ sūbhaga-tāra-hāra-prabhaḥ
 sa me madana-mohanaḥ sakhi tanoti netra-sprhām ||
 nada-j-jalada-nisvanaḥ śravaṇa-karṣi-sat-siñjitaḥ
 sanarma-rasa-sūcakākṣara-padārtha-bhaṅgy-uktikaḥ |
 ramādika-varāṅganā-hṛdaya-hāri-varṣi-kalaḥ
 sa me madana-mohanaḥ sakhi tanoti karpa-sprhām ||
 kuraṅga-mada-jid-vapuh-parimalormi-kṛtāṅganaḥ
 svakāṅga-nalināṣṭake śaśi-yutābja-gandha-prathaḥ |
 madendu-varacandanāḅguru-sugandhi-caracāritāḥ
 sa me madana-mohanaḥ sakhi tanoti nāsā-sprhām ||
 harin-maṇi-kavāṭikā-pratata-hāri-vakṣaḥ-sthalaḥ
 smarārta-taruṇi-manāḥ-kaluṣa-hanṭṛ-dor-argalaḥ |
 sudhāmṣu-haricandanotpala-sitābhra-śītāṅgakaḥ
 sa me madana-mohanaḥ sakhi tanoti vakṣaḥ-sprhām ||
 vrajātula-kulāṅganetara-rasāli-tṛṣṇā-hara-
 pradivya-adharāmṛtaḥ sukṛti-labhya-phelā-lavaḥ |
 sudhājid-ahivallikā-sudala-viṭikā-carvitaḥ
 sa me madana-mohanaḥ sakhi tanoti jihvā-sprhām ||

[Govinda-hiṁṛta viii. 3-8.]

saundarya amṛta-sindhu tārā tarāṅga-bindu
taruṇira cittādri dubāy |
kṛṣṇa-ramya-narma-kathā sudhu sudhāmaya gāthā
taruṇira karṇānandamayḥ ||

sakhi he, kaha ebe ki kari upāyḥ |
kṛṣṇāṅga-mādhuri-chānde sarvendriya-gaṇa bāndhe
bale pañcendriya ākarṣay ||

koṭi-candra-suśitala āṅga kṣiti-tāpa-hara
gandha-sudhā jagat-plāvita |
adhara amṛta-sāra ki kahiba sakhi āra
bicārite saba viparita ||

navīna-jalada-dyuti vasana bijuli-bhāti
tri-bhaṅgima vanya-veśa tāy |
mukha-padma jini cānda nayana kamala-chānda
mora netra sei ākarṣay ||

megha jini kaṇṭha-dhvani nūpara-kiṅkiṇi-maṇi
murali-madhura-dhvani tāy |
sanarma-vacana-bhāti ramādira mohe mati
kaṇṭha-sprhā tāhāte bahāy ||

kṛṣṇera āṅgera gandha mṛgamada kare andha
kuṅkuma candana dila tāy |
aguru karpūra tāte yāhāte yuvatī māte
mora nāsū sei ākarṣay ||

vakṣaḥ-sthala parisara indranīla-maṇi-vara
kapāṭa jiniyā tāra śobhā |
subāhu argala-chanda koṭindu-śitala āṅga
ākarṣaye sei vakṣa-lobhā ||

kṛṣṇādharḥ amṛtamaya yāra hay bhāgyodaya
tāra lava sei-jana pāy |
kṛṣṇa-carvya-pāna-śeṣa jiniyā amṛta-deśa
jihvā mora sei ākarṣay ||

rādhāra utkaṇṭhā-vāṇi viśākhikā tāhā suni
kṛṣṇa-saṅga-upāya cintite |
bena kāle śuna kathā tulasi āilā tathā
gandha-puṣpa guṇjāra sahite ||

kṛṣṇa-mālya-puṣpa lañā

tulaṣī ānanda pāñā

āilā ati tvarita-gamane |

tāre praphullita dekhi

rāī mane hailā sukhi

kahe dāsa e yadunandane ||

[Yadunandana's Govinda-līlāmṛta, pp. 73f.]

* '(Kṛṣṇa's) loveliness is a sea of nectar: a drop out of a wave of it drowns the mountain, a young woman's heart. The charming small talks of Kṛṣṇa are, as it were, poems of pure nectarian sweetness: they are extremely pleasing to the ears of young women. My friend, do please tell me what I am to do. The gracefulness of Kṛṣṇa's person, like a cable, holds fast all my senses: by force it draws (towards itself) the five sense-organs. His body, cooler than ten million moons, removes the heat (*i.e.*, distress) of the earth: its nectarian fragrance has flooded the entire universe. His lips are (made of) the essence of ambrosia. What more should I say, O my friend! Everything seems contradictory, when one considers it. (He is) dark as a mass of fresh clouds, (his) garment resembles the flash of lightning: (he stands in) a reclining pose, and is in rustic dress. (? has a garland of wild flowers). His lotus-face vanquishes the moon, his eyes are (beautiful) as lotuses: all this draws my eyes to him. His voice is deeper than the rumble of the cloud and (he has put on) jewelled anklets and a tinkling girdle: in addition there are the sweet notes of his flute. The manner of his pleasant talks captivates (even) Rāmā (*i.e.*, Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu's consort) and others. All this increases the thirst of my ears. The fragrance of Kṛṣṇa's person blinds (*i.e.*, defeats the perfume of) musk: it is perfumed with saffron and sandal paste, to which are added *aguru* and camphor. This (fragrance), which maddens young women, violently attracts my sense of smell. Broad is his chest: its beauty sets at nought that of (a pair of) door-leaves made of *lapis lazuli*. His beautiful arms are like shapely iron bars: his frame, cool like a million moons; the attractiveness of his (mighty) chest draws me to him. Kṛṣṇa's lips are full of nectar: he only can obtain a particle of it, whose fortune smiles upon him. The remains of betel chewed by Kṛṣṇa surpass the entire stock of ambrosia: it is these leavings that have set my tongue a-longing.' On hearing (these) words from Rādhā who was greatly perturbed, Viśākhikā¹ was thinking of some means for Rādhā's meeting with Kṛṣṇa and then—listen to my

¹ Generally called Viśākhā. She is a close companion of Rādhā.

tale—Tulasī¹ appeared there with some perfumes, flowers and *guñjā* seeds. Taking a garland and flowers (*or* flowers from the garland) from Kṛṣṇa Tulasī was overjoyed, and she came there in quick steps. Seeing her in this joyful mood Rāī (*i.e.*, Rādhā) felt glad at heart. So says the servant, this Yadunandana. »

The following poem, also an adaptation from a Sanskrit original, is given as a specimen of Yadunandana's Brajabuli composition. Yadunandana's Bengali poems, as a whole, are distinctly superior to his Brajabuli writings.

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| indīvara-vara- | udara-sahodara |
| medura-mada-hara deha | |
| jāmbūnada-mada- | vṛnda-vimohita |
| ambara-vara paridheya | |
| sajanī, ke nava nāgara-rāja | |
| mohana-muralī- | khurali-rucirānana |
| dāhana-kulavati-lāja | |
| motima-sūra | hāra ura-ambara |
| nakhata-ra-dūma-ka bhāna | |
| kari-kara-garaba- | kavala-kara sundara |
| suvalana bāhu suḥṛdāma | |
| mada-gaja-rāja- | lāja gati manthara |
| jaga bhari bharaī anaṅga | |
| yadunandana bhāṇa | so nanda-nandana |
| candana-śītala-aṅga | |

[Padāmṛta-samudra, p. 38 ; APR. 262.]

« ‘ His body, in its complexion, which takes away all vanity, is own brother to the core of the best blue lotus : he wears a fine garment, (the colour of which) surpasses the pride and glory of pure gold. My friend, who is this young man, this prince among gallants ? The notes of the charming flute at his sweet lips (*literally* at his lovely face) burn down the restraint of ladies of noble houses. The necklace of pearl-strings (appears) as a chain of stars against his sky-like chest : his round, shapely and beautiful arms bring low the pride of the elephant's trunk. His slow gait is a shame to (the movement of) a royal elephant in rut :

¹ Another companion of Rādhā. She is a mutual friend of the two lovers.

it fills the entire world with desire.' Yadunandana replies 'He is the son of Nanda, and his person is cooled (i.e., perfumed) with sandal paste.' *

This poem is an adaptation of the following Sanskrit verse. ¹

indīvarodara-sahodara-medura-śrīr
vāso dravat-kanaka-vṛndanibhaṃ dadhānaḥ |
āmukta-mauktika-manohara-hāra-vakṣaḥ
ko'yaṃ yuvā jagad anaṅgamayaṃ karoti ||

[Padyāvalī 160.]

I must briefly discuss here the views that has been recently put forward by Pandit Harekr̥ṣṇa Sāhityaratna as regards the caste and family of Yadunandana (ii or iii). He has discovered a manuscript work, named *Samgraha-toṣaṇī*, by 'Yadunātha-dāsa' of Katwa. The Pandit has cited passages from it in his *Birabhūma-vivaraṇa*, Vol. iii [pp. 38-41]. In his work this 'Yadunātha' says that he is a disciple of Hemalatā-devī, the eldest daughter of Śrinivāsa-Ācārya, that he is a Brahmin, and that he lives at Katwa. He also mentions that his father was Śivaprasāda and mother Brahmamayī and that he was born in Pāli-grāma [*op. cit.*, pp. 38f.]. He further states that Hemalatā lived at Begunakolā [*op. cit.*, p. 39]. Pandit Harekr̥ṣṇa supposes that this Yadunātha was the same person as Yadunandana and was the author of the *Vidagdha-mādhava* and the *Govinda-līlāmṛta*. According to him this poet was present at the Khetarī festival [*op. cit.*, p. 39]. Pandit Harekr̥ṣṇa does not mention whether this poet was the author of the *Karṇānanda* as well.

Let us now scrutinize these statements. Before doing that I must mention one thing. The *Karṇānanda* materially differs from the other works of Yadunandana (*viz.*, the translations of the *Vidagdha-mādhava*, the *Govinda-līlāmṛta*, and the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*) as regards language, style and diction. This difference is so marked that one is inclined to view the *Karṇānanda* to be the work of a much inferior poet. But the *Karṇānanda* itself mentions that its author was Yadunandana, a Vaidya inhabitant of Mālihāṭī, and a disciple of Hemalatā-devī [*Karṇānanda* ii (pp. 27)].

¹ Rūpa-Gosvāmin, the compiler of the *Padyāvalī*, ascribes this verse to 'Sarva-vidyā-vinoda.'

śrī-hemalatārṣ śiṣya āmi vipra-kule janma ।
kaṇṭaka-nagare vāsa kahilāma marma ॥

caitanya-dāseṣa dūsa ṭhākura śrī-śrīnivāsa-
 ācūrya-jā śrīla-hemalātā ।
 tāra pūda-padma-āśa e yadunandana-dāsa
 ambasṭha prākṛte kahe kathā ॥

yadunandana-vaidyā dāsa nāma tārā |
mālihātī grāma sthiti prema-hīna chārā ||

But it may mean that Yadunandana lived at Būdhai-pūrā, which was a neighbouring village of Begunakolā.

The *Samgraha-toṣaṇī* mentions that Śrinivāsa-Ācārya himself had asked the poet to compose that work.

hena grantha ācārya-prabhu āmāke samarpaṇa |
 naya-patra grantha ithe ṣaḍ-daraśana ||
 prabhu more paṇḍita nibhṛte basiye |
 payāra karaba yadu upāsanā diye ||
 hena ājñāy hemalatārṣ caraṇa-pratyāśa |
 samgraha-payārṣ lekhenṣ yadunātha-dāsa ||

[Bīrabhūma-vivaraṇa, Vol. iii, p. 39.]

But on a thorough examination of the known works of Yadunandana I have not found even a single instance where the poet mentions that he had seen the Ācārya or that he had anyway come in direct contact with him. He always mentioned himself as a servant of a servant of the Ācārya.

Pandit Harekr̥ṣṇa has taken for granted that 'Yadunātha' was the real name of the poet and that he used the name 'Yadunandana' "at times only" [*op. cit.*, p. 39]. The fact is quite the other way. The *Karṇānanda* uses the *bh.* 'Yadunandana' exclusively. So does the *Vidagdha-mādhava*, where the only other *bh.* is 'Yadu' (and only once only; see *supra*). In the *Govinda-līlāmṛta* the *bh.* 'Yadunātha' has been used only twice, and then again only *metri causa*.

The Pandit has no authority when he says that this Yadunātha, or Yadunandana, was present at the Khetarī festival. The only Yadunandana about whose presence at Khetarī we have evidence, was Yadunandana-Cakravartī of Katwa, the most favoured disciple of Gadādhara-dāsa [Narottama-vilāsa vi; Bhakti-ratnākara x].

The last and not the least objection to accepting the *Samgraha-toṣaṇī* as a genuine work of Yadunandana (ii) is that its language is slipshod, if not absolutely bad, and quite unlike that of the *Karṇānanda* (not to speak of the other works). But this may be due to tampering and bad copying.

I therefore think that the *Samgraha-toṣaṇī*, if it is not a fake, was the composition of a third Yadunandana, or a Yadunātha, who was a Brahmin. As there is nothing to distinguish the poems by Yadunandana (ii) from those by Yadunandana (iii) I have adduced the same poems under both the heads.

Gaura-dāsa (Gaurasundara-dāsa [i]).

In PKT. there are four Brajabuli and one Bengali poems with the *bhs.* 'Gaura' and 'Gaura-dāsa' [377, 442, 1025, 1527; 3026]. There are also one Brajabuli and four Bengali poems with the *bh.* of 'Gaurasundara-dāsa' [188, 3025, 3027—3029]. The five Bengali poems [3025—3029] form a group, and undoubtedly, they come from the same pen. It is therefore evident that 'Gaurasundara-dāsa' was the fuller name of Gaura-dāsa. The Brajabuli poems also appear to have come from the same poet.

In the colophon of one of his Brajabuli poems Gaura-dāsa mentions that he is a disciple of Yadunandana-dāsa.

kahe yadunandana-dāsa-ka dāsa |
gaura-dāsa tahī karu āśoyāsa || [PKT. 377.]

I do not know who this Yadunandana was. Was he Yadunandana of Katwa (c. 1583), or Yadunandana of Mālibāti, or Yadunandana of Budhāi-pārā (c. 1607) ?

There was another poet with the name of Gaurasundara-dāsa. He was the compiler of the *Kīrttanānanda*. He appears to have flourished in the early eighteenth century. He has been discussed *infra*.

The following poem is quoted as a specimen of Gaura-dāsa's Brajabuli writing :

hūma marāite tuhū marāite cūha |
anukhana majhu hiyā tuṣa dāha dāha ||
e sakhi kīye karaba parakāra |
soṅārīte nikasaye jivana hāmara ||
hamūṛa vacana-daṅha-kaṅṭhake jūri |
bidagadha nāha geo mujhe chūṛi ||
muṇi ati-pāpini kalahe virūja |
jāni mohe tejala nāgara-rāja ||
dāruṇa prāṇa raha kaṅṭha-hi lāgi |
būjhalū eha majhu karama-abhāgi ||
gaura-dāsa kaha nū kara sandeha |
tuyā preme milaba rasamaya-deha || [PKT. 442.]

This poem probably belongs to 'Gaura-mohana,' if indeed, he was a distinct poet. See below.

« [Rādhā had quarrelled with Kṛṣṇa. Now, repenting for her rashness and indiscretion, she speaks to her friend:] ‘Why do you wish to die when I want to do so? A slow fire (*literally* a fire of rice husks) is perpetually burning my heart. My friend, what course am I to adopt? When I recollect him, (it causes such intense regret that) my life seems to depart from my body. Scratched and torn with my words which were like stiff thorns, my gallant lover has left me for good. A wretch that I am, I am always quarrelling (with him). Having found me out, the Prince of Lovers has given me up. My miserable life (does not go out but) sticks at the throat. This is, I understand, is my misfortune due to my (sinful) deeds (in my previous births).’ (To this) Gaura-dāsa replies: ‘Never fear. Your love will make that Spórtive Lover meet you again.’ »

Gaura-mohana (?).

There is a Brajabuli poem in PKT. [1026], containing the *bh.* of ‘Gaura-mohana.’ The immediately preceding poem [1025], also in Brajabuli, contains the *bh.* ‘Gaura-dāsa.’ These two poems, however, are closely connected, and are certainly of the same pen. These poems also have affinity with the Brajabuli poems by Gaura-dāsa [see *infra*]. It may be that Gaura-dāsa had mentioned himself sometimes as ‘Gaura-sundara’ and sometimes as ‘Gaura-mohana.’ The name ‘Gaura-mohana’ is otherwise unknown.

There is a mixed Brajabuli poem in PKT. [572], of which the *bhañitā* runs as follows:

gaura-carāṇa- saṅgati mohana
herai e-saba raṅga ॥

This verse can be interpreted in various ways. Thus:

- (i) « Mohana, in company with (his friend) Gaura-carāṇa, witnesses all this fun. »
- (ii) « Mohana, whose (only) treasure is the (precious) feet of Gaura (*i.e.*, Caitanya-dēva), witnesses all this fun. »
- (iii) « Mohana, rich (*i.e.*, prefixed) with the name of Gaura (*i.e.*, Gaura-mohana), witnesses all this fun. »

If the last interpretation is correct, we find here another poem by Gaura-mohana.

His tears fall right down upon his rosy feet : it would seem his delicate sorrow is dripping itself away in strings of pearls. Seeing his beloved Gadādhara he is filled with a great horripilation. ... (text corrupt).....seeing (Caitanya-deva in this mood of love-ecstasy) Nityānanda turns away his moon-face hanging down in shame. Subala, the clever one, gets the fragrance (or flavour) of this sport of love. •

Sundara-dāsa [c. 1607 A.C.].

There are two consecutive poems by Sundara-dāsa in PKT. [1327, 1328]. The poems deal with the pasture sports (*goṣṭha-līlā*) of Balarāma, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa. These two poems are noteworthy in celebrating solely the brother of Kṛṣṇa. One of the poems is written in Brajabuli [1327], and the other in Bengali [1328].

The poet seems to have been Sundarānanda-Ṭhākura, the second son of Gati-govinda and a grandson of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Karuānanda ii (p. 28)]. No other 'Sundara' is known in Vaiṣṇava history.¹ There is a Hindi poem with the *bh.* 'Kavi Sundara' in APR. [464], but this Sundara was a Brajbhākhā poet.

I quote below the Brajabuli poem as a specimen.

| | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| galita-rajata-giri | jini tanu sundara |
| jānu-lambita vana-māla | |
| nila-vasana bani | aparupa-śobhani |
| marakate hira miśāla | |
| dhāota dhabali-pāche balarāma | |
| cañcala nayana | ḍhulaye janu pañkaja |
| heri mugadha bhela kāma | |
| ubha-kare dhabali | śāwāli bali ḍākai |
| komala-vatsa lei kāndhe | |
| saghane khasaye śikhi- | piñcha manohara |
| chāndana-ḍuri dei bāndhe | |
| bayāna cānda | adhara janu bāndhuli |
| tāhe madhura mṛdu-bāsa | |
| * barikhaye amiya | śravaṇa bhari pibai |
| sahacara sundara-dāsa | [PKT. 1327.] |

¹ Satisa-candra Ray quite unjustifiably took this poet to be Gaurasundara-dāsa, the compiler of the *Kṛttanānanda* [vide PKT., Vol. V, p. 225].

« His form (and complexion) surpasses that of a hill of molten silver: a *vana-mālā* (garland of wild flowers) hangs down to his knees. Robed in blue-coloured garment (he is) a wonderful sight, even like diamond set with emerald. Balarāma runs after a *dhabalī* (white cow): his restless eyes are moving like (a pair of) lotuses (in breeze), and looking (at this charming sight) the god of love himself was charmed. With his arms held up he calls the cows, 'Dhabalī (Whitie) ! Syāmalī (Blackie) !' and he has taken up a tender calf on his shoulders. When the fine peacock's feather at his crest slips away repeatedly, he ties it fast with strapping ropes. His face is a moon, his lips are like (buds of) *bāndhulī* flowers, and on them is playing a sweet, soft smile. (His talks) pour down ambrosia, of which his companion Sundara-dāsa drinks earfuls. »

Jagadānanda-dāsa (i) [*ante* 1653 A. C.].

In the oldest portion of the Das MS. there are three poems (Brajabuli) with the *bh.* of Jagadānanda. All the three poems are of the *citra-gīta* type.¹ One of these poems occurs in PKT. [3038], and this one as well as another occurs in Kalidās Nāth's anthology of Jagadānanda's poems ² [pp. 23, 24]. The remaining poem I quote below as an illustration.

yāmini dinapati gagane udaya karu
kumuda kamala khiti mājha ।
aparaṣe duhū-ka paraśa-rasa-kautuka
niti niti jagate virāja ॥

vara-rāmā he
būjhabi tuhū sucatura ।
āpana parāṇa yā-ka kare sōpiye
so puna kabhu nahe dūra ॥ .

jīvana avadhi hāma āpanā bēcalū
tana mana eka kari tōe ।
kiye tuyā balabata prema-padātika
tila-ādha nā deha ^s mōe ॥

¹ A *citra-gita* poem is that which shows feats of alliteration, word-jugglery or acrostics.

² Sri-Jagadānanda-padāvalī, edited with notes, and published by Kālidās Nath, Calcutta, 1806 B. E.

* The MS. text reads 'nāṭha,' which is evidently a corruption.

Jophlāi, a neighbouring village. Some details of his life have been given in the introductory portion of Kalidās Nāth's work [pp. i ff.]. The date of Jagadānanda's birth is not known, but according to the tradition in his family he died in Śaka 1704 [= A. C. 1782].

But this date is in violent conflict with the fact that one of these poems occurs in a MS. dated 1653-1656 A. C. Unless one makes some preposterous hypothesis that the poet lived for about two centuries one cannot accede that Jagadānanda of Jophlāi was the author of some at least of these poems. So there is no other way but to posit an earlier Jagadānanda who was living prior to 1653-1656 A.C., though there is nothing to prove the existence of any such Jagadānanda. Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura's father was named Jagadānanda, but he lived, at the earliest, in the late seventeenth century, and so it is absolutely unlikely that his poems would be incorporated in a work of the middle seventeenth century. Moreover, had Jagadānanda-Ṭhākura been a vernacular poet, his son, Rādhāmohana, would have undoubtedly incorporated some of his poems in his *Padāmṛta-saṃudra*. But no poem with the *bh.* of 'Jagadānanda' or 'Jagata' occurs in this anthology. Another alternative is to reject the traditional date of Jagadānanda's death, which, of course, is not allowable.

Yadunandana-dāsa in his *Karṇāvanila* [ii] mentions one Jagadānanda-Ṭhākura as an attendant or follower of Gati-govinda. Thus :

jagadānanda-ṭhākuraḥ gati-prabhura sevaka |
parama-madhurāśaya guṇete aneka || [*op. cit.*, p. 28.]

Was he the poet in question ?

Jagadānanda (the earliest (?) Jagadānanda, the author of the *citra-gīta* poems) was a powerful writer of Brajabuli. He had a good command over the vocabulary as well as on the metre. But he seems to have been a slavish imitator of Govindadāsa Kavirāja, and as such his poems have no depth of thought and are very often insincere. Still the sound-effect is sometimes very pleasing. Thus :

mañju vikaca-kusuma-puñja
madhupa-śabada guñja-guñja
kuñjara-gati-gañji gamana
mañjula kula-nāri |

ghana-gañjana-cikura-puñja
 mālātī-phula-māle rañja
 añjana-yuta kañja-nayanī
 khañjana-gati hūri ||

kāñcana-ruci rucira-añga
 añge añge bharu anañga
 kiñkiñī kara-kañkana mṛdu
 jhañkṛta monohūri |

nācata yuga-bhuru-bhujañga
 kāli-damana-damana-rañga
 sañginī saba rañge pahire
 rañgila nīla-sāri ||

daśana kunda-kusuma-nindu
 vadana jitala śarada-indu
 bindu bindu charama-gharame
 prema-sindhu pyāri |

lalitādhare milita-hūsa
 deha-dīpati timira nāśa
 nirakhi rūpa rasika-bhūpa
 bhūlala giridhāri ||

amarāvati-yuvati-vṛnda
 hōri hōri rūpa paṛala dhanda
 manda-manda-hasanā nanda-
 nandana-sukhakāri

mañi-māñika nakha virāja
 kanaka-nūpura madhura bāja
 jagadānanda thala-jalaruha-
 carapa-ka balihāri ||

[Kālidās Nāth's Anthology, pp. 21ff. ; KPS., p. 209.]

• [The poem describes Rādhā's loveliness, when she is going in company of her girl friends to meet her lover Kṛṣṇa.] The masses of flowers are all blooming charmingly, bees are humming softly: the lady proceeds with a gait that puts to shame that of an elephant. The wealth of her tresses, that beats (the tint of) dark clouds, is bedecked with a chaplet of *mālātī* flowers: the girl, with her lotus-eyes painted with collyrium, surpasses the movements (of the eyes) of a

The following Bengali poem, sustaining a series of metaphors, is, in a manner, a remarkable piece.

3 'citta-sāle dhairya-bhāti' [APR. 310].

residence at the Vraja is at an end and is abolished (for good). At last only my life is left alone: [but that also is about to depart, as I see.] So says Jagadānanda-dāsa. »

There were other poets named Jagadānanda. They were very late poets, and they have been discussed *infra*.

Vallavī-kānta.

In APR. there are two poems [553, 554]—one Brajabuli and the other Bengali—with the *bh.* of Vallavī-kānta. There was one Vallavī-Kavipati among the disciples of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [Prema-vilāsa xx]. Gati-govinda or Govinda-gati, the youngest son of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, had a disciple named Vallavikānta-Ākravartti [Karnānanda ii]. This latter person was probably the poet in question.

In Gaurasundara-dāsa's *Kīrttanānanda* [p. 11] there is a Bengali poem (mixed with Brajabuli forms) with the *bh.* of Vallavī-dāsa. I am of opinion that this poem also belongs to Vallavī-kānta. I quote this poem below.

rāīyera janama- divasa āveśe
 ānande bharaia tanu |
 nadiyū-nagara saba bhānu-pura ¹
 udaya karala janu ||
 gadādhara-mukha heri punaḥ punaḥ
 nace gorā naṭa-rāyḥ |
 bhāva anubhāva kari saṅgi saba
 mahā-mahotsava gūy ||
 dadhira sahita haladi milita
 kalase kalase ḍhāli |
 priya-gaṇa nāce nānā kūca kūce
 ghana diyā hulāhuli ||
 gaurāṅga nāgara rasera sāgara
 bhābera taraṅga tāy |
 jagata bhāsila e-hena ānande •
 e dāsa vallavī gūy ||

[Kīrttanānanda, p. 11.]

¹ 'vṛṣabhānu-pura'?

« On Rādhā's birth-day the person (of the Master) was full of joy and exhilaration ; (it seemed) as if the entire capital of Vṛṣabhānu (Rādhā's father) had replaced the city of Nadiya. Gorā, the King of Dancers, was looking at the face of Gadādhara and was dancing : surcharged with all sentiments, major and minor, he sang on that great festive occasion. Pouring down pitcherfuls of water mixed with turmeric-paste, his beloved companions, repeatedly shouting cries of joy, danced about, impersonating various characters. Gaurāṅga the gallant is an Ocean of *rasa* (ecstatic joy), and in him appear (different) sentiments (*bhāva*) as waves : in this (flood of) blissfulness the universe floated up. So sings this servant Vallavi. »

Madhusudana-dāsa.

In PKT. there are two Bengali and three Brajabuli poems by Madhusūdana (-dāsa) [2785, 2786 ; 1873, 2855, 2856]. The poems are quite commonplace. Only two Madhusūdanas are known in Vaiṣṇava history : (i) Madhusūdana, the great-grandfather (on mother's side) of Rāmagopāla-dāsa, the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* [VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 102], and (ii) Madhusūdana-Cakravartī, a disciple of Gaṅgānārāyaṇa-Cakravartī who was again a prominent disciple of Narottama-Ṭhākura [Narottama-vilāsa xii]. Had the former been a poet Rāma-gopāla would certainly have quoted at least one of his poems. Therefore the probability of the authorship of these poems lies with Madhusūdana-Cakravartī.

The following poem is cited as a specimen of Madhusūdana's Brajabuli composition.

kuṇḍe sināna kayala duhū meli |
 sahacarī-gaṇa sañe kari jala-keli |
 vasana vibhūṣaṇa pahiraṇa keli |
 nibhṛta-nikuñja-mājhe calī goli ||
 ratana-piṭha-pari kiśorī kiśora |
 baīṭhala duhū jana ānande bhōra ||
 vṛndā-devī yogāyata tāi |
 bahu-mata phala-mūla vividha miṭhāi ||
 bhojana karu duhū sakhi-gaṇa sañge |
 madhusūdana kaba heraba rañge || [PKT. 2856.]

« The two (i.e., Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) bathed together in the tank after having held water-sports with their female friends. Then they put on their garments and ornaments, and went away to a secluded spot in the garden. Full of joy, the Young Couple took their seat on a rich platform. The lady Vṛndā served them various fruits, roots, and sweetmeats. With their female friends they dined. When shall Madhusūdāna be blessed with a sight of this fun? »

Ratipati-dāsa [*ante* 1673 A. C.]

Two poems by Ratipati occur in Rāmagopāla-dāsa's *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*. Both the poems are written in Brajabuli. Two additional poems by Ratipati occur in Vṛndāvana-dāsa's anthology *Rasa-niryāsa* (MS. from Śrīkhaṇḍa). The poet was the *guru* of Rāmagopāla-dāsa [*vide* VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 101]. Ratipati was descended from Raghunandana of Śrīkhaṇḍa.

One of the poems occurring in the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* is quoted below.

eta-dina būjhalū (tuyā) hṛdaya niṣhūra |
 rāi¹ upekṣi āyali eta-dūra ||
 aba tuhū ekalī rahasi vana-mājha |
 toye nāhi sambhabe emana akāja ||
 samaya-ucita karie yadi māna |
 ācare jhāpiye āpana vayāna ||
 eka-dine sūtiye cīta samūdhi |
 sādhiye vāda tahi jhūkhae upādhi ||²
 anugata tuyā binu nū bolaye āna |
 kare dhari bale dūti karaha payāna ||
 ratipati-dāsa karaye paraṇāma |
 dūti nahe iha dubū-ka parāṇa ||

[VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 115.]

« 'After all these days I realize that your heart is cruel, (as) you have come away so far, having spurned Kṛṣṇa. Now you stay all alone in the

¹ The text reads 'rāi' = Rādhikā, but the context seems to imply that Rādhā has left Kṛṣṇa in a sulk, and the Dūti is pleading with her.

² This verse is a bit cryptic.

mass of ever-fresh joyfulness (*rasa*), the cuckoo and the bee sang entrancingly. The tambourine and the *rabāb* (fiddle) were being played on, and (some of her) companions danced in good style. Some other friends, out of delight, sang in praise ; and hosts of gods of love (*or so many devotees like Ratipati*) were beside themselves (with joy). »

Gopāla-dāsa [c. 1643 or 1673].

The poet Gopāla-dāsa, or Rāmagopāla-dāsa, was the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*, which has been already referred to more than once. In that work the poet has given some sketch of his autobiography. He came of a Vaidya family of Śrīkhaṇḍa. He was the great-great-grandson of Cakrapāṇi. Cakrapāṇi was among the retinue of Raghunandana, when the latter was with the Master at Puri. The poet's grandfather on the mother's side, Madhusūdana, also was a member of the band of Śrīkhaṇḍa, which danced and sang at the Car festival at Puri. The poet's *guru* was Ratipati-Thākura, a descendant of Raghunandana. Among his teachers the names of several disciples of Śrīnivāsa and Narottama occur [VSPP., Vols. 37, pp. 101-102]. The poet completed his *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* in the month of *Kārttika*, Śaka 1535 or 1595, according as the chronogram is read 'bāṇa aṅga śara brahma' or 'bāṇa aṅka śara brahma' [vide VSPP., Vol. 37, pp. 99f. ; Vol. 38, p. 145].

The poet has quoted several poems of his own in the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*. So also has done his son Pītāmbara in his *Rasa-mañjarī*. This has been very helpful in marking out the poems of (Rāma-) Gopāla-dāsa.

In the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* the poet has quoted in full six Brajabuli poems of his own. Of these two occur in PKT. with the *bh.* of Govindadāsa [1052, 1076]. But the evidence of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* must override the claim of the compiler of the *Pada-kalpa-taru* on behalf of Govindadāsa. In PKT. there are five Brajabuli poems with the *bh.* of Gopāla-dāsa, of which one [2966] seems to be the composition of Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa [see *supra*, p. 41]. In *Kṣaṇadā* there is only one Brajabuli poem by Gopāla-dāsa [233].

Gopāla-dāsa can claim his position among the best poets of Brajabuli literature. That this claim is no exaggeration will be apparent from the two following poems.

ki kahaba rāi-ka hari-anurāga |
niravadhi mana-hi manobhava jāga ||

bhāla-hi sindūra kājale pūrala
vadana-hi daśana-ka rekha |
heraite tohe lāja mohe hoyata
yāvaka rāga paratekha ||
kamalini pāī sarasa-rase bhūlali
nā bujhali mālati-gandha |
kahaī gopāla- dāsa nāhi samujhali
ki phule kiye makaranda ||

[PKT. 395; Rasa-mañjarī.]

« You have talked so much falsehood in deceiving (me), and your own words are the proof thereof. I have passed the whole night without having a wink of sleep, and you come when it has already dawned. O Mādhava, you have dealt me the biggest blow this day. I could not hitherto read into your ardent entreaties (of love). But now I am immensely delighted at your sight. Your forehead is smeared with vermilion and collyrium paint, and on your face are marks of bite. On seeing you (in this state), it is I that feel shocked. Even marks of *yāvaka* (red extract of lac with which women paint their feet) are quite manifest ! On finding a lotus you are mad with its sweet honey, but you do not understand what the (delicate) fragrance of the *mālātī* flowers is ! Gopāla-dāsa adds : ‘ You have not cared to examine what kind of fragrance lies in what sort of flowers ! ’ »

Pītāmbara-dāsa (i).

The poet Pitāmbara was the son of Gopāla-dāsa, the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* and was himself the author of the *Rasa-mañjarī*. His *guru* was Śacīnandana Thākura of Śrīkhaṇḍa, which was the native place of the poet also [*Rasa-mañjarī*, p. 1]. Among other poems the poet has included in his work eighteen Bengali and Brajabuli poems by his father and only one (Brajabuli) poem by himself. This is the only known poem by the poet. Another Brajabuli poem (wrongly ascribed to Nīlāmbara by the compiler of APR.) with the *bh.* 'Pitāmbara' occurs in APR. [550]. I am not sure whether it belongs to our poet or not.

The poem in the *Rasa-mañjarī* [p. 16] is quoted below. It describes Rādhā's distress on Kṛṣṇa's absence.

chaṭa-paṭa kusuma-śayane |
 hari hari karae smaraṇe ||
 kāhe karu abharaṇa-veśa |
 daraśana bhela sandeśa ||
 bihi more duramati dela |
 manamathā hānala śela ||
 lore locana ghana pūre |
 pītāmbara-dāsa rahu dūre || [Rasa-mañjarī.]

« (She) tosses about in her bed of flowers and thinks of Hari only. (She thinks :) ‘Why did I dress myself up so elaborately ? A sight of him has become a matter of formality ! The Creator prompted me wrongly, and the god of love had pierced me with a spike.’ Her eyes are filled with profuse tears. Pītāmbara-dāsa remains waiting at a distance. »

The compiler of APR. quoted two Brajabuli poems under the head Nīlāmbara [550, 551]. But one of the poems [550] apparently belongs to ‘Pītāmbara.’ Though the *bhaṇitā* portion of the poem contains both the words ‘pītāmbara’ and ‘nīlāmbara,’¹ it is quite apparent even from a cursory glance that if any of these two words be the *bh.* of the poet it is ‘Pītāmbara’ and not ‘Nīlāmbara.’ If however, as I surmise, this poem goes to ‘Pītāmbara,’ still it is hazardous to ascribe it to the author of the *Rasa-mañjarī*. There was a second poet by the name of Pītāmbara [see *infra*].

Through the courtesy of Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji I have been able to examine another work by Pītāmbara—a MS. from Śrīkhaṇḍa entitled *Aṣṭa-rasa-vyākhyā*, also a rhetorical work. But this work does not contain any poem by the author.

Gopikānta(-dāsa).

In PKT. there are four poems by Gopikānta; of these three are in Brajabuli [597, 598, 2382], and only one in Bengali [3031]. The

¹ The last couplet of this poem runs as follows :

yata yata bhuvane
 pītāmbara tuyā

āchaye vara nāgarī
 nāma miṭṭayala

tā sama punabati koī |
 nīlāmbara karu toī |

Bengali poem is a prayer, and of the Brajabuli poems two deal with the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme and the other is an ode to Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [2382].

From another poem by Gopikānta incorporated in the *Kīrttanānanda* it appears that the poet was a grandson (great-grandson ?) of Subalānanda-Ṭhākura and therefore a great-great-grandson (great-great-great-grandson ?) of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya. This poem, which is rather interesting from a historical view-point, I quote below.

| | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|
| śrī-vidyāpati | kavi-vara-śekhara |
| kayala bahuta-vidha gīta | |
| śrī-govinda | kavindra-sīromaṇi |
| tri-jagate yāhāra carita | |
| śrī-jayadeva | bahu-rasa varṇana |
| kavi-sūyara caṇḍidāsa | |
| śrī-rāmānanda | nāṭaka-prakāśaka |
| sumadhura-prema-vilāsa | |
| śrīla-sanātana | kayala gītāvali |
| vividha-bhūva-taraṅgi | |
| śrī-rāmacandra | kavi-vara-bhūpati |
| balarūma-dāsa tachu saṅgi | |
| śrī-narahari-dāsa- | ṭhākura kavi-sughaṛa |
| govinda-ghoṣa kavi-sindhu | |
| ṭhākura vṛndāvana | vāsudeva-ghoṣa āra |
| sakala kavigaṇa-indu | |
| bhāvaka-cakravartti | bahuta prakāśala |
| jñānadāsa kavi-ārya | |
| yadunātha-dāsa | abhisāre varṇita |
| tahī kavi-vara vyāsācārya | |
| prārthanā kayala | ṭhākura narottama |
| mādhava-ghoṣa kavi-dhāma | |
| vaṃśi-vadana kiye | śrīvallabha kavi |
| locana-dāsa anupāma | |
| ṭhākura pitāmaha | subalānanda pahu |
| kayala kata-hū su-chanda | |
| śrī-ghanaśyāma kavi- | rāja-rāja-vara |
| adabhuta-varṇana-bandha | |

ihā vara kavi-vara- caraṇa-saroruha
 śirasi dhayala hāma hāra |
 gopikānta-dāsa kaha bhavanidhe (?) cūbala
 kaba-hu pāyaba hāma pāra ||¹

[Kīrttanānanda, pp. 27-28.]

* Śrī-Vidyāpati, the topmost of good poets, wrote very many songs : (so did) Śrī-Govinda(-dāsa), the crest-jewel of the best poets, whose activities (are known) in the three worlds. Śrī-Jayadeva described various sentiments : Caṇḍīdāsa (is) the ocean among poets. Śrī-Rāmānanda (-Rāya), the writer of the drama, (narrated in it) the sweet sports of love (of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa). Śrīla-Sanātana wrote the anthology of lyrics which express various sentiments : Śrī-Rāmacandra is a king of good poets, and (so also is) his companion Balarāma-dāsa. Śrī-Narahari-dāsa-Ṭhākura is a clever poet, and Govinda-Ghoṣa is an ocean among poets. Vṛndāvana(-dāsa)-Ṭhākura and Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa are the moons among the entire host of poets. (Govindadāsa-) Cakravartī the *bhāvaka* (sentimental) published several (poems) : Jñānadāsa is a master poet. Yadunātha-dāsa has dealt with (successfully) the *abhisāra* (trysting) episode, and so also the good poet Vyāsa-Ācārya. Narottama-Ṭhākura wrote prayer poems : Mādhava-Ghoṣa is a great poet. Vamśī-vadana and the poet Śrīvallabha, and Locana-dāsa are unique. My revered grandfather,² Subalānanda, the master, wrote (poems) in so many good metres : Śrī-Ghaṇaśyāma, the great king of kings of poets, is unrivalled in style and narration. The precious lotus-feet of these great poets I place on my head as a chaplet. Gopikānta-dāsa says : 'I am lost in the sea of *bhava* (?) : when shall I really cross over to the other side ?' *

An earlier Gopikānta is also not unknown. He was Gopikānta-Cakravartī, the son of Harirāma-Ācārya. Both the father and the son were disciples of Rāmacandra Kavirāja [Kaṣṇānanda ii (p. 26)]. Though it is not absurd to say that this Gopikānta³ was the author of some of the poems in question, yet it is unlikely in view of the fact that this Gopikānta is absolutely unknown as a poet, while the other

¹ This poem from the *Kīrttanānanda* is incorporated in APR. [440]. But the compiler of APR. has made some emendations in the text printed in APR. There was absolutely no necessity for these emendations.

² 'ṭhākura pitāmaha' may also mean 'grandfather of father'.

Gopikānta was the undoubted author of at least one of the poems [Kīrtanānanda, pp. 27-28].

Vīra-vallabha.

Only two Brajabuli poems of Vīravallabha-dāsa are known. One occurs in *Kṣaṇadā* [39], and the other in PKT. [2868]. The latter occurs also in GPT. where the *bh.* is manifestly corrupt. Nothing is known about the poet except that he had flourished before 1700 A. C., otherwise his poem could not have been included in *Kṣaṇadā*.

Maheśa-Vasu.

A version of the Brajabuli poem [APR. 413] is found with the *bh.* of Maheśa-Vasu in *Kṣaṇadā* [116]. In APR. the *bh.* is of Rāmānanda-Vasu. If the *bh.* portion of *Kṣaṇadā* is all right, then we get here a poet, who was, at the latest, an older contemporary of Viśvanātha-Cakravartin.

In *Kṣaṇadā* there occur two poems with the *bh.* of Śaṅkara-Ghoṣa, one in Brajabuli [243] and the other in Bengali [307]. The Brajabuli poem occurs in the *Śaṅkīrttanāmṛta* [105] with the *bh.* of Mukunda-dāsa, and the Bengali poem occurs in PKT. [266] with the *bh.* of Vṛndāvana-dāsa. In PKT. there are three Bengali poems probably by the same poet, one with the *bh.* of Śaṅkara [1628], and the remaining two with the *bh.* of Śaṅkara-dāsa [1649, 1926]. The poet Śaṅkara-Ghoṣa is generally identified with a contemporary and follower of Caitanya-deva, who had pleased the Master by singing on the Śiva theme. But there is no other corroborative evidence. All that is known about the poet is that he must have lived before 1700 A. C.

Taruṇī-ramaṇa.

Taruṇī-ramaṇa, or Tarapī-ramaṇa, seems to have been a voluminous writer. As the *bh.* never contains the word 'dāsa' the presumption is

that it was not the real name of the author. The real author may very possibly have been one 'Caṇḍidāsa.'

In PKT. there is only one poem by Taruṇī-ramaṇa [354], and this is in Brajabuli. By far the biggest available collection of Taruṇī-ramaṇa's poems is to be found in the *Siddhānta-candrodaya* of Mukunda-dāsa-Gosvāmī. The eighth chapter of the book contains sixty-one poems. Of these forty-three belong to Taruṇī-ramaṇa. Out of these forty-three poems six are in Bengali, and the rest in Brajabuli. From a study of these songs it appears that Taruṇī-ramaṇa wrote connected poems upon particular themes.

It is remarkable that almost all the poems with the *bh.* of 'Caṇḍidāsa' are in Bengali and that most of the poems with the *bh.* of Taruṇī-ramaṇa are in Brajabuli. It is quite possible that the same poet used two pen-names or *bhaṇitās*, one for the Bengali poems and the other for the Brajabuli ones. However, this hypothesis cannot be substantiated until the bulk of the writings of 'Caṇḍidāsa' and 'Taruṇī-ramaṇa' are available in print.

I now quote a Brajabuli poem of Taruṇī-ramaṇa as a specimen.

e hari mād̐hava karu avadhāna |
 jitala biyād̐hi auṣad̐he kibā kāma ||
 ād̐hiyārā hoī ujara kare yoi |
 divasa-ka cāda puchata nāhi koī ||
 darapaṇa lei ki karaba ānd̐he |
 śapharī palāyaba ki karaba bānd̐he ||
 sāyari śukhāyaba ki karaba nīre |
 hāma abodha tuyā ki karaba dhīre ||
 kā karaba bandhu-gaṇa vidhi bheo vāma |
 nīśi parabhāte āoli śyāma ||
 taruṇī-ramaṇe bhaṇa āichana raṅga |
 rajanī goṇāoli kā-karu saṅga ||

[Siddhānta-candrodaya, viii. 39.]

* [After a whole night has passed in expectation, Kṛṣṇa meets Rādhā in the morning. She suspects him of intrigue. She thus addresses him :]
 'O Hari, O Mād̐hava, just listen (to what I say). The disease has prevailed : what is now the good of medicine ? In daytime nobody cares for the moon, who gives light when it is dark. What can the blind do

with a mirror? What is the good of a dam when (even) a *śapharī* fish shall escape (through it)? What is the good of raining when the lake shall be dried up? I am a stupid creature: what can I do for you, who are cleaver? What can the friends do, when the luck is averse? O Śyāma, you come in when the night has already dawned! Taruṇi-ramaṇa asks, 'Is it a fun? With whom have you passed the night?' »

That 'Caṇḍidāsa' and 'Taruṇi-ramaṇa' were the names of one person is attested by the following quotation from a Sahajiyā work entitled *Ratna-sāra* [Calcutta University MS. 1111].

ihā jāni caṇḍidāśa taruṇi-ramaṇa |
gita-chande gūhileṇa piriti se dhana ||

« Knowing this (Caṇḍidāsa-Taruṇi-ramaṇa sang, in a poem, of that treasure—love (*prīti*)). »

The song referred to contains the *bh.* of Taruṇi-ramaṇa. This song is well-known, and in printed works it appears with the *bh.* of 'Caṇḍidāsa.' I surmise that 'Caṇḍidāsa' used the other *bh.* when composing purely Brajabuli poems.

CHAPTER X

LATE SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY POETS

Manohara-dāsa.

Poems by Manohara-dāsa do not occur in any anthology or similar work earlier to the *Paḍa-kalpa-taru*. In this work are incorporated six poems with the *bh.* of 'Manohara-dāsa.' Of these six poems two are written in Bengali [825, 1336] and the remaining four in Brajabuli [7, 2366, 2367, 2870]. Two additional Brajabuli poems by 'Manohara' are found in the *Nāyikā-ratna-mālā* [3, 11]. A few other poems occur in modern anthologies such as the *Śrī-Śrī-(Kṛṣṇa-)padāmṛta-sindhu* [pp. 146, 148] and the *Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī* [189, 246]. With the exception of the four Brajabuli poems in PKT. all the other poems by Manohara (both Bengali and Brajabuli) deal with the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend. One of the four Brajabuli poems is an ode to Nityānanda-prabhu and Advaita-prabhu jointly [PKT. 7; GPT. pp. 481 f.], another is an ode to Rādhā [PKT. 2870], and the remaining two are odes to Sanātana-Gosvāmin Rūpa-Gosvāmin respectively [PKT. 2366, 2367; GPT. p. 464].

The generally accepted view is that the poet Monohara-dāsa was either of the two following personages¹ [*vide* GPT., Introduction, pp. 140 ff.; PKT., Vol. V, p. 185]:

1. Manohara, a follower of Nityānanda-prabhu [CC. i. 11].

2. Manohara-dāsa Āüliyā (*alias* Caitanya-dāsa), a disciple of Jāhnava-devī. He was present at the Khetarī festival, and he (among others) accompanied his *guru* to Vṛndāvana.

But there is not the least shred of evidence to show that either of these Manohara-dāsas was a lyric poet. On the other hand we know of another Manohara-dāsa, who was undoubtedly a poet.

¹ Some view them as the same person [*cf.* PKT., Vol. V, p. 186]. This view seems to be more plausible.

This Manohara-dāsa, a poet, was the author of the *Anurāga-vallī*, a historical work of the type of the *Prema-vilāsa* and the *Karṣṇānanda*. This work, *Anurāga-vallī*, was completed at Vṛndāvana in Śaka 1618 (=1696 A. C.).¹ According to the author of the *Bhakti-ratnākara* the poet's full name was Manohara-Rāya and he was the disciple of a descendant of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya.² That Manohara-dāsa was a disciple of the house of the Ācārya³ is corroborated by the following poem which is an ode to Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa. I have found it in a manuscript in the Vāṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad Library. This also proves that our Manohara-dāsa was a lyric poet too.

śrī-gopāla-bhaṭṭa prabhu tūyā śrī-carāṇa kabhu
nirakhiḥa nayāna bhariyā |
śuniyā aśeṣa guṇa pājare biudhile ghuṇa
mari yāñ nīchani laiyā ||
pirite gaṛhala tanu daśa-bāṇa hema janu
cānda-mukha aruṇa-adhare |
jhalake dasana-kāti jini mukutāra pāti
hāsi kahe amṛta-madbure ||
parāperṣ parāṇa yūra rūpa sanātana āra
raghunātha-yugala jivana | .
paṇḍitṣ kṛṣṇa lokanātha jāne deha-bheda mātra
sarabasa śrī-rādhārāmāṇa ||
prema-vitarāṇa raṅga caitanya-carāṇa-bhṛṅga
śrīnivāse dayāra avadhi |
sabhe meli rasāśvāda bhāva-bhare unamāda
ei vyavasāya niravadhi ||
lilā-sudhā-suradhunī- rasika-mukuṭa-mapi
rasāveśe gara-gara hiyā |
hā hā anurāga-sindhu hā hā dīna-jana-bandhu
yaśa gāy jagat bhariyā || .

¹ **vasu-candra-kalāyukte śāke caitre site' male |**
vṛndāvane daśamyāṃ tu pūrṇānurāga-vallikā |

² 'tathā hi śrī-śrīnivāsācārya-ṭhakkuraśyānuśākhā-śrī-manohara-rāya-kṛta-śrīmad-anurāga-vallīyam' (here follows a quotation from the *Anurāga-vallī*) [*Bhakti-ratnākara* iv (pp. 141 f.)]. The *Anurāga-vallī* has been referred to more than once in the *Bhakti-ratnākara*.

³ In the *Anurāga-vallī* the poet says that his *guru* was Rāmasaṛaṇa-Caṭṭarāṇḍa, who was a disciple of Rāmācārāṇa-Cakravartī, the younger brother-in-law and disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [p. 49].

•

‘ O (my) master Śrī Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa ! When can I have a sight of thee to the satisfaction of my eyes ? The story of thy unending virtues fills my heart with a great pain of longing for thee (*literally* it seems as if my sides are bored through by unseen worms) : could I but heap on me any ill-luck he may have, and so die ! (His) body is made of (divine) Love as it were, as if (made of) gold purified ten-times : (his) face is like the moon, and between his rosy lips shines the glow of his white teeth which surpass a series of pearls. Smiling he speaks very nectar-sweet. The soul of his soul are Rūpa and Sanātana, and the two Raghunāthas (*i.e.*, Raghunātha-Bhaṭṭa and Raghunātha-dāsa) are his life : he looks upon the Paṇḍita (Haridāsa), Kṛṣṇa(-dāsa Kavirāja) and Lokanātha as differing from himself only in body, and (the deity) Śrī-Radhāramana is his all in all. His (only) joy is dissemination of divine Love, and he is, as it were, a bee (hovering) round the (lotus-) feet of Caitanya : he bestows the highest grace upon Śrīnivāsa (-Ācārya). His sole occupation is enjoying the divine bliss in company of all (his friends and followers) : he is then thoroughly intoxicated with ecstatic feelings (*bhāva*). The crest-jewel of the admirers of (*i.e.*, bathers in) the divine stream of the nectar of sportfulness (as he is), his heart is (ever) overflowing with the gush of love. O thou, the Sea of Divine Love ! O thou, the friend of the suffering people ! Thy praise is sung all over the world. O thou, Sweet-imaged One ! O thou, the Stream of Mercifulness ! O thou, the Mine of Virtues (which are found only) in wishing-stones ! O (my) master ! Just for once do thou show to me the essence of loveliness, the gracefulness of (thy) glorious lotus-feet ! After many, many births and through extreme good fortune I have been blessed with a place among thy people : but through fault of my own

karma, in the midst of sordid pleasures of the world, I have spent my life, eating husk-cakes. I do remember my own transgressions; yet on thy virtues, O Saviour of the fallen! I have fixed my hope (for salvation). My mind is agitated by temptations; and if thou spurnst me I have no other way to go.' Thus wails Manohara the sinner. »

The following poem I cite as a specimen of Manohara's Brajabuli composition :

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| navina kisalaya | phuṭala phula-caya |
| pāti vividha-vidhāna | |
| yaiche khira-sara | taiche śeja kara |
| kusuma-kula upādhāna | |
| sakhi he, svarūpe kahala mo toy | |
| aiche sājaha | vāsa-grha janu |
| nirakhi hari- sukha hoy | |
| cāru campaka- | kusuma-hāraka |
| gandha mālati-māla | |
| khapuṭa karpūra | pāna sumadhura |
| puriṇā kāñcana-thāla | |
| karaha saba tuhū | jāgi rahala-hū |
| piyā-ka pantha nihūra | |
| kahe manohara | kuñja-kānane |
| milaba nanda-kunāra | |
| [Nāyikā-ratna-mālā 11.] | |

« [Rādhā is expecting Kṛṣṇa. She thus asks her companion to make everything ready for the occasion.] 'Laying down fresh, tender leaves and blooming flowers in nice manner do please make a bed (soft and white) like the cream of milk, and make pillows of flower. O my friend! I request you earnestly: decorate the living room so well that on looking in Hari, i.e. Kṛṣṇa) may be delighted. A pretty garland of *campaka* flowers, perfumes, a chaplet of *mālati* flowers, betel-nut, camphor and tasty betel—do you please arrange all these on a plate of gold. Looking along the way of the Beloved I remain here all awake.' Manohara says, 'The Son of Nanda shall be met in the garden.' »

The *Dinamani-candrodaya* (a Vaiṣṇava religious work) seems to have been written by our poet Manohara-Rāya. This work has been published by Vaiṣṇava-carāṇa Basāk, Calcutta. In this work the author gives his genealogical tree [pp. 89 f.], from which we gather

that his great grandfather was Vāṇinātha-Paṭṭanāyaka, a younger brother of Rāmānanda-Rāya, the renowned follower of Caitanya-deva. The *Anurāga-vallī* was probably written in his advanced age, when he had settled at Vṛndāvana.

‘Hari-vallabha’ [c. 1704 A.C.].

In the *Kṣaṇadā Gīta-cintāmaṇi* there are forty poems with the *bh.* of ‘Hari-vallabha.’ Of these only three are in Sanskrit [213, 249, 290], and the rest in Brajabuli. Besides the above poems there are thirteen poems with the *bh.* of ‘Vallabha,’¹ which, in all probability, belong to ‘Hari-vallabha.’ Of these thirteen poems two [254, 294] are written in Sanskrit, while the remaining eleven are written in Brajabuli. Only three of the Brajabuli poems of ‘Hari-vallabha’ have been incorporated in PKT. [190 (= Kṣaṇadā 87), 214 (= Kṣaṇadā 165), 301 (= Kṣaṇadā 71)]; the last poem occurs twice in PKT. [301, 1522]. Two poems by ‘Hari-vallabha’ have been cited in the *Kīrttanānanda* [pp. 137, 161].

All these poems are universally ascribed to Viśvanātha-Cakravartin. According to tradition ‘Hari-vallabha’ was Viśvanātha’s pen-name. Some say that it was the devotional and mystic name of his *guru*, and Viśvanātha adopted it as his own pen-name in deference to him.

Viśvanātha was born in the middle of the seventeenth century. His native place was the village Deva-grāma in the district of Nadiyā. They were three brothers—Rāmabhadra, Raghunātha, and Viśvanātha. Finishing elementary education at home Viśvanātha shifted to Saiyadābād (near Berhampore) in Murshidabad, and there he studied the Vaiṣṇava religious and philosophical works. He received spiritual initiation from Kṛṣṇacarāṇa-Cakravartī, the son of Gaṅgānārāyaṇa-Cakravartī. According to another tradition the name of his *guru* was Rādhācarāṇa-Cakravartī. The latter view seems more plausible, because Kṛṣṇacarāṇa (if he be the same as the son of Gaṅgānārāyaṇa) flourished in the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century. It is therefore unlikely, though not absolutely impossible that he was Viśvanātha’s *guru*. Viśvanātha’s father married him early, but he would not remain at home. He went to Vṛndāvana,

¹ In the colophon of all these thirteen poems the word ‘vallabha’ has *double entendre*. The poems by Vallabha-dāsa, which contain the short *bh.* ‘Vallabha,’ have never any *double entendre* in this word [cf. PKT. 1010, 1011, 1020]: all these poems are by Vallabha-dāsa, and they do not occur in *Kṣaṇadā*.

whence he came back once only for a few days. He lived in the hut which had been used by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja.

After Jīva-Gosvāmin Viśvanātha was the greatest of later Vaiṣṇava scholars and philosophers. He wrote commentaries (all in Sanskrit) on the following works: (i) *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, (ii) *Bhagavad-gītā*, (iii) *Alaṅkāra-kaustubha* (of Karmapūra), (iv) *Ujjvala-nīlamanī* (by Rūpa-Gosvāmin), (v) *Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campū* (by Karmapūra), (vi) *Gopāla-tāpanī Upaniṣad*, (vii) *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta* (by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja), (viii) *Prema-bhakti-candrikā* (by Narottama-dāsa), and (ix) *Vidagdha-mādhava* (by Rūpa-Gosvāmin). He was the author of the following original works in Sanskrit: (i) *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-bhāvanāmṛta*, (ii) *Stavāmṛta-laharī*, (iii) *Prema-samputa*, (iv) *Gopī-premāmṛta*, (v) *Ujjvala-nīlamanī-kiraṇa*, (vi) *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu-bhinu*, (vii) *Bhāgavatāmṛta-kapikā*, (viii) *Rūga-vartma-candrikā*, (ix) *Aiśvarya-kāḍambinī*, (x) *Svapna-vilāsāmṛta*, (xi) *Camalkāra-candrikā*, (xii) *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-candrikā*, (xiii) *Mādhurya-kāḍambinī*, and (xiv) *Śrī-gaurāṅga-līlāmṛta*.

Viśvanātha was the compiler of the earliest known named anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyrics, entitled the *Kṣaṇadā Gīta-cintāmaṇi*. (The Das MS. noted before is older: see *ante*, p. 6). This work, consisting of the first part (*vārva-vibhāga*) only of the projected work, is incomplete. Viśvanātha completed his commentary (entitled *Sārārtha-larṣinī*) on the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* in Śaka 1626 (=1704 A.C.), and he died soon after. The *Kṣaṇadā Gīta-cintāmaṇi* seems to have been compiled in the interval.

The *Kṣaṇadā Gīta-cintāmaṇi* contains three hundred and nine poems (excluding six repetitions) by about forty-five different poets. Quite a number of these songs lack the *bhaṇitā*. The anthology is divided into thirty sections, named *kṣaṇadā* (night), representing nights beginning from the first day of the black fortnight and ending with the night of fullmoon.

The Brajabuli poems ¹ by 'Hari-vallabha' are not in any way remarkable. As a matter of fact they are quite commonplace. The two following poems are given as specimens:

e sakhi bihi ki purāyaba sādha |
heraba puna kiye rūpa-nidhi rādhā ||
yadi mohe nā milaba so vara-rāmā |
taba jiu-chāra dharaba kona kāmū ||

¹ Viśvanātha, or 'Hari-vallabha' does not appear to have written any poem in Bengali.

tuhū bheli dotī pāśa bhela āśā |
 jīu bāndhaba kiye karaba udāśā ||
 śuni hari-vacana dotī avilambe |
 āoli calī yāhā ramañī-kadambe ||
 kahe hari-vallabha śuna vraja-bālā |
 hari japaye tuyā guṇa-maṇi-mūlā ||

[Kṣaṇadā 165 ; PK'T. 214.]

• [Kṛṣṇa speaks to the friend sent with a message from Rādhā :]
 ' Will Providence fulfil my desire ? Shall I again look upon Rādhā, that treasure of loveliness ? If that excellent Lady would not meet me, what for should I then sustain this miserable life ? You are indeed my messenger, but my hope is the only fetter (that makes me cling to life). Shall I hold on to life ? Or, shall I give up hope ? ' On hearing these words from Hari (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa), the messenger came over at once to where the damsels were. Hari-vallabha says, ' Listen, O maidens of the Vraja ! Hari is only telling the beads in the rosary of thy (*i.e.*, Rādhā's) virtues. ' •

kaha kaha e sakhi marama-ki hāta |
 so tohe ki karala śyāmara-gāta ||
 manamatha-koṭi-mathana tanu-reha |
 kaiche ubari tuhū āoli geha ||
 kulavati-koṭi hoye yahī andha |
 pāoli kachu kiye so mukha-gandha ||
 yā-kara muralī śravaṇe yahī lāge |
 khasata-hī vasana śāśa-pati-āge ||
 aba niradhārasi kona vicāra |
 vallabha so rasa-sāgara pūra || [Kṣaṇadā 48.]

• [Rādhā's friends ask her how she felt being with Kṛṣṇa :] ' Tell us, do tell us, O friend, your secrets : what did that Dark-complexioned One (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) do to you ? His lovely form (*literally*, the line or curvature of the body) vanquishes tens of millions of gods of love : abandoning it how could you come home ? Whereat tens of millions of chaste women become blind (in love)—did you ever meet with any fragrance in that (divine) mouth ? If (the notes from) his flute ever reach the ear the girdle-knot is loosened before (even) the mother-in-law and the husband (*or*, when the breeze blows). What course do you think of adopting ? That Beloved One (*vallabha*) has crossed over to the other side of the sea of *rasa* (*i.e.*, is the master in the arts of love). ' •

Baladeva-dāsa.

There is a single poem (in Brajabuli) by Baladeva-dāsa in PKT. [2842]. The poet seems to have been the famous Neo-Vaiṣṇava philosopher at Vṛndāvana, Baladeva-Vidyābhūṣaṇa. Baladeva was a contemporary of Viśvanātha-Cakravartin, and, according to some, he was a disciple of Viśvanātha. Baladeva's *Govinda-bhāṣya* on the *Vedānta-Sūtras* must remain as a monumental work. This commentary defends the *drutādruta* or *acintya-bhedābheda* theory of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism against the attack of the pure *advaita* school of orthodox Vedāntism. Besides the above work he wrote commentaries on the following works: (i) the *Tattva-sandarbha* of Jīva-Gosvāmin, (ii) the *Stava-mālā* of Rūpa-Gosvāmin, and (iii) the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*.

The poem in question is quoted below.

jaya jaya maṅgala-ārati duhū-ki |
 śyāma-gori-chavi ūṭhata jhalaki ||
 nava-ghane janu thira bijuri birāje |
 tūhe maṇi-abharaṇa aṅga-hi sūje ||
 kare lai dīpāvali hema-thāli |
 ārati karata-hi lalitā āli ||
 saba-hū sakhi-gaṇa maṅgala gāoye |
 koi kara-tāli dei koī bājāoye ||
 koi koi sahacari mana-hi harikhe |
 duhū-ka aṅga para kusuma barikhe ||
 iha rasa kahata-hi baladeva-dāse |
 duhū-rūpa-mūdhuri heraite āse || [PKT. 9842.]

* All hail to the auspicious *ārātrika*¹ of the Couple! The loveliness of the Dark-complexioned Lover (i.e., Kṛṣṇa) and the Fair-complexioned Maiden (i.e., Rādhā) is flashing forth. (It looks) as if a steady flash of lightning shines on (the bosom of) a dark cloud. Over and above jewels adorn their limbs. Taking up on her hand a gold plate (containing) lamps in rows their friend Lalitā performs the *ārātrika* ceremony. All their companions are singing in (their) praise. Some are beating palms, some are playing on (musical instruments), while others, joyous at heart, are

¹ Evening-light ceremony before an image in Hindu ritual.

« Glory to Śrī-Jāhnavā ! Glory to Rāmāī (i.e., Rāmacandra)-Ṭhākura
 Glory to Śrī Hari-Gosvāmī ! (Through their grace) let me sing the praise
 of Gaura. »

From the last passage we may infer that Hari-Gosvāmī, a relative of
 Rāmacandra-Gosvāmī (?) was the *guru* of Prema-dāsa.

‘Prema-dāsa’ was not his real name. This name was given to him by
 his *guru*, and he used it as his pen-name. The full form of this name seems
 to have been ‘Premānanda-dāsa.’ This fuller name he has used a few
 times in his *Caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī*.

Thus :

śrī-caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī ujjvala |
 likhilenḍ premānanda-dāsa sumanḡala || [p. 268].

gaurāṅga-caraṇe manah premānanda-dāsa kana
 ānande praphulla manah deha || [p. 296] ; etc.

The poet has given some details of his life at the end of the
Caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī [pp. 403 f.]. These accounts (in identical
 language) occur in his *Pañśī-śikṣā* also. I give here a summary of
 these accounts.

The poet's real name was Puruṣottama-Miśra, and he obtained the title
 ‘Siddhānta-vāgīśa.’ His father was Gaṅgā-dāsa, grandfather Mukundā-
 nanda, and great-grandfather Jagannātha-Miśra who was a contemporary
 of Caitanya-deva. They lived at ‘Kula-nagara’¹ (the village Kuliā, just
 opposite to Navadvīpa, across the Hooghly river). At the age of sixteen
 he went to the Vraja. Kṛṣṇacarāṇa-Gosvāmī, who was in charge of
 the management of the temple of Śrī-Govinda, appointed him a cook
 at the temple. A few years after his eldest brother, Govinda-rāma,
 brought him home. He finished the *Caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī*
 in Śaka 1634 (= 1712 A. C.) and the *Pañśī-śikṣā* in Śaka 1638
 (= 1716 A. C.).

ṣola śa(ta) cautriśa śake laukika bhāṣāte-sukhe
 prema-dāsa karila likhana ||
 [Caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī, p. 403].

¹ Or ‘Gokula-nagara,’ as read in some texts and MSS.

śakāḍitya ṣola-śata cantriśa śakete |
 śrī-caitanya-candrodaya racinu sukhete ||
 sola-śata aṣṭa-triṃśa śakera ganaṇa |
 śrī-śrī-vamśī-śikṣā grantha karila varṇana ||

[Vamśī-śikṣā, quoted in GPT., Introduction, p. 111.]

Prema-dāsa's Brajabuli poems are quite commonplace, even below the average quality. The following poem, however, is an exception :

mādhava, mohe kahasi cāda-mukha |
 cāda-ka guṇa kahaye saba suśītala
 cāde janama bhari dukha ||
 jalanidhi-udara ūyala śasādharma
 garala saṅge upanīta |
 sebala śaṅkara śīrasi bahala yaba
 tābā phaṇī heri asambita ||
 puna yāi gagane karala ārohaṇa
 tāhe garāse rāhu manda |
 daive kalaṅkita hoyala mṛga dhari
 asita-pakṣe tanu-anta ||
 kūhe minati karu kapaṭa-hī nāgara
 heri virasa mana hoy |
 prema-dāsa kaha cāda-vadana cāha
 cakore piyūṣa dei soy || [APR. 399.]

* [Rādhā says to Kṛṣṇa:] 'Why do you call me moon-faced? Everybody speaks of the soothing qualities of the moon, but the moon is miserable from her very birth. The moon (*literally*, one who holds the hare) rose up from the bottom of the ocean; but the great poison came along with her. Śaṅkara (*i.e.*, Śiva) paid a compliment to her when he placed her on his head: but there she found snakes, and was in trepidation. Then she went up in the sky, where, however, *Rāhu*, the evil one, gobbles her up (periodically). By chance the moon caught hold of a hare, and this way she got her black spots. Her body vanishes away in the dark fortnight. Why do you, O my gallant, expostulate with me in this false manner? On looking at you my heart becomes embittered.' Prema-dāsa says, 'Look up with your moon-face; (all her faults notwithstanding, it is the moon) that gives ambrosia to the *cakora*.' *

saī, kābhāre kariba roṣa |
 nā jāni nā dekhi sarala hañlū
 se puni āpana doṣa ||
 bātāsa bujhiyā pelāi thu, pā
 bārhañ bujhiyā theha |
 mānuṣa bujhiyā kathā se kahiye
 rasika bujhiyā neha ||
 maraka bujhiyā dhariye dāla
 chāyāy bujhiyā māthā |
 gāhaka bujhiyā guṇa prakāśiye
 bethita bujhiyā bethā ||
 avicāre saī karilū pirtti
 kena kailū hena kūje |
 prema-dāsa kahe dhitra ha sundari
 kahile pāibā lāje || [PKT. 954.]

The bulk of the Bengali songs of Prema-dāsa in PKT. are on Caitanya-deva. Two are on Nityānanda-prabhu [2263f.], one on Śrīvāsa [2353], and one is a prayer poem [3055].

34

at least there is nothing to disprove that he was the same as the poet Prema-dāsa. We have also seen that the full name (rather pen-name) of the poet was Premānanda-dāsa. The *Manah-śikṣā*¹ of Premānanda is an anthology of one hundred and eight Bengali poems. (It should be mentioned here that the *bh.* is invariably 'Premānanda' and never once 'Prema-dāsa.')

The language of these poems is quite simple, and their appeal is direct. The poet is really a good one, and it is not too much to say that most of these songs are at par with the devotional poems and prayers of Narottama-dāsa. These poems are not very wellknown, nevertheless they deserve wider publicity and greater appreciation. So I may be excused if I quote here a few of these poems as specimens.

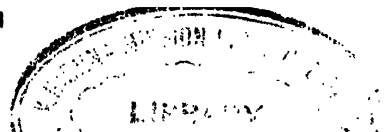
e mana, vadane balaha hari hari |
 helāy janama viphale goñali
 dekha-nā kakhana mari ||
 madane cañcala vikala hañyā
 sadāi ku-pathe dhā(i)li |
 pūraba smariyā bujha nā tumi ki
 ihāi karite ā(i)li ||
 vyāpāre āsiyā mūla hārāiḥa
 tallāṣ kari nū cāo |
 ṭhākera sahite e tora mitāli
 kabe vā se bodha pāo ||
 jāna nā narake pheliyā pacābe
 antaka yāhāra nāma |
 ekhana takhana kakhana āsiyā
 galūy bādhibe dāma ||
 bhārata-bhuvane mānuṣa-janama
 emana āra vū kabe |
 ihāte na ha(i)le takhana habe ki
 śṛgāla kukkura yabe ||

¹ 'Manah-śikṣā' (Lessons to the Mind) is the name of this type of didactic poems or prayers. Besides the *Manah-śikṣā* of Prema-dāsa, we know of another *Manah-śikṣā*, in Sanskrit, by Raghunāthadāsa-Gosvāmin. Premānanda-dāsa's *Manah-śikṣā* has been published in several editions, but the best edition is that of Nityasavarūpa Brahmaṇḍī, Devakinandana Press, Calcutta, Caitanya Era 429 (third edition).

bala hari hari śamane rākhaha
tābhāre karaha rāji |
kahe premānanda ihāte ye bhule
se mene baṛāī pūji || [10]

“ O my mind ! utter from thy mouth, ‘ Hari ! Hari ! ’ Through carelessness thou hast lived thy life in vain, and thou dost not heed death ! Restless and distracted with physical love thou hast ever strayed into the evil way : remembering thy past do thou (try to) realize what thou art. Hast thou come (upon the earth) only to do this ? In thy chaffering thou art (fast) wasting thy capital, and no heed dost thou keep ! The commerce thou has made is with a rogue : when wilt thou realise it ? Dost thou not know that he whose name is the Ender of all shall throw thee down and torment thee in hell ? He may come any time, even just now, and put the noose round thy neck. In Bhārata land thy advent as a man,—shall it ever happen again ? If it (*i.e.*, working out thy salvation) is not accomplished now, how will it be when (thou shalt be reborn as) a jackal or a dog ? Utter, then, the name—‘ Hari ! Hari,’ and stop (the progress of) Death, making him relent. Premānanda says : Who deceives himself here is indeed the greatest scoundrel. ”

e mana, bala re govinda-nāma ।
 āji kālī kari ki āra bhābhicha
 kabe torṣ ghucibe kāma ॥
 kālī se karibā tumi ye balicha
 āji tā kara nā bhāi ।
 āji yā karibā tā kara ekhani
 ki jāni kakhana yāi ॥
 ehena kalite mānuṣa-janama
 emana āra vā kate ।
 hari-nāma diyā jagata tārila
 śrī-kṛṣṇacaitanya yāte ॥
 se tina yugera ācāra-vicāra
 ekhana se-saba rākha ।
 vadana bhariyā gaura-hari bala
 yugera dharama dekha ॥
 rasanā vadana vaśera bhitare
 kevala balile hay ।
 ālisa kariyā narake yāite
 kāra vā e apacay ॥



‘ O my mind ! what elation is it to be on the boat, the body ? With what pleasures art thou blinded ? Look behind, and see : thou shalt have to cross over the sea of *bhava* (*i.e.*, the cycle of birth and death). Dost thou not see the whirlpool of *Māyā* (*i.e.*, all-pervading delusion) ? The boat circles round like the (potter’s) wheel. Canst thou not perceive it, my brother ? (Stirred by) thy evil desires like the wind, these waves run high (*literally* touch the sky) ; and nothing—wealth or servants—can help it. These drunken fellows,—desire and other passions,—thou hast made them thy oars : they have brought the boat to a whirlpool (*literally* they are turning the boat round and round), and that scoundrel, thy Evil Will, thou hast appointed the helmsman ; I do not know when all will sink. If thou wishest to cross over the sea of *bhava*, take as thy helmsman thy Good Will, and make the ten senses thy oars. Singing the praise of Hari (just as boatmen sing) *sārī*,¹ and rowing fast (as in a boat race) move towards thy destination, shouting the Name of Hari at intervals. Finish thy plying before the boat is out of order ; and when thou hast come to the other side, lord it over (as thou likest). If thou hast not crossed (the sea) in time, what shalt thou do afterwards ? And how long can the boat wait ? It is a vast stretch, the sea, and so do not tarry : the crew will (soon) become weary. Premānanda says : ‘ O my mind ! if the boat sinks by the wharf what good would it do ? ’ »

When Caitanya-deva came to Advaita-Ācārya's home after his *sannyāsa*, the Ācārya was in extreme joy, and on the very night of the coming of the Master the Ācārya sang a song in *Kīrtana*. The first

¹ Boatman's song.

couplet of this song is cited in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* [ii. 3]. Prema-dāsa, however, quotes the entire poem, which differs materially from the PKT. version [1995].

According to Prema-dāsa the song was sung by Śrīvāsa at the Ācārya's request. Prema-dāsa's version is as follows :

ki kahaba re sakhi ānanda-ora |
cira-dine ¹ mādhaba mandire mora ||
āra hūma piyā ² dūra-deśa nā pāṭhāṣ ³ |
ācala bhariyā yadi mahānidhi pāṣ ⁴ ||
pūpa sudhākara more yata dila tāpe |
saba dūra gela mora se-jana ālāpe ||
bhaṇaye vidyūpati śuna vara-nārī |
bahu-dina pipāsūy piye ghana vāri ||

[Caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī, p. 145.]

« 'How shall I describe the bounds of my joy? After a long time Mādhava is come to my home. No more will I send my Beloved away to a far-off land, even though that would get me a skirtful of great gems! All the torments (due to separation) that the wretched moon inflicted on me are now gone only by speaking with him.' Vidyāpati says: 'Listen (to me), O precious lady! In a prolonged thirst one drinks water profusely.' »

Once, when the devotees from Bengal were at Puri in their annual pilgrimage to the Master, the king Pratāpa-rudra was watching them from a distance. The devotees were then singing a song in *Kīrtana* style. Not understanding the words of the song from the distance the king asked his priest Kāśī-Miśra what it was about. Kāśī-Miśra recited the following Brajabuli poem by Vamśī-vadana as the one that was being sung. The poem, as given by Prema-dāsa, has become corrupt at places, and it would be difficult to restore it.

madhura madhura vāmśī bāje vane |
darabaye śīla kula ⁵ vigalita taru-kula
vikāśita vratatīra ⁶ sane ||

¹ Printed text 'cira-dina.'

² Printed text 'piyā.'

³ Printed text 'pāṭhāṣa.'

⁴ Printed text 'pāṣa.'

⁵ Printed text 'darabaye dāru śīla kula.'

⁶ Printed text 'vratī.'

dinakara-jāle jāla nāhi hoyata
 kula hariṇa ali āli |
 daivata ye baita (? = baiṭha) nija-tanu vismṛta
 śambhu svayambhū mukha-vismaya-śāli |
 yamunā yajña-sutādika dhūli-gaṇa nirakha
 nirakhi gīta bheo murali-ālāpe |
 lāja māna gṛha deha bhulāyala capala
 karāyala yuvati-kalape ||
 paramāmṛta-siñcita bhela tri-bhuvana
 gokulanātha-vadana-veṇu-gāne |
 vaṁśi-vadana bhaṇai hari-vaṁśi katai
 kalā-rasa-kautuka jāne || [Op. cit., p. 360.]

This poem is cited here as it has not been found anywhere else.

This otherwise unknown poem by Vaṁśi-vadana must have then been composed and sung during the lifetime of Caitanya-deva. As the family of Vaṁśi-vadana supplied the spiritual *gurus* to that of Prema-dāsa, it is quite likely that this story (which is unrecorded elsewhere) Prema-dāsa obtained from his *guru*, and therefore it seems to be authentic.

Ghanarāma-dāsa [c. ? 1711 A.C.].

In PKT. there are sixteen poems by Ghanarāma ; of these fifteen are written in Bengali, and only one in Brajabuli [1152]. Ghanarāma's poems are very remarkable in that they are concerned solely with the child Kṛṣṇa. They depict what is technically known as *vātsalya rasa*. No lyric poet other than Ghanarāma adopted this sentiment as his exclusive subject-matter.

In PKT. there are two Bengali poems with the *bh.* of 'Ghanaśyāma-dāsa' [1138, 1145], one dealing with the occasion of Rādhā's birth, and the other with the dalliance of Child Kṛṣṇa, which have the alternative *bh.* of 'Ghanarāma-dāsa.' In the *Śaṅkīrtanāmṛta* there are four Bengali poems [76, 78, 81, 87 (=134, 117, 209)] with the *bh.* of 'Ghanaśyāma-dāsa,' which deal with Child Kṛṣṇa, the language and style of which are identical with that of Ghanarāma, and some of which actually occur in PKT. and other anthologies with the *bh.* of Ghanarāma. The same phenomenon appears in some of the modern anthologies such as the *Kṛṣṇa-podāmṛta-sindhu* and the *Kīrtana-gīta-ratnāvalī*.

Now Ghanas̥yāma Kavirāja (grandson of Govindadāsa Kavirāja : early 17th century ; see *ante*, pp. 215ff.) was a noted writer of Brajabuli, and though his Bengali poems are by no means scarce, yet it must be admitted that his Bengali was much inferior to his Brajabuli. It is also a fact that the sentiment of love (*madhura rasa*) was his *forte*. It is therefore unlikely, though not absolutely impossible, that these poems really belong to Ghanarāma. The names Ghanarāma and Ghanas̥yāma are so very similar that one can be easily confused with the other, especially as they have the same metrical length and quality. As a matter of fact interchange between the two names is a very common occurrence in the MSS. of anthologies.

I have already remarked that there is only one Brajabuli poem in PKT. to the credit of Ghanarāma. There is some trouble with this poem too. It is written in *tripadī* verse except the last two couplets which are written in *payāra* metre. This is rather suspicious.

This mixture of metres—especially in poems of the earlier centuries—almost unmistakably points to interpolation or confusion on the part of scribes or singers. Let me quote the poem here. It is written in mixed Brajabuli and Bengali.

¹ pañca-barikha-vaya- -sākṛti ² mohana
 dhāvamāna para aṅganā |
 pāyasa pāṇi-tale āora ³ mākhana
 khāyata miṭāyata bayana ||
 dole dole mohana gopāla |
 prakhara caraṇa-gati mukhara kiṅkiṇī kaṭi
 loṭana lolaye vana-māla ||
 sonāyāḥ bāndhila bhāla ruru-nakha ure māla
 piṭhe dole pāṭa-ki thopa |
 khene ālagachi deī khene bhūme gaṛi yāī
 khene parasanna khene kopa ||
⁴ nanda sunatda yaśomatī rohiṇī
 ānande suta-mukha cāy |
 aruṇa- ⁵ dṛg-añcala kājare rañjita
 hāsi hāsi vadana dekhāy ||

¹ This couplet is also the first couplet in an anonymous poem in the *Saṅkṛtitanāmṛta* [78].

² PKT. reads '-kṛta-.'

³ PKT. reads 'pāyasa pāṇi urathale mākhana.'

⁴ This couplet is identical with the third couplet of a poem by Vampāi-vadana [see *supra*, p. 43].

⁵ PKT. has 'nayana.'

kuntale ratana maṇi jhālamala dekhi |
 kuṇḍale ujjala gaṇḍa kājara-rekhi ||
 ghanarāma-dāse bole śuna nanda-rāṇi |
 trijagata-nātha nācāo kare diyā nanī || [PKT. 1152.]

« Looking like a child aged five years the Charmer (*i.e.*, Young Kṛṣṇa) is romping about in the courtyard. (There is) sweet milk and butter, (which he) eats, and with which he smears his face. Ah, the graceful swinging dance of the charming Gopāla (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa, *literally* a cowherd boy)! Quick are his steps, the girdle bells at his waist tinkle, and a garland of wild flowers (*vana-mālā*) hangs down (from his neck). A hoof (*literally* claw) of the *ruru*,¹ nicely mounted in gold and attached to a necklace, dangles against his chest: on his back hangs a silk knot (at the end of his plaited hair). Now he moves on tiptoe, and then he rolls on the ground: now he is gleeful, and then angry. Nanda, Sunanda, Yaśomatī and Rohiṇī look at the face of the Child joyfully. The corner of his eyes are painted with collyrium: he shows up his face smiling. His forelocks, decked with jewels, look resplendent: his cheeks (look) bright with the earrings, (and his eyes are beautified with) collyrium paint. Ghanarāma-dāsa says: 'Listen, O queen of Nanda! Do please put some fresh butter on his hands (for him to eat it), and make him, the Lord of the three worlds, dance.' »

As I have already mentioned Ghanarāma busied himself solely with Child Kṛṣṇa. This aspect of the Vraja theme received very scanty notice from the Vaiṣṇava lyric poets. (We may mention the names of Vamśi-vadana, Balarāma-dāsa and Yādavendra in this connexion.) Ghanarāma's poems are simple, but otherwise there is nothing remarkable.

The only Ghanarāma known in Bengali literature was the author of the *Dharma-maṅgala*. This work was completed in Śaka 1633 (=1711 A. C.).² It is quite possible that this Ghanarāma was the poet in question. The author of the *Dharma-maṅgala* was a Brahmin, as his surname of Cakravartī shows. It may be objected that the surname 'Dāsa' which we

¹ A species of antelope. Probably it is a mistake for 'bāgha-nakha' (tiger-claw) which, mounted in silver or gold, would be used as charm and hung round the neck of a child.

² His full name was Ghanarāma-Cakravartī. His native place was Kṛṣṇa-pura in the district of Burdwan. The *Dharma-maṅgala* has been published from the Bangabasi Press, Calcutta.

find with the lyric poet (Ghanarāna-*dāsa*), precludes their identification as the same person. But we should remember that the use of the sobriquet *Dāsa* (slave) along with the personal name was a recognised Vaiṣṇava practice, indicating the humility of the person, irrespective of caste.

CHAPTER XI

EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY POETS : POETS OCCURRING IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ANTHOLOGIES

Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura [? 1699 A.C.—1778 A.C.].

Rādhā-mohana was a great-great-grandson of Śrīnivāsa-Acārya.¹ He was born sometime about Śaka 1621 (= 1699 A.C.), and he died in Śaka 1700 (= 1778 A.C.). Rādhā-mohana was one of the biggest Vaiṣṇava scholars of his time. When he was a young man there arose an acute doctrinal difference between the two schools of Vaiṣṇava thought. One school supported the doctrine of 'Svakīyā,' and the other the doctrine of 'Parakīyā'.² This controversy came to such a head that an assembly of all the leading Vaiṣṇavas was called, and the leaders of the two schools were asked to discuss their doctrines publicly and to accept the judgment of the assembly. Rādhā-mohana was chosen as the leader of the 'Parakīyā' school. After a protracted and lively discussion Rādhā-mohana vindicated the doctrine of his school, and was given a certificate to that effect, signed by all the Vaiṣṇava scholars present. This document was registered at the court of Murshidkuli Khan on the 17th *Phālguna* 1125 B. E. (= March 1718 A.C.).³ Rādhā-mohana lived at Mālihāṭi, a village a few miles distant from Katwa. He was the *guru* of Mahārāja Nandakumār.

Rādhā-mohana's great work is the *Padāmṛta-samudra*, an anthology of seven hundred and thirty Vaiṣṇava lyric poems (including a few repetitions), of which one hundred and eighty-five belong to himself. The following poets have been represented in the *Padāmṛta-samudra*.

¹ *Padāmṛta-samudra*, introductory verses [4-17].

² Briefly speaking, these two doctrines mean this. According to the 'Svakīyā' doctrine Rādhā was really the properly wedded wife (*svakīyā bhāryā*) of Kṛṣṇa, but according to the 'Parakīyā' doctrine Rādhā was legally married to another person, and was just a sweet-heart (*parakīyā stri*) to Kṛṣṇa.

³ *Padāmṛta-samudra*, Introduction [p. ix].

Jayadeva, Vidyapati, Caṇḍīdāsa, 'Sanātana,' Govindadāsa Kavirāja, Govindadāsa-Cakravartī, Nayanānanda, Vṛndāvana-dāsa, Rāmānanda-Rāya, Ananta-dāsa, Yadunandana, Balarāma-dāsa, Jñānadāsa, Vamśī-vadana, Vamśī-dāsa, Subala, Kavi-śekhara, Kavi-rañjana, Campati, Siṃha Bhūpati, Nṛpati Siṃha Kavi, Narottama-dāsa, Jagannātha-dāsa, Śekhara-Rāya, Murāri-Gupta, Mādhva, Ghanaśyāma-dāsa, Mādhava-Ghoṣa, Mādhava-Ācārya. Vira-nārāyaṇa and Vijaya-nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa, Śrīnivāsa-dāsa, Śrī-Kṛṣṇaprasāda, Narahari (? Sarkār), Gopāla-dāsa, Locana-dāsa, Vallabha-dāsa, Rādhā-mohana.

Rādhā-mohana also wrote an excellent commentary in Sanskrit, named *Mahābhāvanusāriṇī*, to his anthology. This commentary bears ample evidence of Rādhā-mohana's scholarship and critical acumen.

Out of the one hundred and eighty-five poems by Rādhā-mohana, occurring in the *Padāmṛta-samudra* about one hundred and eighty have been cited in PKT. The bulk of the poems of Rādhā-mohana are written in Brajabuli. Only twenty-three poems are written in Bengali, and five only in Sanskrit.

One poem by Rādhā-mohana has been quoted in Narahari-Cakravartī's anthology *Gīta-candrodaya*.¹ This poem is the same as PKT. [68]. It is therefore apparent that Rādhā-mohana was, at the latest, an older contemporary of Narahari-Cakravartī.

Rādhā-mohana was a slavish imitator of Govindadāsa Kavirāja. He was often unnecessarily pedantic. In spite of this defect some of his poems are not devoid of intrinsic merit. The following poem is cited as a specimen of his Brajabuli composition.

abhinava-jaladhara-rucira su-deha |
 pītāmbara-vara tarita-thira-reha ||
 jaya jaya govinda gokula-bhāgi |
 vrajā-nava-ramaṇi yū-ka mana lāgi ||
 kata-koṭi cāda jiniyā vara-mukha |
 yā-kara daraśe miṭaye sava dūkha ||
 nirupama-rūpa-jaladhi avatāra |
 rādhāmohana-pahu mūrati-śiṅgāra || [PKT. 2413.]

¹ For this information I am indebted to Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna. He had recently been to Agartala, the headquarters of the Tipperah State, and had examined the only known (though incomplete) MS. of the *Gīta-candrodaya*, which is deposited at the State Library. See *infra*.

« His graceful person is as lovely as the fresh (dark) cloud : his fine yellow garment (looks like) the fixed streak of lightning (thereon). All glory to Govinda, the good star of Gokula, whose heart has been attracted towards the young women of the Vraja ! His lovely face defeats so many millions of moons, and at a sight of it all misery is removed. (He is) the Ocean incarnate of unparalleled beauty : he, the Master of Rādhā-mohana, is Love personified. »

Rādhā-mohana also wrote a few alliterative poems (*citra-gīta*) [PKT. 1889, 2002, 2427, 2439].

Narahari-Cakravartī (Narahari-dāsa ii or Ghanaśyāma-dāsa ii).

Narahari-Cakravartī was the most prolific of the Vaiṣṇava lyric poets. He used either of the names 'Narihari-dāsa' and 'Ghanaśyāma-dāsa,' in the *bhaṇitā* of his poems, without any distinction. He therefore, may be mentioned as Narahari-dāsa (ii) or Ghanaśyāma-dāsa (ii). Narahari-Cakravartī was the author of the following works :

Bhakti-ratnākara, *Narottama-vilāsa*, *Śrīnivāsa-caritra*, *Gīta-candrodaya*, *Chandaḥ-samudra*, *Gaura-carita-cintāmaṇi*, and *Padmāṭi-pradīpa*.¹

The *Bhakti-ratnākara* and the *Narottama-vilāsa* are historical works depicting the activities of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, Narottama-Ṭhākura and Śyāmānanda. The *Bhakti-ratnākara*, however, contains much additional matter such as the activities of the Gosvāmins at Vṛndāvana, description of the town of Navadvīpa, and other topics. These two works are of great historical importance for fixing the chronology of the Vaiṣṇava history in Bengal. Though they are works of the early eighteenth century, they contain much genuine and historical facts, which are not known from any other source. The *Narottama-vilāsa* was posterior to the *Bhakti-ratnākara*, as the latter has been more than once referred to in the former, and the former has been mentioned in the latter as a projected work [*Bhakti-ratnākara*, pp. 632, 654, etc.]. The *Śrīnivāsa-caritra*, as the name indicates, was devoted to the life and teachings of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya. This work, which the author has mentioned more than once in his *Bhakti-ratnākara*

¹ Of these works the last three are known in MSS. which have become extremely rare. The *Gīta-candrodaya* is known in a unique but fragmentary MS. deposited at the State Library, Tipperah. A portion of this work, however, was published in Tripurā Era 1298 by Viracandra Deva-Varman from Agartala, Tipperah State. The *Śrīnivāsa-caritra* seems to have been entirely lost.

[pp. 1004, 1047], is now lost. This work preceded the *Bhakti-ratnākara* [cf. p. 1004].

Narahari gives the following account of himself.

nija-paricaya dite lajjā hay mane |
 pūrva-vāsa gaṅgā-tīre jāne sarva-jane ||
 viśvanātha-cakravartti sarvatra vikhyāta |
 tāra śiṣya mora pitā vipra jagannātha ||
 nā jāni ki hetu haila mora dui nāma |
 narahari-dāsa āra dāsa ghanaśyāma ||
 gṛhāśrama haite hailū udāsīna |
 mahāpāpa viṣaye majilū rātri-dina ||

[*Bhakti-ratnākara*, Granthānuvāda ; p. 1067.]

« I feel ashamed to give an account of myself. My original home was on the bank of the Ganges—(it was a place) known to all. Viśvanātha-Cakravartti is (or was) famous everywhere : his disciple was my father Jagannātha, a Brahmin. I do not know why I was given two names, Narahari-dāsa and Ghanaśyāma-dāsa. From home-life I became a wanderer, (and then again) I became immersed, day and night, in sinful worldliness. »

The *Bhakti-ratnākara*¹ is a voluminous work of encyclopedic character. Incidentally it is also an anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyrics, as it contains three hundred and fourteen lyric poems by about twenty-seven different poets. The following poets have been cited in this work.

Narottama-dāsa, Vasanta-dāsa (Rāya), Govindadāsa Kavirāja, Narahari-dāsa (i), Narahari-dāsa (ii),² Govinda-Ghoṣa, Mādho (Brajbhākhā), Jñānadāsa, Balarāma-dāsa, Vyāsa (Brajbhākhā), Śrīnivāsa-dāsa (Ācārya), Vira-hāmbīra, Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa, Vṛndāvana-dāsa, Yadunandana-dāsa (Cakravartti), Yadunandana-dāsa (ii), Devakī-nandana, Rāmacandra, Śekhara-Rāya, Murāri-Gupta, Nayanānanda, Śivānanda, Caitanya-dāsa, Ananta, Rāmānanda-Vasu, Locana, Prasāda-dāsa.

¹ Published from the Rādhāramaṇa Yantra, Berhampore, in two successive editions. The first edition appeared in Caitanya Era 402, and the second in Caitanya Era 426 (= B.E. 1819).

² The same as Ghanaśyāma-dāsa (ii). In the *Bhakti-ratnākara* there are forty-two poems with the bh. of 'Ghanaśyāma-dāsa,' all of which belong to Narahari-Cakravartti. Had any of these poems belonged to Ghanaśyāma Kavirāja the author would not have failed to remark to that effect, as he had done in the case of the poem by Narahari-Sarkār (Narahari-dāsa i). Cf., *Bhakti-ratnākara*, p. 924.

Of these three hundred and fourteen poems about one hundred and thirty-five (including forty-two poems with the *bh.* of 'Ghanaśyāma') belong to Narahari-dāsa (ii).

In PKT. there are thirty-six poems with the *bh.* of 'Narahari,' of which the bulk should be ascribed to Narahari-dāsa (i). In the same work poems with the *bh.* of 'Ghanaśyāma-dāsa' number forty-two, all of which¹ must be ascribed to Ghanaśyāma-dāsa (i).

No poem by Narahari-Cakravartī occurs in the *Kṣaṇadā Gīta-cintāmaṇi* or in the *Padāmṛta-samudra*. There are, no doubt, in that anthology poems with the *bhs.* of 'Ghanaśyāma' and 'Narahari,' but these poems must be ascribed to the earlier poets. On the other hand one poem by Rādhā-mohana [Padāmṛta-samudra ; PKT. 68] occurs in Narahari-Cakravartī's *Gīta-candrodaya* [see *supra*, p. 276]. The *Kīrttanānanda* also does not seem to contain any poem by Narahari-Cakravartī.

Narahari-dāsa (ii) compiled an anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyrics, named the *Gīta-candrodaya*. This work has not yet been published,² and as a matter of fact, no complete MS. of this work is known. The only known copy of the *Gīta-candrodaya* is deposited at the State Library, Tipperah. This MS. though incomplete contains the bulk of the entire work. Another MS. deposited at the Dacca University Library is supposed to be a missing portion of the *Gīta-candrodaya*. Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna had recently been to Tipperah. He examined the MS. of the *Gīta-candrodaya* and took down some notes. He very kindly allowed me to use these notes, and also to examine a copy of the Dacca University MS. taken by him. For the following observations I am, therefore, indebted to the courtesy of the Pandit.

The *Gīta-candrodaya* was divided into eight sections. They were as follows : (i) 'Gaura-kṛṣṇa-rasāmṛta,' (ii) 'Gaura-kṛṣṇa bhāvanāmṛta,' (iii) 'Gaura-kṛṣṇa-caritāmṛta,' (iv) 'Gaura-kṛṣṇa-vilāsāmṛta,' (v) 'Gaura-kṛṣṇa-līlāmṛta,' (vi) 'Nitya-sevāmṛta,' (vii) 'Nāmāmṛta,' and (viii) 'Prārthanāmṛta.' The Tipperah MS. contains fourteen hundred and forty-six songs out of a probable total of twenty-five hundred. In bulk the *Gīta-candrodaya* thus seems to have been almost equal to the *Pañca-kalpa-tarṇa*. The majority of the lyrics in the *Gīta-candrodaya* seems to have been contributed by the

¹ One poem [PKT. 522] may have belonged to Ghanaśyāma-dāsa (ii).

² An insignificant portion of this work, containing the first three hundred and thirty poems, had been published from Agartala under the patronage of the then Maharaja of Tipperah. Printed copies of it are extremely rare [*vide* p. 277 footnote].

compiler himself. The Tipperah fragment alone contains eight hundred and thirty-one poems by Narahari-Cakravartti.

In the *Gīta-candrodaya*—so far as the Tipperah and Dacca fragments go—the following poets have been laid under contribution by the compiler.

Narahari-dāsa (i), Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa, Govinda-Ghoṣa, Govindadāsa Kavirāja, Govindadāsa-Cakravartti, Balarāma-dāsa, Jñānadāsa, Śekhara-Rāya, Kavi-śekhara, Nava Kavi-śekhara, Kavi-rañjana, Kavi-Kaṇṭhabhāra, Yadunātha, Yadunandana, Ghanaśyāma Kavirāja, Dviṣa Rāmadāsa, Siṃha Bhūpati, Nrpa Vaidyanātha, Vidyāpati (i),¹ Vidyāpati (ii),² Vṛṇḍavana-dāsa, Śyāma(-dāsa), Ātmārāma, Ananta, Ananta-Rāya, Locana, *Haridāsa-dāsa, Puruṣottama, Rādhū-mohana, 'Sanātana,' 'Hari-vallabha,'³ Vamśi-vadana, Rāmānanda-Rāya, Rāmānanda-Vasu, Śivānanda (-Cakravartti), Gopāla(-dāsa), Bhagavatī, 'Mādhavi'(-dāsa), Kṛṣṇa-prasūda, Nayanānanda(-Miśra), Subala(-candra), Śaśinātha, Prasāda-dāsa.

Narahari-dāsa (ii) cannot claim a very high position as a poet, but he was certainly a first-rate metrician. This is evidenced by his use of so many different metres,⁴ including the rare metres in Hindi. Narahari must have also been an accomplished musician. His knowledge in the technicalities of high music seems to have been profound. The fifth chapter ('Pañcama-Taraṅga') of the *Bhakti-ratnākara* is, in fact, a monograph on classical music.

The following poems are cited as illustrative of Narahari-Cakravartti's poetic attainment :—

nācata gaura
nikhila-naṭa-panḍita
nirupama-bhaṅgi
madana-mada-harāi |
pracura-caṇḍakara-
dara-paribhañjana
aṅga-kiraṇe dika-
bidika ujarāi ||

¹ The Maithil post.

² The Bengali poet who was an inhabitant of Śrīkṣṇḍa.

³ There is also one poem with the *bh.* of 'Vallabha,' which occurs in *Kṣaṇadā* [10]. It, therefore, belongs to 'Hari-vallabha.'

Unfortunately his *Chandaḥ-samudra* is not available; otherwise we could have made a complete estimate of his metrical skill.

unamata atula
 sipha jini garajana
 śunaite bali kali-
 vāraṇa dharāi |
 ghana ghana lampha
 lalita-gati cañcala-
 carāṇa-ghāte kṣiti
 ṭala-mala karaī ||
 kinnara-garaba
 kharaba karu parikara
 gūyata ulase
 amiya-rasa jharāi |
 bāyata bahu-vidha
 khola khamaka dhuni
 paraśata gagana
 kauna dhṛti dharāi ||
 atula-pratāpa
 kāpi durajana-gaṇa
 leai śaraṇa
 carāṇa-tale parāi |
 narahari-pahū-ka
 kirīti rahu jaga bhari
 parama-dulaha dhana
 niyata bitarāi ||
 [Bhakti-ratnākara, p. 883.]

« Gaura, the Master of all dancers, dances : his graceful movements remove the pride of the god of love. With the dazzle of his fair complexion that vanquishes, with the least effort, (the brightness of) so many suns, he illumines all the quarters. His shouts surpass the roar of mighty, angry lions : on hearing them fear springs on the mighty elephant of the *Kali* age. He jumps up now and then, he moves in graceful steps, and with the thumps of his dancing feet the earth quakes. His attendants destroy the vanity of the *Kinnaras*¹ (as regards their musical attainments) : they are singing in joy. It seems that nectar is flowing all round. (Various musical instruments

¹ Mythical beings reputed to be the best vocal and instrumental musicians.

Natavara.

The following Brajabuli poem by Naṭavara is given as a specimen of his writing :—

gopī-gaṇa-kuca- kuṅkume rañjita
arūṇa-vasana śobhe aṅge |
kāñcana-nindita- kānti kalevara
rūi-parasā-rasa-saṅge ||
dekha dekha aparupa gaura-vilāsa |
lākha yuvati-rati yo guru-lampāṭa
so aba karala sannyāsa ||
yo vraja-vadhū-gaṇa- dṛḍha-bhuja-bandhana
avirata rahata agora |
so tanu pulake purita aba dhara-dhara
nayane galaye prema-lora ||
yo naṭavara ghana- āyama-kalevara
vṛndā-vipina-vihārī |
kahaye naṭavara so aba akiñcana
ghare ghare prema-bhikhārī || [PKT. 2250.]

¹ This poem* appears with the bh. of Balarāma, in the *Paṇḍara-rasa-sāra* [vide PKT., Vol. iii, p. 276].

1 This poem* appears with the *bh.* of Balarāma, in the *Pada-rasa-sāra* [vide PKT.,

Vol. iii, p. 276].

2 Yellow dust used in ladies' toilet.

Gaurāṅga ! He has now adopted *sannyāsa*—he who was the master-lover of the hearts of a hundred thousand young women. He who once remained spell-bound in the hard embrace of the young women of the Vraja, now horripilates all over his person, and is in a state of divine intoxication, and tears of love flow from his eyes. He who was the master-dancer, with the complexion of the dark cloud, and who philandered in the Vṛndā woods (*i.e.*, Vṛndāvana), is now, says Naṭavara, a destitute, and he begs (Divine) Love from house to house ! »

Bhuvana-dāsa.

In -PKT. there is a 'Bāramāsyā'¹ poem in Brajabuli, by Bhuvana-dāsa [1789-1810]. This poem describes the sufferings of Viṣṇu-priyā in separation from her husband Gaurāṅga-mahāprabhu, during each of the twelve months in a year. This is the only known poem by this poet. There is a Bengali poem on Caitanya-deva [PKT. 1031], which may belong to Bhuvana-dāsa. The word 'bhuvana' occurs in the last couplet, and if it is taken as *double entendre*, it may stand for the name of the poet. Though the literary output of Bhuvana-dāsa seems to be very small, yet one must admit that he was no mean poet. This will be clear from the following extract, describing the lady's sufferings in the month of *Āṣāḍha* (June-July).

| | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| ghana-ghana megha | garaje dina-yāmini |
| āola māha āṣāḍha | |
| nava-jaladhara para | dāmini jhalakaye |
| dūha dvi-guṇa tabi bārha | |
| sahacari, daiva dāruṇa mohe lāgi | |
| śarada-sudhākara- | sama mukha sundara |
| so pahū kāhā geo bhāgi | |
| antara gara-gara | pājara jara-jara |
| jhara-jhara locana vāri | |
| dukha-kula-jaladhi- | magana yachu antara |
| tā-kara dukha ki nibāri | |

¹ A *Bāramāsyā* poem is a series of twelve short poems, each describing the sufferings of a lady separated from her husband, for each particular month of the year. The origin of this type of poems should be sought in the Sanskrit poems dealing with the separated lady's pangs felt at the approach of the rainy season. From the rainy season it was an easy step to the six seasons, whence again it was easier to come to the twelve months in a year.

yadi puna gaura- cāda nadiyā-pura-
gagana ujoraye nita |
taba dukha vipula saphala kari māniye
hoyata taba thira cita || [PKT. 1794.]

« Repeatedly the cloud roars through day and night: the month of *Āṣāḍha* (June-July) is come. Against the dark cloud lightning flashes: at this my sufferings doubly increase. My friend, the cruel fate is against me. My lord, whose face is lovely as the autumn moon, has gone away somewhere (I do not know). My heart is full (of love for him), and it is aching terribly (*literally* my ribs are worm-eaten), and tears are streaming down from my eyes. Can her sufferings be ever removed, whose heart is drowned in the sea of manifold sufferings? If, however, the moon-like Gaura ever lights up the firmament of the town of Nadyā, I shall then deem these my profound sufferings as fruitful, and then indeed my heart will be calm. »

Bindu (Bindu-dāsa).

In PKT. there are four poems with the *bh.* of 'Bindu,' and only one with the *bh.* of 'Bindu-dāsa.' Of the four poems by Bindu three are written in Brajabuli [71, 1667, 2333]. The poem with the *bh.* of 'Bindu-dāsa' [2253] occurs in the *Paḍa-rasa-sāra*, with the *bh.* of 'Govindadāsa' [*vide* PKT., Vol. iii, p. 277].

Though the poetic output of Bindu seems to be small, he, nevertheless, was a good writer of lyric poetry, be it Bengali or Brajabuli. The following Brajabuli poem is adduced as an illustration.

kaladhauta-kalevara gaura-tanu ।
 tachu raṅga-taraṅga nitāi janu, ॥
 koṭi kāma jini kiye aṅga-chaṭā ।
 avadhūta virājita candra-ghaṭā ॥
 śacīnandana-kaṇṭhe suraṅga mālā ।
 taḥi rohiṇī-nandana diḡa ālā ॥
 gaja-rāja jini dona bhāī cale ।
 makarākṛti kuṇḍala gaṇḍe dole ॥
 muni dhyāna bhule sati-dharma ṭale ।
 jaga-tāraṇa-kāraṇa bindu bole ॥

[PKT. 2333; GPT., p. 47.]

Govardhana-dāsa.

From the following Brajabuli poem it will be evident that Govardhana was not a bad writer of Brajabuli.

* Balarāma was the son of Rohiṇī. Nityānanda-prabhu was looked upon as an incarnation of Balarāma. Hence he is mentioned here as the son of Rohiṇī.

gāṇḍya gāmaḥ gopī meli
gaurī gurjari rāmakeli
subhagā subhīṇī suhāī śāhānī
saṅgīta rasa-taraṅge ।

yūthe yūthe yuvati-vṛnda
mājhe śohata gokula-canda
govardhana-hṛdi vardhana

karu mardanṣ anaṅge ॥ [PKT. 1448.]

• In the *Horī*¹ sport drums are joyfully sounding, 'dig dig thai thiā.' The Youth and the Girl, together with their female friends, are sporting on the bank of the Daughter of the Sun (*i.e.*, the Yamunā): it is the delightful Spring, the lord of the seasons, and with it (there is also) the lord of Rati (*i.e.*, the god of love). They (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa and the *Gopīs*) are throwing (at each other), through instruments, liquid *ghuṣṛṇa*,² *cubaka*³ and sandal-paste in profuse quantity. Their rose-coloured garments and girdles are become dishevelled and loosened: drops of perspiration, due to (this) physical exertion, are falling away from their persons. (Various musical instruments such as) *vīṇā* (lute), *muraṇa* (drum), *svara* and *upāṇḍa* are being played upon: 'drimiki drimiki drimi,' the *mṛdaṅga* (drum) is sounding: quicker in steps than the *khañjana* bird, they are dancing in superb poses. The *Gopīs* are singing in *gamaka*⁴ the melodies *Gaurī*, *Gurjjarī*, *Rāmakelī*, *Subhagā*, *Sohinī*, *Suhāī*, and *Sāhānī*: (they are floating) in the waves of music. The maidens have fallen in beavies, and in their midst the Moon of Gokula (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) stands resplendent. May He destroy lust that is strong in the heart of Govardhana. •

The poet Govardhana is generally identified with Govardhana-Bhāṇḍārī, a disciple of Narottama-Thākura. But this identification seems to be quite unjustifiable.

Ānanda (Ānanda-dāsa, Ānanda-candra).

In PKT. there is one poem with the *bh.* of 'Ānanda' [2872], and another with the *bh.* of 'Ānanda-dāsa' [2794]. The first poem is written in Brajabuli. There is also a rather long but very well-written

¹ Also called 'holi.'

3 A kind of scented liquid.

² Also known as *kuñkuma*.

⁴ A musical style.

poem in mixed Bengali and Brajabuli, with the *bh.* of 'Ānanda-cāda' [2455], which also very probably belongs to the same poet. In the later portion of the Das MS. there a Bengali poem on Caitanya-deva, by 'Ānanda-candra.' I quote this poem below.

lāgyāche ¹ nayāne nava-nāgara gorā |
kulavati yuvatī satīra mana-corā ||

heri gorār mukha-śaśī

nāhi jāni nīśi-diśi

sadāi ānande ² bhāsi

prema-rase bhorū ||

aruṇa-nayāner mukhe

cāhe gorā yūra pāne

parāṇa sahite jāne

ki kariba morā |

ānanda-candrēr vāpi

śuna he sakala-prāṇī

bhaja gorā dina-kṣaṇe

śacīra kiśorū || [Das MS.]

• The young gallant Gorū has struck my eyes: he is the stealer of hearts of young and chaste ladies of noble families. Looking at the moon-like face of Gorū I have no cognizance of time and space: intoxicated in ecstatic love I ever float in (the sea of) joy. If Gorū glances at anybody with a corner of his rosy eyes, he draws him (or her) in with his vitals: what can we do? Listen, all you creatures, to the word of Ānanda-candra: do you all worship Gorā, the young Son of Śacī, every day, nay, every moment. •

The following is the only Brajabuli poem by Ānanda, that we know of.

vṛṣabhānu-nandini-ke śobhā banī |

baraṇa kiraṇa-chavi jini dāminī ||

caraṇa-kamala para nakhara-nīśūkara

mañjira rañjita madhura-dhvani |

kiye vidhi adabhuta uru-yuga niramita

khīna-kaṭi nīlima-vasana-kasini ||

¹ MS. reads 'lāgāce.'

² MS. reads 'sadānande.'

kiye mukha-chanda jini koṭi canda
 kāma-kāmūna bhāṇa mṛga-nayanī |
 śyāma-bhujaṅginī verī-ke lābani
 ānanda-mati-gati-dukha-haraṇī || [PKT. 2872.]

« Charming is the beauty of the Daughter of Vṛṣabhānu (*i.e.*, Rādhā) : her complexion defeats the dazzle of lightning flash. On her lotus feet the toe-nails (shine) like so many moons : her anklets tinkle sweetly. What a fine pair of legs the Creator has fashioned (for her) : (her) waist (is) slender, and (she has) put on a blue-coloured *sāri*. What loveliness of face (she has), defeating ten million moons ! 'Her eyebrows are but the bows of Kāma (the god of love) : her eyes are like those of a doe. The beauty of her plaited hair (resembles that of) a black cobra : She is the remover of the entire sufferings of Ānanda. »

Navakānta.

There is a single poem, a Brajabuli one, by Navakānta, in PKT. [1453]. The poem describes the *Holī* (spring festival) sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. It is as follows :

añjali bhari phāgu lei sakhi-gaṇe |
 rāī-kūnu-aṅge deī ghane ghane ||
 dolā-pari duhū dolata bhāla |
 gūota koī sakhi dhari tāla ||
 bhāota kata kata yantra suraṅga |
 bīṇa rabūb sara-manḍalā upāṅga ||
 śobhita taru-kula vikaśita phula |
 jhaṅkaru madhu-made saba ali-kula ||
 malaya-pavana bahe yāmuna-tira |
 nācata śikhi-kula kuñja-kuṭira ||
 bilasāī tahī dola para kūna |
 iha navakānta duhū-ka guṇa gāna || [PKT. 1453.]

« Taking up handfuls of scented red dust the female friends (of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) throw them repeatedly on the persons of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The Couple swing themselves very nicely on the swing. Some friends sing, while beating measure. (Other friends) play upon various musical instruments (such as) *vīṇā* (lute), *rabāb* (a kind of lute), *svara-manḍala* and *upāṅga* (?). The trees around look charming with their blossoms

on, and all the bees, intoxicated with honey, hum (sweetly). A (sweet) southern breeze blows on the banks of the Yamunā : peacocks dance all around the garden house. There Kṛṣṇa is dallying on a swing. Thus sings Navakūnta in praise of the Couple. *

Dīna-dāsa (Dīnahīna-dāsa).

There is a single poem (in Brajabuli) by Dīna-dāsa, in the *Kīrttanānanda* [p. 179]. In the same work there is also another poem with the *bh.* of 'Jñāna-hīna dīna' [pp. 13-14], which should be ascribed to Dīna-dāsa, unless we read the *bh.* as 'Jñānabīna-dāsa.'

The Brajabuli poem runs as follows :—

tuhū bidagadha-vara tanī ¹ parāṇa |
 āju śunala hāma manasija-nūma ||
 aṅcala paraśīte antara kāpa |
 ramaṇī sahaye kiye etaye ālāpa ||
 e hari e hari ataye hāmāra |
 hāma kichu nā bujhiye o-rasa vicāra ||
 ārati adhika nāhi kichu lābha |
 dārida-ghara yācaka nāhi yāba ||
 jala ² binu jalacara nā karaye keli |
 kalikā-kamale bhramara nahe meli ||
 dekhaṭe śunaṭe pāṭ ³ tarāsa |
 āju puchaba muṇi priya ⁴-sakhī pāsā ||
 so yaba jānaye e-saba sūdhi |
 dīna-dāsa kaha bhūla kaha būdhi ||

[Kīrttanānanda, p. 179.]

* [Rādhā has met Kṛṣṇa for the first time, and she is afraid of his aggressive love. She thus speaks to him:] 'You are the cleverest gallant but hard-hearted, while I first hear the name of love only to-day. When you take hold of my skirt my heart trembles; can a girl endure such an interview? O Hari! O Hari! so my (entreaty be to you). I do not know anything about this passion. Excessive desire (for me) does not gain anything: a beggar never goes to the house of a poor man. A fish never finds pleasure without water: a bee does not come to a lotus yet a

¹ 'kathina?'

² Text reads 'janu.'

³ Text reads 'nāo.'

⁴ Text reads 'piya.'

bud. On seeing and hearing (your behaviour and your talk) I feel afraid. I shall ask my dearest friend (about this). She may know (something about) such affairs.' Says Dīna-dāsa: 'You have spoken of a good idea.' »

In the PKT. there is a poem (in Bengali) with the *bh.* of 'Dīnahina-dāsa' [288]. This poem which describes Caitanya-deva, is a very well written one, and its metre is rather remarkable. This metre occurs in a poem by Mathurā-dāsa [789], and this poem seems to have been the model of the poem in question.

I quote below this poem by 'Dīnahina-dāsa.'

mari mari nā lo nadyāra majhāre o nā rūpa |
 kevala mūratimaya piritirā kūpa ||
 vadana-maṇḍala cūnda jhala-mala
 kanaka-darapaṇa nindite |
 kapāla raṅgima bhurura bhaṅgima
 atanu-sūraṅga khaṇḍite ||
 nayana-yugala preme chala-chala
 nāsā khaga-pati nindite |
 cūnda-mukhe hari bole kūndite kāndite
 teji sukhamaya śayana āsana
 nāma-ḍora gale śobhite |
 sugandhi candana aṅge lepana
 saṅkīrttana-dhūli-bhūṣite ||
 bhāve gara-gara nā cine nija-para
 pulaka-āvali-śobhite |
 rā baliyā dhā bola nā pūre balite ||
 bājaye mādala kara-hi karatāla
 kali-kaluṣa-bhaya nāsīte |
 bhakata-gaṇa meli deī kara-tāli
 phiraye cau-dike nācite ||
 carapa-pallava bhakata-vallabha
 kalapa-taru parakāśite ¹ |
 dīnahina-dāserā mana rahila tahāte || [PKT. 288.]

« Fine, O fine indeed is that loveliness at Nadyā ! It is a well of pure love incarnate. His face, resplendent like the moon, puts to shame

¹ Text reads 'prakāśite.'

a mirror of gold. His forehead is graceful, and his arching eyebrows shoot down the buck, the bodyless (god of love). His two eyes are liquid with (divine) love: his nose puts to shame that of the lord of birds (*i.e.*, Garuḍa). With tears (of universal love) he utters, in his moonlike mouth, the Name of Hari. He has discarded comfortable seats and bed: a rosary for telling the Name of God beautifies his neck. With fragrant sandal-paste he has painted his person: he is decorated as it were, with the dust (kicked up) in *Saṅkīrtana*. Engrossed deeply in *bhāva* (divine communion) he does not differentiate between friends and outsiders: he is beautified with horripilations (of joy). After uttering the syllable 'rā' he cannot utter (the remaining) 'syllable 'dhā' (*i.e.*, he cannot, out of ecstacy, fully utter the name of Rādhā). Drums (*māḍala*) are being beaten, and cymbals are being sounded by hand—in order to destroy the fear of the defilement of the *Kali* age. Surrounded by his devotees he claps his hands, and moves about, dancing around. His twig-like feet that are dear to the devotees (he has) exposed, as the Wishing Tree: the heart of Dīnāhīna-dāsa remains fixed thereat. »

Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna seeks to identify this Dīnāhīna-dāsa as 'Dīna Candīdāsa,' a probable disciple of Narottama-Ṭhākura [*vide* PKT., Vol. V, p. 123]. But this assumption seems to be quite unwarrantable. This Dīnāhīna-dāsa seems to be the same person as Dīna-dāsa. In fact the last line of the poem in PKT. should be read as follows:

dīna-dāsera mana rahila tūhāte.

This proposed reading no doubt improves the metre.

I do not know who this Dīna-dāsa was. It is too much of a guess to suppose that he was the same person as one 'Candīdāsa' who often prefixed the adjective 'dīna' before his name.

Nanda.

There are four poems—all in Brajabuli—by Nanda [PKT. 1045, 1046, 1648, 1733]. In one of these poems [1733] the poet mentions himself as *dvija* (Brahmin). This poem is quoted below as a specimen of the poet's composition.

dekha sakhi bariṣā-raṅga |
kona aparādhe ānūyala manamatha
kāṭite virahīnī-aṅga ||

caṛi rahu kumbha kadamba-gajendrahi
 bāndhala ketakī-tūṇa |
 dhari dhanu-rāja sūja kari nīrada
 garajala samare nipuṇa ||
 dhari kharaśāṇa tarita-asi cañcala
 camakaī vāra-hi vāra |
 cātaka-caya jaya- śaṅkha-śabada karu
 dekhi sukhi śikhi-parivāra ||
 maṇḍūka-gaṇa ghana karu raṇa-bājana
 sūrasa haṁsa viṣāṇa |
 pavana-ka aṅga saṅga kari ūrata
 nava baka-pāṭi nisāna ||
 ko kahe nira tīra janu barikhata
 murachita virahiṇī-vṛnda |
 nāsū-pavane kemane dhanī bāraba
 apaśosaī dvija nanda || [PKT. 1733.]

• O my friend, look at the conduct of the rainy season. The god of love has brought him down to hack the limbs of the love-lorn ladies (separated from their lovers), for some unknown offence. Riding on the head of the elephant, the *kadamba* tree in blossoms, he has fastened on the *ketakī* flower as his arrow-case. Taking up the immense bow, and putting on armour the cloud, clever in battle, started roaring. He held aloft the keen-edged and supple sword, the lightning, which flashed again and again. The host of *cātaka* birds raised the note of victorious conch-shells, and on looking at this the peacock families are delighted. Frogs shouted the prolonged battle-cry: cranes and ducks crackle like horns. The rows of herons, the new-comers, fly up with the wind as banners. Who says that (these are) rain-drops? They are falling like showers of arrows, and the entire conclave of love-lorn ladies are become senseless. How can the precious girl (*i.e.*, Rādhā) retain her breath? Thus condole Nanda the Brahmin. •

In APR. there are four poems, one with the *bh.* of 'Nanda-dāsa' [435], and three with the *bh.* of 'Nanda' [436-438]. These poems are written in Brajbhākhā—at least they were, most probably, originally written in Brajbhākhā. It is therefore very unlikely that the Bengali poet Nanda could have been the author of these poems. I, therefore, think that these four poems must be ascribed to Nanda-dāsa, the Brajbhākhā poet

[c. 1567 A. C.], who was a disciple of Viṭṭhal-nāth [*vide* Grierson, the Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān, p. 25].

‘Nandana-dāsa.’

Two poems (in Brajabuli) with the *bh.* of ‘Nandana-dāsa’ have been incorporated in PKT. [1044, 1742]. These two poems are at par with the Brajabuli poems by Nanda. In fact two poems by Nanda [PKT. 1045, 1046], consecutive with one of the poems of ‘Nandana-dāsa,’ appear with the *bh.* of ‘Nandana-dāsa’ in the *Pada-rasa-sāra* [*vide* PKT., Vol. ii, p. 221]. I, therefore, am of opinion that ‘Nandana’ was the same person as Nanda.

Kṛṣṇakānta(-dāsa).

In PKT. there are twenty-nine consecutive poems by Kṛṣṇa-kānta [PKT. 2876-2904]. All these poems, except two [2888, 2898], are written in Brajabuli. One poem by Kṛṣṇa-kānta occurs in the *Kīrttanānanda* [pp. 15f.]. I quote below one poem as a specimen.

kanaka-dharūd'hara-mada-hara deha |
 madana-parūbhava subaraṇa-geha ||
 hora dekha aparupa gaura-kīśora |
 kaichana bhāva nahata kachu ora ||
 ghana-pulakāvali diṭhi jala-dhāra |
 uradha nehāri racaī phutakāra ||
 nirupama nirajana-rāsa-vilāsa |
 acala su-saṅcara gada-gada bhāṣa ||
 kiye rava-mādhuri vāṣī-nisūna |
 ihā bali saghane pāte nija-kāna ||
 sadana ṭeji taba calata ekānta |
 milaba aba jani kiye kṛṣṇakānta || [PKT. 2876.]

• His body removes the pride of a golden hill : it is a house of gold, and it defies the god of love. Look ! there is the unrivalled young Gaura. One cannot fathom and ascertain what sentiment (he is possessed of). (His person is) profusely horripilated, and streams of tear flow down from his eyes : glancing upward he gives out cries of pain. (He is) unrivalled, (and he thinks about) the *Rāsa* sports in seclusion : he, a

(veritable) moving hill, talks falteringly. 'What sweetness of music the notes of the flute (of Kṛṣṇa emits)!' Saying this he hastens to listen intently. Leaving home he then goes out all by himself. Will Kṛṣṇa-kānta ever find him (*i.e.*, his grace)? •

Kṛṣṇa-kānta was a careful writer of Brajabuli [*cf.* PKT. 2879, 2891]. There are a few traces of Brajbhākhā in his writings. There is a Brajbhākhā poem with the *bh.* of 'Kṛṣṇakānta-tanayā' (daughter of Kṛṣṇa-kānta) in APR. [483]. It is quite likely that our Kṛṣṇa-kānta was the writer of this lyric.

I do not know who this poet Kṛṣṇa-kānta was. It is certain that he must have lived for some time at least at Vṛndāvana; otherwise we cannot account for the Brajbhākhā element in his poems. Kṛṣṇa-kānta is generally identified with the poet Uddhava-dāsa (ii) whose real name was Kṛṣṇakānta-Majumdār [*vide* PKT., Vol. v, p. 39]. But there is no justification for this assumption. No poet, so far as I know, has ever used his real name in the *bhaṇitā*, if he already possesses a pen-name.

Cūrāmaṇi-dāsa.

There is a single poem—a Brajabuli one—by Cūrāmaṇi-dāsa in PKT. [1142]. The *bhaṇitā* half of the last line is in Bengali, and looks suspicious. I think that Cūrāmaṇi plagiarized this poem. I quote it below.

nācata mohana nanda-dulāla (mero kāna) |
 nāsā-virājita motima-bhūṣaṇa
 kaṭi-mñjhe ghuṅguru rasāla ||
 sundara ura-para vara ruru-nakha ¹ pada-
 saroruba ratana-mañjira |
 nava nava vatsa puceha dhari dhāota,
 parata aṅgana ² dhūli-dhūsara śarīra ||
 marakata-cānda- mukura mukha-mañjāla
 parisara kuñcita alaka-hilola |
 vraja-ramaṇi para- -bodha karāyata
 nayana phirāota ādha-ādha bola ||

¹ *Ruru* really means a kind of antelope. But tiger may have been meant here. It was used as charm.

² The text as in the PKT., without variant reading, has 'patana aṅguli,' which gives no sense. It has been emended as above.

abhinava nila- jalada jini tanu-ruci
 kahila nahila rūpa kiye niramāṇa |
 kata kata bhakata yatana kari dhyāota
 sabe cūrṇmaṇi-dāserṣ ei nivedana ||

[PKT. 1142.]

• The charming Son of Nanda (—my Kṛṣṇa—) dances. An ornament of pearl hangs from his nose: sweet girdle-bells (tinkle) round his waist. A fine claw of the *ruru* (lies) against his lovely chest: on his lotus-feet (there are) jewelled anklets. He catches hold, by the tail, new-born calves, and runs after them: he falls down on the courtyard, and his body is grey with dust. His round face is like a mirror-like emerald moon: (over his head there are) thick curly locks. When the women of the Vraja fondles him, he rolls his eyes, and speaks lisping words. The complexion of his person defeats that of a newly formed dark cloud: his loveliness, fashioned (we know not) how, cannot be described. Many, many devotees contemplate (on him) with devotion. This is all that Cūrṇmaṇi-dāsa submits (to his feet). »

Jagamohana-dāsa.

There are two poems by Jagamohana-dāsa in PKT. One is written in Bengali [1127], and the other in Brajabuli [1517]. The Bengali poem occurs in the *Kīrttanānanda* also [p. 1], where, however, the last line runs thus:

āju-ka ānanda nāhika avadhi
 e rādhāmohana-dāse ||

This reading is evidently wrong. Had this poem belonged to Rādhāmohana it must have occurred in the *Padāmṛta-samudra*, b. v. it does not occur there. In the *Pada-rasa-sāra* it occurs with the *bh.* of Vṛndāvana-dāsa [cf. PKT., Vol. ii, p. 257].

The Brajabuli poem is quoted below.

rādhā mādhaba saṅga |
 biharaye prema-taraṅga ||
 cau-diśe sahacarī meli |
 maṇḍalī kari karu keli ||

kara-hi kara-hi bandhāna |
 mājha-hi rādhā kāna |
 bahu-vidha rāgiñi chanda |
 gāota kata-hū parabandha |
 kata kata yantra rasāla |
 bheda paṇana ¹ dharu tāla ||
 aparupa rāsa-vilāsa |
 kaha jagamohana-dāsa | [PKT. 1517.]

« Rādhā and Mādhava (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) are disporting together in the waves of love. Their female companions have made a circle around, and are dallying together, hand in hand: Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are in the centre. They sing various melodies in various styles. (They play on) various sweet-sounding (musical) instruments. Various measures, repetition of the music rotation,¹ and time-beats are made. Wondrous is this *Rāsa* sport. So says Jagamohana-dāsa. »

Uddhava-dāsa (ii) [c. 1718 A.C.].

Uddhava-dāsa (ii) was a disciple of Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura² and a friend of Vaiṣṇava-dāsa, the compiler of the *Paḍa-kalpa-taru*. His real name was Kṛṣṇakānta-Majumdār.³ He was Vaidya by caste, and his native place was Teñā-Vaidyapura in the district of Murshidabad, not very far-off from Katwa.

Uddhava-dāsa (ii) seems to have written extensively on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend. In PKT. about a hundred poems with the *bh.* of 'Uddhava-dāsa' have been incorporated. A few of these songs might have been written by the earlier Uddhava-dāsa [see *supra* pp. 81f.], but the bulk undoubtedly goes to the later Uddhava-dāsa. Very many other poems by 'Uddhava-dāsa' are to be found in modern anthologies such as the *Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī*, the *Kṛṣṇa-padāmṛta-sindhu*, and the *Kīrtana-gīta-ratnāvalī*. Two poems by 'Uddhava-dāsa' have been cited in the *Kīrtanānanda* [pp.

¹ PKT. text reads 'pavana': a variant gives *paṇana* which is the correct reading, giving sense.

² Cf. PKT. 1562, 3092.

³ He had probably the title 'Tarkālabhākara' [Padāmṛta-samudra, Introduction, pthix]. He was present at the great doctrinal controversy held in A. C. 1718 [see *supra* p. 275].

14f. = PKT. 1139, 1140]. There is only one poem by 'Uddhava' in the *Saṅkīrtanāmṛta* [445]. A mutilated version of this poem occurs without the *bhaṇitā* in PKT. [1987]. This poem therefore belongs to Uddhava-dāsa (i), as it is very likely that Vaiṣṇava-dāsa knew this poem in a mutilated form, which shows its comparative antiquity. Forty-one poems by 'Uddhava' occur in the *Mukundānanda*.¹

Uddhava-dāsa (ii) was a very good writer of Bengali and Brajabuli lyrics. He was unquestionably one of the best poets of the early eighteenth century. The following poems will testify to his poetic achievement.

| | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| kālindīra kūla | vikaśita phula | matta ali-kula |
| | paṇala-hi pāṭiyā | |
| nūcata mora | karata-hi sora | anaṅga āgora |
| | phirata-hi māṭiyā | |
| kānana-ora | heraite bhora | kiśori kiśora |
| | prema-rase bhāsiyā | |
| jhūlana-keli | duhū-jana meli | aṅga-aṅga heli |
| | hṛdaya ullasiyā | |
| kataye sutāna | karata-hi gāna | rākhata māna |
| | yantra suraṅgiyā | |
| dei kara-tāla | ati-surasāla | kahe bhāli bhāla |
| | bāoye mṛdaṅgiyā | |
| kata rasa-bhāṣa | kamala-vikāśa | mṛdu mṛdu hāsa |
| | duhū-candrānane | |
| uddhava-dāsa- | cita-mana-āśa | duhū-ka vilāsa |
| | daraśana kānane | [PKT. 1565.] |

* On the bank of the Kālindī (*i.e.* the Yamunā) flowers are blooming, and the intoxicated bees have fallen on them in rows. Peacocks are dancing and giving out cries: the god of love, in ecstasy, is abroad. On glancing at the fringes of the woodland the Youth and the Girl are charmed, and they swim in blissfulness. Both sit together, reclining against each other, on a swing, and their hearts are overjoyed. (Their female friends) are singing songs in exquisite melody, and excellent instruments keep harmony. (Some) clap their hands very charmingly, beating time and saying, 'Fine, O very fine!': (others) beat drums (*mṛdaṅga*). (The

¹ Information very kindly supplied by Babu Sivaratan Mitra.

Young Couple) talk so many nice things (to each other) : lotuses bloom when soft smiles (appear) on their moon-like faces. The desire of Uddhava-dāsa's heart and soul is a sight of (these) sports of the Couple in the woodland. •

The following poem is given as a specimen of Uddhava-dāsa's Bengali composition.

murali re, minati kariye bāre-bāra ।
 śyāmera adhare raiyā rādhā rādhā nāma laiṇā
 tumi mene nā bājio āra ॥
 khalera vadane thāka nāma dhari sadā ṭhāka
 guru-janā kare apayaśa ।
 khala hay yei-janā se ki chāre khalapanā
 tumi kene hao tāra vaśa ॥
 tomāra madhura-svare rahite nārilū ghare
 ntjhare jharaye du-nayāna ।
 pahile bājilā yabe kula śīla gela tabe
 avaśeṣe āche mora prāṇa ॥
 ye bājilā sei bhāla ithei sakali gela
 tore āmi kahlū niścaya ।
 e dāsa uddhava bhāṇe ye bāśīra gūna sune
 se-jana tejaī kula-bhaya ॥ [PKT. 821.]

• [Rādhā is sorely afflicted with the distracting, sweet notes of Kṛṣṇa's flute, which she hears from home. She thus addresses the flute not to send her any such calls:] ' O thou flute ! I beseech thee again and again : being in touch with Śyāma's lips do thou never talk again the name of Rādhā. Thou art at the lips of an evil person, and thou often soundest, calling my name : (at this) my people speak ill of me. If a man is evil-minded, can he ever forego his evil nature ? But why dost thou submit (thyself) to his exploitation ? For thy sweet notes I cannot stay at home : my two eyes are streaming down incessantly. When thou piped for the first time, my family life and good name were lost at once : now, at last (only) my life remains. Thou hast piped all this time—so far so good, as that has robbed me of every thing : this much I tell you sincerely.' Uddhava-dāsa says : ' (The girl) that ever listens to the notes of (Kṛṣṇa's) flute loses all concern for (her) good name.' •

Uddhava-dāsa (ii) seems to have been something of a scholar. Some of his poems show traces of Brajbhākhā.

Vaiṣṇava-dāsa [c. 1718 A.C.].

Vaiṣṇava-dāsa was the compiler of the cyclopaedic anthology *Pada-kalpa-taru*. He is said to have been a disciple of Rādhā-mohana-Ṭhākura. But in no poem of his Vaiṣṇava-dāsa mentions Rādhā-mohana. It is, therefore, unlikely that he was a disciple of Rādhā-mohana. Still he must have been a great admirer of that scholar poet, as he has quoted almost all the poems of the latter in the *Pada-kalpa-taru*.¹ Vaiṣṇava-dāsa's real name was Gokulānanda-Sena. He was a Vaidya, and he lived at Toṇā-Vaidyapura, a village a few miles to the north of Katwa. He was a good musician. He, along with his friend Kṛṣṇa-kānta (Uddhava-dāsa ii) was present at the great Vaiṣṇava theological controversy wherefrom Rādhā-mohana emerged victorious [*vide* GPT., Introduction, pp. 137ff.].

There are twenty-six poems by Vaiṣṇava-dāsa in PKT., including the poem with the apparant *bh.* 'Vaiṣṇava-carāṇa.' The proper reading of the last line should be thus :

nibedaye vaiṣṇava carāṇe ||

That this poem was written by Vaiṣṇava-dāsa is clear from a comparison with the subsequent poems. All these poems are written in Bengali, excepting a few written in Brajabuli.

Vaiṣṇava-dāsa was a mediocre poet at best. The following is an instance of his Brajabuli writing. It embodies a prayer to Rādhā.

| | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| yamunā-ka tīra | samīra iha mṛdu |
| ali piku pañcama gāne | |
| duhū-rase bhora | ora nāhi pāoba |
| bilasaba naṭana-vidhāne | |
| sadaye, hena kiripā habe tora | |
| so rasa-vaibhava | rāsa-mahotsava |
| daraśana hoyaba mora | |
| sahacari-saṅge | raṅge kari maṇḍali |
| yaba-hū nācāyabi śyāma | |
| taba sakhi-iṅgite | tantra sañāriyā |
| yantra deyaba tuyā ṭhāma | |

¹ Vaiṣṇava-dāsa mentions the *Paṇḍita-samudra* in the concluding poem in PKT. [*vide* Vol. iv, p.262].

hena kiye hoyaba mahati su bolaba
 hariṣa-hi herabi moy |
 hāma taba amiyā- sarovare ḍūbaba
 śunaba madhura svara ¹ soy ||
 nācaba naṭavara- śekhara nāgara
 gāyabi tuhū sakhi-saṅge |
 tuhū nācabi yaba nāgara gūoba
 kata kata rāga-taraṅge ||
 aīchana anudina śrī-vṛndāvane
 bilasabi rāsa-vilāsa |
 iha durabhaga jana so kiye daraśana
 pāoba vaiṣṇava-dāsa || [PKT. 3079.]

« On the bank of the Yamunū there is a soft breeze here, and bees and cuckoos are (humming and) singing sweetly. Engrossed in the devotion for the Couple I shall have no end (of blissfulness), and I shall delight in dancing sportiveness. O Merciful One ! will you ever feel such pity for me ? Shall I ever be blessed with a sight of that great *Rāsa* festivity, a wealth of joyfulness ? Making a circle of it, with your companions, when you shall make Śyāma dance, I, beckoned by a friend, shall string up musical instruments, and then give them over to you. Shall it ever happen that I shall sing ² mighty fine (?) and you, delighted, shall glance at me ? I shall then be plunged into a pool of ambrosia, and shall hear that sweet voice (of you). When the Gallant, the Master Dancer, will dance you shall sing in company of your friends ; and when you shall dance the Gallant will sing (songs) in various melodies. You shall thus enjoy the *Rāsa* sports daily at Śrī-Vṛndāvana : will this unfortunate fellow, Vaiṣṇava-dāsa, have ever a sight of it ? »

There is a Bengali poem ³ with the *bh.* of 'Vaiṣṇava-dāsa,' in the *Kīrttanānanda* [p. 5], which does not occur in the *Pada-kalpa-taru*. There is also another such Bengali poem ⁴ in the *Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī* [854], which too does not occur in the *Pada-kalpa-taru*. The question then naturally arises whether there was a second Vaiṣṇava-dāsa. Had

¹ Text reads 'saba.'

² Literally 'talk.'

³ This poem describes a joyful scene on Kṛṣṇa's birth.

⁴ This poem is on Caitanya-deva.

these two songs belonged to the compiler of the *Pada-kalpa-taru*, it is really very strange that they had not been incorporated in that cyclopaedic anthology. There is also another point in favour of the above hypothesis. The compiler of the *Kīrttanānanda* was probably anterior to Rādhā-mohana and Vaiṣṇava-dāsa. At least it is certain that the anthologies of Rādhā-mohana and Vaiṣṇava-dāsa were unknown to Gaurasundara-dāsa, the compiler of the *Kīrttanānanda*. When there is not a single poem by Rādhā-mohana in the latter work, is it reasonable to suppose that its compiler had incorporated a poem by Vaiṣṇava-dāsa? Vaiṣṇava-dāsa was certainly not a prolific writer, and from this we can safely conclude that no poem by him, outside the *Pada-kalpa-taru*, existed. I would, therefore, ascribe these two Bengali poems to a second—possibly an earlier—Vaiṣṇava-dāsa.

Gaurasundara-dāsa (ii).

Gaurasundara-dāsa (ii) was the compiler of the *Kīrttanānanda*. This anthology, as published,¹ seems to be incomplete. As it is, it contains six hundred and fifty-one poems by about sixty different writers. Gaurasundara's own contribution numbers seven only [pp. 22f., 23, 23f., 27, 28f., 29, 30].² Two of these poems are in Brajabuli [pp. 28f., 29] and the rest in Bengali. The following poem is quoted as a specimen.

śuna bhūi kṛṣṇa-saṅkīrtana |
 śunaīte kīrttana tanu-mana suśītala
 vijayī karaye tri-bhuvana ||
 cīta-darapaṇa karaye janu mūrjjana
 mahābhavānale janu vāri |
 maṅgala-kumuda vidhu kirapa pradāpai
 jīvapa bhela vidyā-nāri ||
 śnanda jaladhi karaye ati vardhana
 deha deha pīyūṣa-pāna |
 aīchana aparupa nā dekhi nā śuniye
 kayala gaura prema-dhāma ||

¹ Edited by Banoyāri-lāl Goswāmī and published from the Murshidabad Hitaiṣi Press, Saidabad, under the patronage of the Maharaja of Cossimbazar.

² In PKT. there are five poems by 'Gaurasundara-dāsa.' I have shown *supra* [pp. 231f.] that this Gaura-sundara was a different poet.

uttama adhama dīna hīna jana
 kayala prema-rāse bhora |
 hena saṅkīrtana majhu mana nā darabe
 gaura-sundara pāpa jora || [Kīrttanānanda, p. 29].

• Listen, O brother, to the *Saṅkīrtana* of Kṛṣṇa. On hearing *Kīrtana* mind and body are both soothed: it makes the three worlds triumphant. It cleanses, as it were the mirror-like heart: it (acts) like a (heavy) shower on the great conflagration of worldliness. As the moon it sends its rays to the lily-like (spiritual) good: real knowledge, like a young woman, is revived. It makes the sea of blissfulness swell up vastly: it supplies drinks of ambrosia. Such an unparalleled thing—unseen and unheard of before—Gaura, the store-house of (divine) love, has introduced. Good, bad and low—he has made all people intoxicated with (divine) love. But such *Saṅkīrtana* does not melt my heart! Gaura-sundara is a great sinner. »

The first half of the above poem is but a paraphrase of the introductory verse from the *Śikṣāṣṭaka* by Caitanya-deva. It is as follows :

ceto-darpaṇa-mārjanaṃ bhava-mahādāvāgni-nirvāpanaṃ
 śreyaḥ-kairava-candrikā-vitaranaṃ vidyā-vadhū-jīvanam |
 ānandāmbudhi-varḍhanaṃ prati-padaṃ pūrṇāmṛtāśvādanaṃ
 sarvātma-snapanam param vijayate śrī-kṛṣṇa-saṅkīrtanam ||
 [Padyāvalī 22; CC. iii. 20].

Bhagavatī.

Two poems (apparently in Brajabuli) by 'Bhagavatī' occur in the Tipperah fragment of the *Gīta-candrodaya*. The *bhaṇitā* lines¹ of the two poems run thus—

bhagavatī-manoratha pūraṇa bhela ||
 bhagavatī kahala yugala-rasa-beli ||

Śaśi-nātha.

One poem by 'Śaśi-nātha' occurs in the Tipperah fragment of the *Gīta-candrodaya*. The poem begins with this line¹—

kata nā kauśala keli-mandire.

¹ Only these lines of the poems are known to me, and so I cannot cite the entire poems.

Mathureśa-dāsa [ante 1771 A.C.].

In the *Śaṅkirtanāmṛta* of Dinabandhu-dāsa there are two Brajabuli poems by Mathureśa-dāsa [206, 317]. This poet must be distinguished from the poet Mathurā-dāsa who has been discussed *infra*.

One of the Brajabuli poems is quoted below as a specimen.

madana-madālase śyāmara bhora |
 śaśi-mukhi hāsi hūsi karu kora ||
 rahi rahi cumbaī nāha-bayāna |
 cānda cakora milala eku-ṭhāma ||
 adhara nirakhi rasa pibi ageyāna |
 amiyā-mahodadhi dūbala kānha ||
 dhani dhani rādhā-rasa-nirabāha |
 vaśa bhela akhila-kalā-guru nāha ||
 nayana dūhūḍhūli lahū lahū hāsa |
 aṅga helāheli gada-gada bhāṣa ||
 rasa-bhare dūre rahu śikhaṇḍa pīta-vāsa |
 duhū-rūpa-nīchāni mathureśa-dāsa ||

[*Śaṅkirtanāmṛta*, 206].

« Śyāmara (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) was deeply engrossed in love's ecstasy. The moon-faced (Rādhā), smiling, seated him on her lap, and at intervals she kissed on the lips of her Lover. It seemed as if the moon and the *cakora* have come together. Glancing on her lips and drinking their sweetness (he became almost) senseless: Kṛṣṇa was drowned, as it were in the ocean of the blissfulness. Unique, unique is the perfect love of Rādhā, (as) her Lover, a master of all accomplishments, has been conquered! Rolling (their) eyes they smiled softly: reclining against each other they talked in choked voice. Besides himself in love's bliss his peacock-feather crest and his yellow cloak were thrown away. Mathureśa-dāsa is but a paltry offering to avert any ill of the loveliness of the Couple. »

Mukunda-dāsa [ante 1771 A.C.].

In the *Śaṅkirtanāmṛta* there are two poems with the *bh.* of 'Mukunda-dāsa.' One is written in Brajabuli [105] and the other in Bengali [135]. The Brajabuli poem occurs with some variations in the *Kṣaṇadīp Gīta*.

nīla-kamala-dala śrī-mukha-maṇḍala
 īśata madhura mṛdu hāsa ।
 nava-ghana jini kālā galūe guñjūra māla
 ābhira-bālaka cāri-pūsa ॥

maṇimaya jhuri mātthe aṅgada valayā hāthe
 ratana-nūpara rāṅgā-pāy ।
 hāsita khelite yāy godhūli-dhūsara gāy
 barhā ūriche manda-bāy ॥

navina rākṣala hari naṭavara-veśa dhari
 śīśu-saṅge garuyā carāy ।
 bhūṣaṇa banera phula ki diba tāhūra tula
 mukunda ānande guṇa gāe ॥

• The round of his lovely face (resembles) the petal of a blue lotus: (on his lips is playing) a soft, sweet smile. (He is) dark as a fresh cloud: there is a chaplet of *guñjā* seeds round his neck. Cowherd boys are seated round him. A jewelled tiara (*jhuri*) lies over his head; there are armlets and bracelets on his arms, and jewelled anklets (are girt) round his rosy ankles. He moves about laughing and frolicking: his body is covered all over with dust (kicked up) by the cattle. The peacock feather (on his crest) is nodding in soft breeze. As a young cowherd, Hari, robed as a clever dancer, pastures the cattle in company of the (cowherd) boys. His ornaments are wild flowers: how can I compare them (i.e., their charm)? Mukunda, in joy, sings in his praise. •

1

39

Dīnabandhu-dāsa, the compiler of the *Śaṅkīrtanāmṛta* [op. cit., p. 170].

locana-lore ghorī ghana mṛgamada
 kalama karala nakha-candra |
 pada-nakhe dāsa- kabaja pahū likhāite
 harakhi dharala pada-dvandva ||
 sundarī antare ulasita bhela |
 ādara sudhāi sudhā-rasa-bādare
 viraha-tāpa dūra gela ||
 kare kara bāraite antara dara-dara
 rasavatī pulakita-aṅga |
 upajala prema- vihaga-patī tachu bhaye
 bhāṅgala māna-bhujāṅga ||
 nāha-bāha dhari athira kalevara
 madana-jaladhi-jala-bhaṅge |
 bhūṅgala māna- janita bhaya mūdhava
 kore pasārāla raṅge ||
 bhujā-bhujā bandhana nivīra āliṅgana
 vadana vadana eku meli |
 nanda-kīśora heri anumānai
 duhū-ka kalaha kie keli ||

[Śaṅkīrtanāmṛta 395.]

* Making thick musk paste with tears of his eyes he used his moon-like (fore-) finger as a pen. While going to write out a deed of (livelong) slavery on her toe-nails, he, in a gust of joy, took hold of her feet. The lovely girl (*i.e.*, Rūdhā) became joyful at heart: with the rains of ambrosia (in form of) unadulterated confessions of love her pangs of estrangement were (at once) removed. When she was pushing away his (aggressive) hands with hers, her heart was melted, and the loving girl horripilated in joy. Thus appeared (in the scene) love as the lord of birds (*i.e.*, Garuḍa): afraid of him love-sulk, a snake, slipped away. When she caught the arm of her Lover her person was tossing heavily on the waves of the sea of desire. Mādhava's apprehensions due to her pique were removed, and he, lovingly stretched out his arms (for an embrace). Their arms joined up together in a close embrace: their faces came in touch. On seeing this Nanda-kīśora conjectures whether it was a quarrel or a love-scene. *

One Bengali poem by 'Nanda-kiśora' occurs in a dated (B.E. 1091 = 1681 A.C.) manuscript [CU. MS. 2491]. This poem is an ode to Nityānanda-prabhu. It runs as follows :

rāma-avatāre anuja lakṣmaṇa
 kṛṣṇa-avatāre balarāma |
 ibe kali-kāle gaura-agraja
 nitāi tāhāra nāma ||
 abadhauta-veśe phire deśe deśe
 chāri naṭavara-veśa |
 bhāi bhāi bali āveśe avaśa
 āilā gaurā-deśa ||
 rādhāra anuja anaṅga-mañjarī
 jāhnabā yāhāra nāma |
 tāra prāṇa-pati nitāi-sundara
 sei se āmāra prāṇa ||
 ayācita-jane yāci prema dei
 bhinna-para nāhi ¹ kare |
 ke āche emana dayāra ṭhākura
 [tarā]ye ² nanda-kiśore ||

[CU. MS. 2491, Song 13.]

« In the Rāma incarnation (he was born as) the younger brother Lakṣmaṇa, and in the Kṛṣṇa incarnation as Balarāma. Now in the days of *Kali* ³ (he has been born as) the elder brother of Gaura: his name is Nitāi. Leaving aside his magnificent robes ⁴ he wonders about from land to land in the garb of an *avadhūta*. ⁵ Mentioning his brother he is overwhelmed with joy: he has come to the country of Gauḍa. The younger sister of Rādhā (was) Anaṅga-mañjarī whose name is (now) Jāhnabā: her beloved husband is Nitāi the beautiful, and it is he that is my life. To the unasking people he bestows (divine) grace out of his own accord: he makes no distinction between outsiders (and his own followers). Who is there another such pitying master that can save Nanda-kiśora ? »

¹ 'nābika' MS.

³ Sin, darkness.

² There is a lacuna here in MS.

⁴ Literally robes of a master dancer.

⁵ A type of yogin.

If this Nanda-kiśora be the same poet as has been incorporated in the *Śaṅkīrttanāmṛta*—and this hypothesis is extremely probable—he must have flourished in the second half of the seventeenth century [*ante* 1684 A. C.].

Candra-śekhara (ii) [*ante* 1771 A. C.].

In the *Śaṅkīrttanāmṛta* there are two poems by ‘Candra-śekhara’ [406, 429]. These two poems are written in Brajabuli, and are quite common-place.

This Candra-śekhara is distinct from the earlier poet Candra-śekhara who was, in all probability, a contemporary of Caitanya-deva. No Brajabuli poems of Candra-śekhara (i) are known. He has been discussed *infra*.

Candra-śekhara (ii) seems to be quite distinct from the late eighteenth century poet Candra-śekhara. This Candra-śekhara (iii) was a distinguished writer of Brajabuli poetry [see *infra*].

Dīnabandhu-dāsa [*ante* 1771 A. C.].

Dīna-bandhu was the compiler of the *Śaṅkīrttanāmṛta*. It has been published by the Vaṅṡīya Sāhitya Pariṣad from a unique MS. copied in Śaka 1693 (=1771 A.C.). The anthology contains four hundred and ninety-one poems by more than forty different poets. The compilation seems to have been made in the early eighteenth century, if not still earlier, as all well-known and major early eighteenth century poets such as ‘Hari-vallabha,’ Rādhā-mohana, Narahari-dāsa (ii), Uddhava-dāsa (ii), ‘Vaiṣṇava-dāsa’ and others are unrepresented. ‘Caṇḍīdāsa’ too is entirely absent, which is a strong point in favour of its comparative antiquity.

Out of these nearly five hundred lyrics Dīna-bandhu himself contributed more than two hundred, of which about a hundred are written in Brajabuli. The *Śaṅkīrttanāmṛta* does not apparently contain the entire output of Dīna-bandhu. Other poems, undoubtedly from the same hand, are found elsewhere [*e.g.*, *Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī* 512-514; *Kṛṣṇa-padāmṛta-sindhu*, pp. 94ff.].

Dīna-bandhu was a descendant of the renowned Sarkār family of Śrī-khaṇḍa, as is evident from the *bh.* of several of his poems. His father

was Vallavikānta-ṭhākura, grandfather Nandakiśora-ṭhākura, and great grandfather Hari-ṭhākura [Saṅkīrttanāmṛta, p. 170]. Dīna-bandhu was a Sanskrit scholar. He has quoted several Sanskrit verses from various works, mainly Vaiṣṇava treatises. He was a careful writer of Brajabuli, though he has sometimes injected a few peculiarly Bengali words to give some zest to the poem, in the manner of the later poet Śaṣi-śekhara. Dīna-bandhu was a good metrician, and as regards the short tripping *tripadī* Brajabuli verse he can be said to be the predecessor of Śaṣi-śekhara in this respect [*vide* Song 310 quoted *infra*].

The following poems are quoted as specimens of Dīna-bandhu's Brajabuli composition :

dhanī sājata śyāma-manohara veśa |
 kasi kāṇaṇa-chāḍe bādhūla keśa ||
 sīthi sindūra candana-bindu-chaṭā |
 ravi-maṇḍala berhala cāḍa-ghaṭā ||
 mṛganābhi-vicitrita gaṇḍa-dukūla |
 vara-veśara lambita nāsika-mūla ||
 ghana-kuṅkuma ghorī lepi kuca-bhāra |
 tahi śobhita sundara motima-hāra ||
 kara-kaṅkaṇa heri anaṅga bibhora |
 kaṭi kiṅkiṇi-maṇḍita nīla nicola ||
 pada-paṅkaja rañjita yāvaka-raṅga |
 dīna-bandhu neharī praphullita-aṅga ||

[Saṅkīrttanāmṛta 44.]

« The precious girl (*i.e.*, Rādhā) is putting on garments that will charm the heart of Śyāma. She has done up her hair tight in *kāṇaṇa* (*kaṇṇāṇa*) style. There is vermilion paint on the parting of her forelocks, and prints of sandal paste (on her forehead): (this looks fine as if) the halo of the moon has encircled the orb of the sun. Both her cheeks are decorated with musk paint: a precious nose-drop dangles from the tip of her nose. Her breasts are smeared with thick *kuṅkuma* paste, and over them rests a charming necklace of pearls. Glancing at her wristlets the god of love is overwhelmed (in love). Her waist is beautified with a girdle with tiny bells, and a blue-coloured bodice (sits on her bust). Her lotus-like feet are painted with lac-dye: on looking at them Dīna-bandhu's body horripilates (in joy). »

mada-matta-mataṅgaja-manda-gatā |
 jaṭilā-pada-paṅkaja-dhūli-natā ||
 nata-kandhara heri gatam subalam |
 jaṭilā jaya deī bale kuśalam ||
 1 madhurādhara-bāta-hi sūdha-miṭham |
 guru-garvita śuni ta deī piṭham ||
 subalākṛti rāī vane gamanam |
 rahu 2 dinabandhu-kalitam bhaṇanam 3 ||

[Saṅkīrttanāmṛta 151 ; APR. 510.]

• [Rādhā is anxious to meet her Lover. But she cannot do it for fear of Jaṭilā, her ever vigilant sister-in-law. Subala, her brother (or, according to the Gosvāmins, her cousin), comes to her help. She exchanges her garments with his. Subala stays at home as Rādhā, while Rādhā, impersonating Subala, goes out without any hindrance to meet Kṛṣṇa.] Leaving her own home she walked quickly away: her cheeks looked glorious with the earrings oscillating. Her gait was slow, like an elephant in rut: she bent low to take the dust of Jaṭilā's feet (as a ceremonial of formal leave-taking). Glancing at 'Subala' walking away with 'his' neck bent low Jaṭilā bade 'him' godspeed and wished 'him' hale. The words from Jaṭilā's sweet lips were pure honey as it were: she (*i.e.*, Rādhā in the garb of Subala) heard (these words) of her senior, and turned her back to her. Rāī, dressed as Subala, went to the woodland. May (these) words spoken by Dīna-bandhu endure. •

I have shewn previously that a Bengali song by 'Nanda-kīśora' occurs in a dated (B.E. 1091 = 1684 A.C.) MS. [CU. MS. 2491]. In all probability this Nanda-kīśora was Dīna-bandhu's grandfather. In that case we can safely assume that Dīna-bandhu flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century at the latest.

Nayanānanda (ii) [c. 1731 A.C.].

Nayanānanda, the younger poet, flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century. He was a Brahmin and a learned man too. His

1 madhurādhara-vāda sūdha sama miṭha |
 guru garvita chardita deola piṭha || [Saṅkīrttanāmṛta, p. 53.]
 2 'pahu' [*loc. cit.*]. 3 Variant 'bhavanam.'

native place was Maṅgala-ṭhi in the Birbhum District. He completed his *Preyo-bhakti-rasārṇava*, a Vaiṣṇava theological work in Bengali verse in Śaka 1653 [=1731 A.C.].¹

One Brajabuli poem by Nayanānanda (ii) has been quoted in the *Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa*, Vol. i [p. 180 vi]. In the Calcutta University Library there is a MS. anthology of poems by Nayanānanda (ii) [CU. MS. 2135]. This MS. contains seventy-two lyrics, all on the Vraja theme. Only one poem [34] contains another poet's *bhaṇitā*, viz., that of 'Gakula-candra.' Besides the last poem is incomplete, which shows that the MS. is fragmentary. I quote below one Brajabuli poem from this MS.

niśi-mukhe sukhe hari chāṇdata gāi |
 gūbi-dohana keli karata mādhaī ||
 dohata gūbi sakhū-gaṇa saṅga |
 ghara-ghara gāgarī bolata raṅga ||
 go-dohana keli karu avasāna |
 sahacara āsi puna bheṭala kāna ||
 e nayanānanda kahaī juṛi hūta |
 eke eke milala sakala-sāṅgāta ||

[CU. MS. 2135, Song 71.]

• In the evening Hari (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa), at his pleasure, strapped the hind-legs of the (milch) cows: Mādhaṇa (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) enjoys the sport of milking the cow. He milks the cows in company of his boy friends. The (milking) pan is making a joyful sound. When he finishes the sport of milking the cows a friend comes in and meets Kṛṣṇa. This (fellow), Nayanānanda, says with folded hands that all the boy friends come in one by one. •

The poem quoted in the *Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa*, Vol. i, is cited below. It contains some pseudo-Hindi forms, and is, therefore, interesting from linguistic view-point.

| | | |
|--------------|--------------|---------------------|
| uṭha gopāla | prātaḥ-kāla | mukha nehāri tera |
| rajanī aṇa- | -sāna bheī | kāma bheī mera |
| uṭhata bhānu | dekhatā kānu | rajanī geī dūra |
| būlaka saṅge | melata raṅge | rauhīṇeya bala-vīra |

| | | |
|---------------|----------------|---------------------|
| ei śrīdāma | dāma sudāma | saṅgi-gaṇa tera |
| pūrata veṇu | dhāṭa dhenu | āṅginā bharala mera |
| nanda-rāṇī | pasāri pāṇi | bālaka lei kora |
| mukha nehāri | duḥkha bisari | kiye sukha jāni ora |
| śyāma-candra | candra udita | nāsala hṛdi ghora |
| heriyā vayana | kahiche nayana | uṭha kānāi mora |

[Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa, Vol. i, p. 180 vi.]

• ‘Get up, Gopāla (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) ! It is morning. Let me have a sight of your face. The night is over, and my (morning) duties are all finished. Just look, Kṛṣṇa, the sun is up and the night has far receded. This here Śrīdāma, Dāma, Sudāma, (in fact) all your companions are blowing their pipes. The cattle are about to start (for the pasture field), and my courtyard is crowded.’ (Saying this) the consort of Nanda extended her arms and took Kṛṣṇa on her lap. On looking at his face she forgot her cares and anxieties and was filled with indescribable joy. Śyāma-candra (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa), the moon, was arisen, and he dispelled the darkness at (human) heart. Looking at his face Nayana says, ‘Get up, dear Kṛṣṇa mine.’ •

Gokula-candra (Gokulānanda ii).

There are a few stray leaves from a manuscript showing old hand-writing, in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad Library [VSP. MS. (Bundle) 2416]. These leaves—three in number—are from a manuscript which was apparently an anthology of Gokula-candra’s poems. These leaves contain eight complete poems as well as fragments of a few more. The poet has used the following *bhāṣi/ās*—‘Gokula-candra,’ ‘Gokula-cāda,’ ‘Gokula,’ and ‘Gokula-dāsa.’

I quote below specimens of Gokula-candra’s Bengali and Brajabuli compositions. The following poem, written in Brajabuli spiced with pseudo-Sanskrit forms, occurs in a modern anthology under the *bh.* of ‘Yadunandana’ [Kīrtana-gīta-ratnāvalī 751].

| | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| dhairyaṃ rahu | dhairyaṃ rahu |
| gacchaṃ mathurāye | |
| dhūṛāba puri | pati-pratikṣe |
| yāhā darasana pāoye | |

ati-bhadraṃ ati-bhadraṃ
 śiḡhraṃ kuru gamanā |
 avilambe mathurā-purī
 praveśa karila lalanā ||
 eka ramaṇī alpa-bayaśī
 nija-prayojana pūche |
 nanda-jāta kṛṣṇa khyāta
 kūra bhavane āche ||
 śuni so dhanī kahaī vāṇī
 so kāhā hiyā ¹ āba |
 vasu ²-daivakī-suta kṛṣṇa khyāta
 kaṃsa-ripu mādhaba ||
 soī soī koī koī
 daraśane majhu āśā |
 gokula-candra kahe jāo jāo
 oī ye ucca bāsā ³ || [VSP. MS. 2416.]

« [Kṛṣṇa has come to Mathurā, and he has no intention of returning to Vṛndāvana. One of Rādhā's friends requests her to be a little more patient, and she comes to Mathurā in quest of Kṛṣṇa.] 'Be patient, be patient : I am going to Mathurā. I shall search through the city for (thy) Lover. I shall go wherever I can meet him.' 'Very well ; go there without delay,' (Rādhā replied). Without delay the lady came to the city of Mathurā. (She found) a woman of young age, (whom) she thus asked for her necessary information : 'At whose house dwells (he who is) born of Nanda and (is) famed as Kṛṣṇa ?' On hearing (this) that precious girl spoke (these) words : 'How should he come here ? The son of Vasu ⁴ and Daivakī, ⁵ known as Kṛṣṇa and also as Mādhava, (who is) the foe of Kaṃsa (lives here).' 'It is he ! It is he ! Where (is he) ? Where (is he) ? I have come to see him (*literally* my advent is for seeing him).' Gokula-candra replied : 'Go, go (over there). That lofty (house) (is his) residence.' »

This poet Gokula-chandra was the same person as Gokulānanda (ii),⁶ the brother of Nayanānanda (ii). My ground for this conclusion is this.

¹ 'kahaī' MS.

² Hypermetrical.

³ 'āiche ucca āśā' MS.

⁴ Vasudeva.

⁵ Devakī.

⁶ One Bengali poem by Gokulānanda (ii) has been quoted in the *Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa*, Vol. p. 117.

In a manuscript anthology of the younger Nayanānanda's poems one and only one poem by Gokula-candra occurs [see *supra*, p. 312]. This should not have happened unless Gokula-candra was very closely connected with Nayanānanda (ii). This Gokula-chandra or Gokulānanda (ii) must have then flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century.

The following poem is cited as a specimen of Gokula-candra's Bengali composition :

lalitāra sane rāi gelā nija-ghara |
 śyāma-preme gara-gara sabhaya ¹ antara ||
 niravadhi camakita nahe gṛha-kāja |
 sānare bandhura guṇa teji saba-lāja ||
 hena-kāle āilā tathi vraja-vadhū-gaṇa |
 rāi bale bhāla haila āile sakhi-gaṇa ||
 piyā binu biyā mora dharane nā yāy |
 tāhāra darsane puna sṛjala ² upāyḍ ||
 jaṭilāre viśūkhikā kare nivedana |
 sūrya pūjite āju kariba gamana ||
 sāmāgrī ³ āniñā deha uttama kariā |
 sakhi-sane cala gokulḍ ⁴ rādhāre laiyā ⁵ ||

[VSP. MS. 2416, Song 7.]

* Accompanied by Lalitā Rādhā returned home : her heart, full of love for Śyāma, was timid. She was perpetually nervous : her household duties could not be done. Leaving aside all vestiges of bashfulness she mentally dwelt on the virtues of her Lover. Then came there in a body the youngwomen of the Vraja. (To them) Rādhā said : ' It is well that you have come, my friends. Without my Beloved my heart cannot be pacified. So do you devise some way for (my) meeting him.' (At this) Viśūkhikā (came to) Jaṭilā and said (to her) : ' We are now going out to worship the sun ; do please supply us with choice things (for offering to the deity).' In company of those friends Gokula set forth, escorting Rādhā. »

¹ 'sahmaī' MS.

² 'sṛja' MS.

³ 'sāmāgrī' MS.

⁴ 'gokule' MS.

⁵ This line may thus be emended to give a better sense :

sakhi-sane cala gokule rādhāre laiyā 'Do please escort Rādhā along with her friends to Gokula.'

Jagadānanda (ii).

Jagadānanda (ii) was the son of Gokulānanda, the brother of Nayanānanda (ii) of Maṅgala-ḍihi. Jagadānanda (ii) like his father was a learned Brahmin *adhyāpaka* (professor). Jagadānanda (ii) had written a few vernacular poems, some of which may have been mixed up with those of Jagadānanda (i) of Jophlāi, who was by far a superior poet. Two Brajabuli poems by Jagadānanda (ii) have been cited in the *Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa*, Vol. i [pp. 179f., 180 vii]. One is quoted below as a specimen. Jagadānanda's poems (and that of his uncle Nayanānanda also) bear the ring of Śaśi-śekhara's style.

| | | |
|------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| ārati kare | nanda-rāṇī | bālaka-mukha heri |
| gāota nava- | nāgarī saba | rākhāla sakala gheri |
| rambhā-phala | ghṛta-pradīpa | puspa-racita thālī |
| sundarī-gaṇe | huloti dei | śīśu-gaṇa kara-tālī |
| rākhi śiṅgā-veṇu | yaśodā māi | kore ni'a duno bhāī |
| mūkhana dahi | dei kṣīra | khāoye rāma kānāī |
| sakala śīśura | mukha tuli tuli | yaśomatī cumā khāoye |
| maṅgala puche | nanda-ghoṣa | jagadānanda gāoye |

[Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa, Vol. i, p. 179f.]

• Looking at the boy's (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa's) face the consort of Nanda performed the (auspicious rite of) *ārati*. (Standing) around the cowherd boys the young girls chanted (prayers). A plate (was) filled up with plantain fruits, a lamp burning *ghṛta*, and flowers. Lovely girls raised the auspicious cry, and children clapped their hands. Taking off the horn-pipe and the flute, mother Yaśodā took the two brothers on her knees. She gave them butter, curd and cream, and Rāma and Kṛṣṇa partook of it. Holding up the face Yaśomatī kissed every child, and Nanda-ghoṣa asked them all well. So sings Jagadānanda. •

Vrajānanda (ii).

According to the compiler of the *Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa* [Vol. i, p. 180] Vrajānanda (ii), the grandson of Nayanānanda (ii), wrote a few vernacular lyrics.

Vṛndāvana-dāsa (ii).

Through the courtesy of Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna I have been able to examine a MS. from Śrī-khaṇḍa, which is an anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyrics, entitled the *Rasa-niryāsa* by one Vṛndāvana-dāsa. The work is unfinished. It contains twenty-nine sections called *Āśnāda* (taste). The thirtieth section was begun with the heading 'atha śrīkṛṣṇasya āpta-dūti' ('now the section on Śrī-Kṛṣṇa's confidential female messenger'), but the author or the copyist did not proceed further.

The introductory portion of the *Rasa-niryāsa* contains thirteen Sanskrit verses. The first twelve verses are odes to the compiler's *guru*, Caitanya-deva, Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, Nityānanda-prabhu, Advaita-prabhu, Sanātana-Gosvāmin, Rūpa-Gosvāmin, Śrī Jīva-Gosvāmin, Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa, Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, and the Vaiṣṇava devotee respectively. The first stanza in which Vṛndāvana-dāsa pays his respects to his *guru* Rādhā-mādhava, is as follows :

vṛndāraṇya-nikuṅja-madhya-vasatiṃ kūrūṇya-vistāraṇam
 dhīraṇ bhakta-janaika-bhakti-rasaḍaṇ lāvanya-sūrojjvalaṇ |
 kṛṣṇākūla (?) -vilāsi-lālasa-param premno nidhiṇ sat-priyaṇ
 rādhā-pūrvam ahaṇ namāmi satataṇ śrīmat-prabhuṇ mādhamam ||

« I bow low perpetually to (my) glorious master Mādhava (whose name begins) with the (word) Rādhā, who has made his residence within a grove (*nikuṅja*) at Vṛndāvana, who extends his mercy (to all), who is calm, who is the sole dispenser of the bliss of devotion (*bhakti*) to the devotee, who is resplendent with supreme gracefulness,.....who is the receptacle of Divine Love, and who is dear to the pious (and holy) people. »

The last stanza shows that the compiler cited poems by the illustrious predecessors only, and no poems by his contemporaries have been incorporated in it. This verse runs thus :

mahābhāgavatair yāni gītāni racitāni tu | .
 dāsa-vṛndāvanenaiva saṅgrhyante kramād iha || [13]

« Those songs which had been composed by great devotees are being quoted here in (proper) order by Vṛndāvana-dāsa. »

Now the compiler of the *Rasa-niryāsa* quotes, among others, poems by Ratipati-dāsa, Gopāla-dāsa and 'Hari-vallabha.' Ratipati, as we have seen, was the *guru* of Rūmagopāla-dāsa, the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* [c. 1673 A. C.]. Gopāla-dāsa was the same person as the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*, and 'Hari-vallabha' was, as is universally believed, no other person than Viśvanūtha-Cakravartin who flourished in the second half of the seventeenth century [see *supra*, pp. 258f.]. Vṛndāvana-dāsa, the compiler of the *Rasa-niryāsa* must have then flourished, at the earliest, in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Nor can he be dragged down much later, as no poems by Rādhā-mohana and other early eighteenth century poets are cited in the anthology. Vṛndāvana-dāsa belonged to the school of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, as is manifest from his paying respects to Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa and Śrīnivāsa. The absence of any reference to Nara-hari-Sarkār (though one or two poems of his have been quoted) or to Raghunandana precludes his connection with the Śrīkhaṇḍa school. Vṛndāvana-dāsa mentions that his *guru* was Rādhā-mādhava and that he lived at Vṛndāvana. The poet Rādhā-mohana had a brother called Rādhā-mādhava. Was he the same person as the *guru* of Vṛndāvana-dāsa?

The extant portion of the *Rasa-niryāsa* contains poems by about forty poets. These are as follows :

Ananta-dāsa, Abhirāma-dāsa,¹ Baṛu Caṇḍīdāsa (Caṇḍīdāsa), Balarāma-dāsa, Bhāgavatānanda, Campati, *Drija* Śyāma-dāsa (Śyāma-dāsa), Giridhara-dāsa, Gopāla-dāsa, Gopikānta-dāsa, Govinda-dāsa, Ghanaśyāma-dāsa, 'Hari-vallabha' (Vallabha-dāsa), Jagannūtha-dāsa, Jñāna-dāsa, Kavirañjana, Kavi-śekhara (Śekhara kavi), Locana-dāsa, Mādhava, Mānasīmha-dāsa, Murāri, Narahari-dāsa, Narottama-dāsa, Nayanānanda, Nīlāmbara,² Ratipati-dāsa, Rāmacandra, Rāmānanda-Vasu, Rāmānanda-dāsa, Śrī-vallabha, Vasanta, Vamśī-vadana, Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa (Vāsudeva), Vidyāpati, Vṛndāvana-dāsa,³ Yadunātha, Yadunandana-dāsa.

I have made a unique find in the *Rasa-niryāsa*. It is a poem on the Śakti theme by Govindadāsa Kavirāja. Although it has been recorded in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* and similar works that Govindadāsa, before his conversion to Vaiṣṇavism by Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, was a Śakti worshipper and had written poems on that deity no such poem was hitherto available. The *Prema-vilāsa*, as a matter of fact, quotes the last couplet from such a poem [Prema-vilāsa xiv]. The poem that I have come across in the

¹ Only one poem has been quoted ; it is the same as APR. 467.

² Only one poem has been quoted ; it occurs in APR.

³ Vṛndāvana-dāsa (ii), the author of the *Caitanya-bhāgavata*.

Rasa-niryāsa is this very poem quoted in entirety. There, however, it has been made to serve as an ode to Advaita-prabhu who was believed to have been an incarnation of Śiva (and Śakti). (The MS. of the *Rasa-niryāsa* came to my hand when the chapter on Govindadāsa Kavirāja had been already printed off. So I could not quote the poem in its proper place. I quote it here). The poem describes the *Ardhanārīśvara* aspect of Śiva and Śakti.

hema-hima-giri duī-tanu chiri
 ādha-nara ādha-nārī |
 ādha ujara ādha kājara
 tinaī locana dhāri ||
 dekha dekha duhū milita eka gāta |
 bhakata [pūjita] bhuvana-vandita
 bhuvana mārati tāta (?) ||
 ādha phaṇimaya ādha maṇimaya
 hr̥daye ujara hāra | ¹
 ādha bāghāmbara ādha paṭṭāmbara
 pindhana duhū ujjiyāra ||
 nū devī ² kāmīnī [nū] deva kāmuka
 kevala prema-prakāsa ³ |
 gaurī-śaṅkara caraṇa-kīṅkara
 kahaī govindadāsa || [*Rasa-niryāsa* 3.]

• A hill of gold and snow—(such is) the beauty of the persons of the Two (in embrace): one half is male, the other half female. Partly fair and partly (painted with) collyrium,—there are the three eyes. Look, look—the Two are in close union, having a single body. They are worshipped by the devotees and are revered by the (whole) world :..... One half has serpents (as decorations), the other has jewels: there is a magnificent necklace on the chest. One half (wears) a tiger's skin while the other (is draped) in silk garment: resplendent is the robe of the Two. Neither is the Goddess a woman, nor is the God a lustful man: it is a manifestation of pure Love. So says Govindadāsa, the servant at the feet of Gaurī and Śaṅkara. •

It is quite possible that Vṛndāvana-dāsa (ii), the compiler of the *Rasa-niryāsa* was the same person as the poet Vṛndāvana-dāsa (iii), but

¹ MS. 'ādha maṇimalaya hr̥daye ujara hāra.'

² MS. 'deva.'

³ MS. 'parakāśa.'

there is nothing to substantiate this except the fact that both Vṛndāvana-dāsas were posterior to Visvanātha-Cakravartin and were probably contemporaneous.

Abhirāma-dāsa.

One poem, written in corrupt Brajabuli and Bengali, by Abhirāma-dāsa has been quoted in APR. [467] from the *Paḍa-rasa-sāra*. This poem has been cited in Vṛndāvana-dāsa's *Rasa-niryāsa*. The poet is otherwise unknown.

Nilāmbara.

One Brajabuli poem by Nilāmbara occurs in the *Rasa-niryāsa*. This poem as well as another has been quoted in APR. [550, 551]. A third I have found in a stray MS. leaf [VSP. MS. 2322]. All these poems are written in Brajabuli. The last poem, being unpublished, is cited below as a specimen of Nilāmbara's composition.

rādhā-vinaya-karuṇā śuni kāna |
 jara-jara-antara sajala-nayāna ||
 pāṇi paśāri dhanī kore ¹ nela |
 vadana cāhi hari haraṣita bhela ||
 pīta-vasane² pada ³ dei³ muchūi |
 vacana-amiyā-rase tūṣala rāi ||
 cita-dhāiraṇa dhara nā bhābiha āna |
 nilāmbara kahe kara avadhāna ||

[VSP. MS. 2322.]

• On hearing the pitiful supplications of Rādhā Kṛṣṇa's heart ached, and his eyes became moist. Stretching out his arms he took the beloved girl in his embrace, and glancing at her face he, Hari, was full of love. He wiped her feet in his yellow-coloured garment, and he delighted Rādhā with the nectar of his speech. (He said:) 'Have patience at heart, and do not think otherwise.' Nilāmbara adds: 'Do please take note (of this).' •

¹ MS. 'kari.'

² MS. 'pade.'

³ MS. 'dey.'

One Brajabuli poem by 'Bhāgavatānanda' has been cited in APR. [556] from the *Paḍa-rasa-sāra*. The same poem occurs also in the first issue of the *Paḍa-kalpa-latikā* (A. C. 1849). A Bengali poem by Bhāgavatānanda occurs in the *Rasa-niryāsa*. This poem, a description of the Great Master at Nīlācala, is quoted below. The description is simple and vivid, and seems to have emanated from the pen of an eye-witness.

« His limbs have the complexion of gold, his legs are not in his control, and for the rush of ecstatic feelings he falls in a swoon. Supporting his arm on the shoulder of Govinda the Great Master walks on, shouting (now and then), 'Take the name of Hari!' His person is all horripilation, like a prickly *kalamba* flower, and, on eyeing his face innumerable men [fall down in a fainting fit]. Under gushing ecstasy he stretches his arms and runs forward to embrace (people, but he loses self-consciousness (immediately). At Nīlācala he shines among the host of his devotees: he has displayed the essential item (of devotional practice), *saṅkīrtana*. Bhāgavatānanda, with great joy in his heart, says, 'I will be his slave in all my subsequent births.' »

It is extremely doubtful that Vṛndāvana-dāsa, the author of the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* had written any poem, Bengali or Brajabuli, on the

41

Kṛṣṇa topic. There are two, or rather three such poems in PKT. [468, 573, 2312], of which the first two are written in Brajabuli. The language of these two poems is elegant Brajabuli, not the slip-sod Brajabuli we meet with in the poems on the Caitanya-Nityānanda theme. There are four Bengali songs on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, with the *bh.* of 'Vṛndāvana-dāsa,' in KPS. [pp. 103-106, 178]. These songs are of the narrative type, and they show that their author must have written a complete lyrical work consisting of songs on some topic or topics of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend. Another Bengali poem on the same theme occurs in VSP. MS. 2051 (dated B.E. 1236).

Now it is remarkable that none of these songs on the Vraja theme, whether Brajabuli or Bengali, occur in the earlier works on anthologies such as the Das MS. (older portions), the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*, the *Kṣaṇadā Gīta-cintāmaṇi* and the *Bhakti-ratnākara*. This is most strange, especially in view of the fact that one at least of these poems [PKT. 468, which we have previously ascribed to Vṛndāvana-dāsa (i) (*vide supra*, pp. 47f.) but which is quite unlikely in view of the facts given here] is one of the best poems in the whole range of Brajabuli literature. We are, therefore, constrained to surmise that the younger Vṛndāvana-dāsa must have been posterior to Viśvanātha-Cakravartin, the author of the *Kṣaṇadā*. It may be—though there is no proof forthcoming—that this younger Vṛndāvana-dāsa was the same person as the compiler of the *Rasa-niryāsa* [see *supra*, Vṛndāvana-dāsa ii].

In the *bhaṇitā* of the other Brajabuli poem [PKT. 573] the poet mentions "Rāya Raghupati Vallabha." Nothing is known about this Rāya Raghupati-vallabha, or Rāya Raghupati and Vallabha.

Bhārata-candra [A.C. 1712-1760].

Bhārata-candra, the best known poet of the eighteenth century, had written a few poems in Brajabuli. These poems which number about half a dozen, occur in his *Annadā-maṅgala*. These poems are mostly secular. Bhārata-candra was one of the first writers to use Brajabuli in secular poetry. There are also four Sanskrit lyrics in that work as well as a few more in Hindi.

CHAPTER XII

LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY POETS : POETS OCCURRING IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY ANTHOLOGIES AND MANUSCRIPTS

Candra-śekhara (iii).

Candra-śekhara (iii) was a son of Govindānanda-Ṭhākura of the village Kāṭṭā or Kāṭṭā in the district of Burdwan. The poet flourished in the second half of the eighteenth century [*vide* *Birbhūm-vivaraṇa*, Vol. iii, pp. 153ff.]. Candra-śekhara and his younger brother Śaṣi-śekhara were the last great poets of Brajabuli literature. They introduced new notes into the otherwise drab and monotonous form to which Brajabuli literature had fallen since the early seventeenth century. These poems became at once popular. As metricians the Śekhara brothers were inferior to none except perhaps Govindadāsa Kavirāja.

Candra-śekhara's (and also Śaṣi-śekhara's) poems do not occur in any of the known anthologies. They however occur in the *Paṇḍita-rasa-sāra*.¹ By far the biggest collection of Candra-śekhara's poems is to be found in the *Nāyikā-ratna-mālā* which seems to have been the joint work of the two brothers [see *infra*]. The *Nāyikā-ratna-mālā* contains forty-five songs by Candra-śekhara. Of these thirty-eight are written in Brajabuli, six in Bengali and one in Sanskrit. A few additional poems are to be found in APR., in the *Kīrtana-gīta-ratnāvalī* and in the *Birbhūm-vivaraṇa*, Vol. iii, pp. 155f.

The following poems, quoted as specimens, will suffice to shew that Candra-śekhara was a good metrician and that his poems are

¹ The *Paṇḍita-rasa-sāra* was probably compiled in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

caught hold of your two feet with his tender (*literally* twig-like) arms and swore by himself again and again : how could you then, O peevish, quarrelsome, bad-tempered, hard-hearted woman !—how could you push away his hands (placed) on your feet ? Now we all, your friends, will not sit near you, as you have done such an unjust act.' Candra-śekhara says : ' I remonstrated with you ever so much : but you paid no heed to my advice and have broken off (your) love.' »

svarṇa-varṇa vivarṇa bhaiṅ gela
pūrṇa-vidhu-mukha tūrṇa nīrasala
nayana-paṅkaja nīra-hi bhīgala

hiya-ka ambara go |
māna bhela tuyā prāpa-gāhaka
nahile upekhasi rasika-nāyaka
yo bhela so bhela aba-hū abudhini

āpana sambara go ||

yata-hi mana maha kopa upajata
tata-hi kopa ki karite samucita
pāye paraṇata yo jana hoyata

tāhe ki tejiye go |

hīta kahaṅte ahita mānasi
subhṛda-gaṇe tubhū vairi jānasi
ataye dekhi śuni nīrave rahi nahi

ūtara dījiye go ||

ye bine yuga-śata nimikha hoyata
se tuhe hari hari minati kata śata
karala kara juṛi gala-hī ambare

dharāṇī lūṭhala go |

aiche haṭhapana palaṭi baiṭhali
kāṇṭa-vadana nitānta nā herali ,
candra-śekhara bhaṇaye bhāvini

pirīti bhāgala go ||

[Nāyikā-ratnamālā 48.]

[Rādhā is in pique, and she has spurned Kṛṣṇa away. At this her friend says as follows :] « (Your) golden complexion has faded. Your fullmoon-like face has in no time lost its freshness. The clothes at your chest is thoroughly wet with the tears of your lotus-eyes. Your

attitude of sulk has become your executioner ; otherwise how could you spurn the accomplished Lover ? However, let that be. Now, O brainless girl, just check yourself (from further mischief). Is it proper to show as much anger as bubbles up at one's heart ? Can he—who falls at the feet—be ever kicked out ? If you are given good advice, you take it bad. You look upon your friends as so many foes. Therefore we see and hear everything, but keep silent : we do not interfere. He, Hari, without whom a moment seems like ages, begged your thousand pardons. With folded palms and with the hem of his cloth around his neck he grovelled in dust. And such is your indiscretion that you turned your back (against him), and never gave even a single glance at your Beloved's face ! Candra-śekhara says : '(My) girl, your love perishes.' »

The following poem is written in a mixture of Sanskrit and Brajabuli. Rādhā questions Uddhava in Sanskrit, and the latter replies in Brajabuli.

kas tvam śyāmala-dhāmā |
 hari-kiñkara hūma uddhava-nāmā ||
 adya hariḥ sa kutra |
 madhu-pure baṣai baraja-jana-mitra ||
 kurute kiṃ madhu-nagare |
 kaṃsa-ka pakṣa dalana kari bihare ||
 puna puna pūchāi gorī |
 candra-śekhara kahe prema-bhikhārī ||

[Nāyikā-ratnamālā 54.]

« 'Who are you, O dark-complexioned one !' 'I am a servant of Hari, Uddhava by name.' 'Hari—where is he now ?' 'He, the friend of the people of the Vraja, now resides at Madhu-pura (Mathurā).' 'What is he doing there ?' 'He moves about suppressing the members of Kaṃsa's party.' The fair damsel thus put repeated questions. So says Candra-śekhara, hankering after divine love. »

Śaśi-śekhara.

Śaśi-śekhara was the younger brother of Candra-śekhara (iii) [see *supra*, p. 323]. Besides his full name Śaśi-śekhara used as his *bhāṇitā* both 'Śaśi' and 'Śekhara.' It is quite probable that a few of his poems with the last *bhāṇitā* have been mixed up with those of Rāya Śekhara.

Śaṣi-śekhara was a good poet of Brajabuli, and his style is identical with his brother's, with this exception that Śaṣi-śekhara's Brajabuli was distinctly inferior to that of his brother. But Śaṣi-śekhara certainly excelled his brother in the rapartee style and in the manipulation of the light, tripping metres, though his poems do not show such a variety of long metres as his brother's poems do. The popular appeal of the lyrics of Śaṣi-śekhara seems to have been greater than that of his brother, and this he fully deserves.

The number of Śaṣi-śekhara's poems in the *Nāyikā-ratnamālā* is fourteen only, of which five are written in Brajabuli and the rest in Bengali. A few additional poems are to be found in APR., the *Kīrtana-gīta-ratnāvalī* and the *Kṛṣṇa-nadā-mṛta-sindhu*.

The following are specimens of Śaṣi-śekhara's composition in Brajabuli :

| | |
|----------------------------------|----------------|
| ati-śītala | malayānila |
| manda-madhura-bahanā | |
| hari-bāimukha | hāmāri aṅga |
| madanānale dahauā | |
| kokilā-kula | kuhu kuharai |
| ali jhañkaru kusume | |
| hari-lālase | tanu tejaba |
| pāoba āna janame | |
| saba saṅginī | ghiri baiṭhali |
| gāota hari-nāme | |
| yaīkhane ṣuno | taīkhane uṭhe |
| nava-rāgiṇī gāne | |
| lalitā kore | kari baiṭhata |
| viśākhā dhare nāṭiyā | |
| śaṣi-śekhara | kaho gocare |
| yāota jīu phāṭiyā [APR. 257.] | |

[Rādhā's distress is acute, as she is separated from Kṛṣṇa owing to his sojourn at Mathurā.] « (She says,) ' The breeze from the south, fanning slowly, is very cool, but (it is) burning my person, rejected by Hari, with the anguish of passion. The cuckoos are raising their notes, and bees are humming over flowers. I shall give up the ghost, longing for Hari and shall be born again.' (Then) all her companions

sat around her, and sang the name of Hari. No sooner had she heard it than she sat up, with her love rekindled at the name of Hari. Lalitā took her on her lap, and Viśākhā felt her pulse. Śāśi-śekhara cried aloud that his heart was about to burst (in grief). •

The following is a question and cross-question between the two Lovers :

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| nīlotpala- | mukha-maṇḍala |
| jāhāra kāhe bhela | |
| madana-jvare | tanu tātala |
| jāgare niśi gela | |
| sindūra-hi | parimaṇḍita |
| caurasa kāhe bhāla | |
| govardhane | gaurī-ka sebi |
| sindūra tathi nela | |
| nakhara-kṣata | vakṣasi tuyā |
| deyala kona nārī | |
| kaṇṭake tanu | kṣata-vikṣata |
| tuhā dhūṛaite gori | |
| nīlāmbara | kāhe pahirali |
| pīlāmbara choṛi | |
| agraja sañe | parivartita |
| nandālaye bhoṛi | |
| añjana kāhe | gaṇḍa-sthale |
| khaṇḍana kāhe adhare | |
| uttara-prati- | uttara dite |
| parājaya śāśi-śekhara | [APR. 256.] |

• (Rādhā.) Why does your blue-lotus-like face look flushed ?

(Kṛṣṇa.) The fever of passion had heated up (my) body, and the whole night passed without a wink of sleep.

(Rādhā.) Why is your broad forehead smeared with vermilion paint ?

(Kṛṣṇa.) Having worshipped (the Goddess) Gaurī at Govardhana, I had (my forehead painted) there (with holy) vermilion.

(Rādhā.) Who is the girl that has imparted the prints of finger-nail upon your chest ?

(Kṛṣṇa.) When searching for you, O lovely one ! my person has received scratches from thorns.

(Rādhā.) Why have you put on blue-coloured clothes, discarding (your) saffron-coloured robes ?

(Kṛṣṇa.) At Nanda's place I must have unwittingly changed them with those of my elder brother (*i. e.*, Balarāma).

(Rādhā.) But why are there marks of collyrium upon your cheeks, and why should there be bite-marks on your lips ?

Śaśi-śekhara is at a loss to meet this cross-question. »

Viśvambhara-dāsa (ii).

Viśvambhara-Ṭhākura, or Viśvambhara-dāsa (ii), was a resident of the village Muluk in the district of Birbhum. Viśvambhara was a disciple and admirer of the poet Śaśi-śekhara. The two poems with the *bh.* of 'Viśvambhara' in PKT. cannot be the work of our poet, because no poem of his *guru*, who was by far a greater poet, occurs in it. It is, therefore, quite unlikely that poems of a very minor poet like Viśvambhara could have been incorporated therein. Moreover one poem with the *bh.* of 'Viśvambhara-deva' occurs in the Das MS. [1653 A.C.]. So there must have been an earlier Viśvambhara, who was responsible for the two poems in PKT. [see *infra* under Viśvambhara-dāsa (i).]

The following poem which, according to Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna, has been recovered in the author's manuscript, undoubtedly belongs to the later Viśvambhara. The poem, moreover, breathes the flavour of Śaśi-śekhara's poetry.

| | | |
|------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| jāgi ho | kiśorī gorī | rajanī bhai bhore |
| rati-alasa-me | ninda jāota | rasa-rāja-hi kore |
| nila-vasana | maṇi-abharaṇa | bhai geo bithāre |
| sāsu nanadī | eisē vivādī | mana-me nāhi tere |
| nagara-ka [loka] | jāgi baiṭhaba | keise jāoba pure |
| aruṇa-udaya | hoī āota | śārī śuka phukāre |
| śuni nāgara | uṭhi baiṭhala | nāgarī kari kore |
| viśvambharā-dās | jhāri puri lei | ṭhāri rahata dvāre |

[Birbhūm-vivarāṇa, Vol. iii, p. 184.]

« 'Be awake, O young beauty, the night has dawned. Tired out with amorous sports you are sleeping on the lap of the King of lovers. Your blue skirt and ornaments and jewellery are all rumply. Do you

not remember that your mother-in-law and her daughter are such pests ? The people of the town will be (soon) awake. How can you then come home ? The dawning of the young sun is imminent, and the *śārī* and *śuka* (birds) are (already) chirping.' On hearing this the Lover got up and sat with the Girl on his lap. Viśvambhara-dāsa, having (previously) filled up a jug (with water), remained standing at the door. »

Another Brajabuli poem by Viśvambhara-dāsa (ii), an ode to his *guru Śaśi-śekhara*, has been cited in the *Bīrbhūm-vivaraṇa*, Vol. iii [p. 153].

Rohiṇīnandana-dāsa.

Fifteen poems by Rohiṇī-nandana are found in a MS. about a hundred years old [Cat. MS., Vol. ii. 1, p. 98]. These poems were published in the *Viśvabhūmi* [B. E. 1320, pp. 692-699]. Four of these poems are written in Brajabuli. Rohiṇī-nandana's poems are worse than commonplace. One is quoted below as a specimen.

bhaja mana rādhe kṛṣṇa govinda |

| | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| yā-ko nāma-hi | mocita bhava-bandhana | hota-hi prema-ānanda |
| e śuka śaṅkara | sanaka sanātana | anta nāhi pāoye ananta |
| yā-ko nāma-hi | tri-bhuvana-maṅgala | aharṇiśi japata-hi santa |
| yā-ko nāma-hi | surāsura-nara-vara | muni-gaṇa karata dheyāna |
| yā-ko nāma | rauta(?) nārada sadā | bhuvana phirata kara gāna |
| veda-hi yā-ko | yaśa guṇa gāota | karata-hi nāma-kī āśa |
| tā-ko nāma-bī | pāpi-jana vañcita | rohiṇīnandana-dāsa |

[Op. cit., p. 694.]

« Pray, O (my) mīnd, (uttering the names) 'O Rādha ! O Kṛṣṇa ! O Govinda !' His Name absolves (one from) the bondage of birth and gives bliss. Śuka, Śaṅkara, Sanaka, Sanātana and Ananta (i.e., Balarāma) do not find his limit. His Name which purifies the three worlds the saints always mutter. His Name the best of gods, *Asuras* and men, and the host of hermits meditate upon. Singing his Name Nārada roams about in the universe. His glory and greatness the Vedas sing of, and they (i.e. the *ṛṣis*) base their hopes on his Name (alone). All sinners, (including) Rohiṇīnandana-dāsa are deprived of it. »



Pitāmbara Mitra

Śacī-nandana (ii).

Śacīnandana-Vidyānidhi, the poet, was an inhabitant of the village Cānak in the district of Burdwan. He was the author of the *Ujjvala-candrikā*, an adaptation in Bengali verse of the *Ujjvala-nīlamanī* by Rūpa-Gosvāmin. The *Ujjvala-candrikā*¹ was completed on the 10th Pausa 1707 Śaka (= December 1785 A. C.). Only four poems in the work bear the *bhaṇitā*, and hence they alone are entitled to be recognised as full-fledged lyrics (*padas*). One poem is quoted below as a specimen.

| | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| yā-kara pada-dyuti | darasane nigaraba |
| koṭi koṭi manamatha bhela | |
| kuṭila dṛgañcala | bidagadhi biharāṇi |
| tri-bhuvana mana hari nela | |
| abhinava-jaladhara- | sundara-ākṛti |
| karata-hi parama vihāra | |
| tri-jagata-yuvatī-ka | bhāgi-vara-sūdhana |
| mūraṭi siddhi avatāra | |
| so ava nanda-ki | nandana nāgara |
| tohe karu ānanda bhora | |
| śrī-śacīnandana | o nava-mādhurī |
| barāṇi nā pūola ora | [<i>Ujjvala-candrikā</i> , p. 3.] |

« At a sight of the loveliness of his feet millions and millions of gods of love have lost their pride. His askance glances, his playfulness and sportiveness have taken possession of the heart of the three worlds. Beautiful as a fresh cloud laden with water, he is engaged in high sports. The highest attainment of the supreme fortune of young women in the three worlds, he is success incarnate. May he, now, the gallant Son of Nanda, make you full of ecstatic joy. Sri Śacī-nandana does not find limit in describing his ever fresh gracefulness. »

One of his lyrics is written in Sanskrit [*op. cit.*, p. 182f.].

Pitāmbara-dāsa (ii) [d. A.C. 1806].

Pitāmbara Mitra,² the great grandfather of Raja Rajendralala Mitra, the renowned indologist and antiquarian, was a devout Vaiṣṇava. He

¹ It has been edited and published by Babu Sivaratana Mitra from Suri (no date).

² Vide 'Kavi Sankarṣaṇa-dāsa' by Mrṇāla-kānti Ghoṣa in the *Kāyastha-Patrikā* for Kārttika, 1889 B. E. See *infra* under 'Sankarṣaṇa.'

obtained the title of 'Raja Bahadur' and the status of a 'tin-bāzārī mansab-dār' in addition to a *jaigir* in the Doab from the Emperor at Delhi. He was a 'Vakil' at the Court of Oudh. He returned to Calcutta in 1787-88 and died there in 1806. He was an initiated Vaiṣṇava, and he wrote a few Vaiṣṇava lyrics in both Bengali and Brajabuli. Four of these songs were published by his grandson Janamejaya Mitra in his own anthology *Saṅgīta-rasārṇava* [see *infra* under 'Saṅkarṣaṇa']. As this book has not been available to me I am unable to cite any poem by Pitāmbara-dāsa (ii).

Rāsānanda.

Poems by Rāsānanda are not rare in late manuscripts and anthologies. Seven such poems have been cited in APR., two from the *Paḍa-ratnākara* and the rest from the *Paḍa-rasa-sāra*. Three poems by Rāsānanda occur in the later portion of the Das MS. One poem occurs in VSP. MS. 2049.

The following poem is given as a specimen of Rāsānanda's Brajabuli composition.

surīta kahāyasi sakhi-gaṇa meli |
gañjane dūkha dvi-guṇa kari deli ||
eke hāma dukhīnī anāthīnī nārī |
dagadha-parāṇe dahasi avicārī ||
sakhi he majhu mana bījhasi koī |
soī gaṇala prema bhāṅgala soī ||
ithe yadi mohe deobi anutāpa |
kāliya-viṣa-hrade deaba jhāpa ||
aīchana vāṇī kahala yaba rāī |
rāsānanda taba-hū mukha cāī || [VSP. MS. 2049.]

« [While in a mood of love-sulk Rādhā had spurred Kṛṣṇa away. Her friends chastised her for this thoughtless act. She thus replied to them :] 'You, my friends, now talk of good behaviour ! You have really doubled my grief by your chastisement. I am but a poor, helpless woman : and you have quite inconsiderately burned my lacerated heart ! My friends, does any (of you) understand my mind ? It is he that formed (our mutual) love, and it is he that has disturbed it. Now if you heap repentance on me I will throw myself off into the poisonous pool of (the snake) Kāliya.' As Rādhā spoke these words Rāsānanda glanced up at her face. »

Gopīnātha-Durllabha.

śuna he nāgara-guru rasera kalapa-taru
anāthinī rāi-parāṇa |
caturera śiromaṇi prema-ratana-khani
bidagadha-nāgara kāna ||
bandhu, jīvasi rāi tohūri |
nila-ambara gale deī minati karu
rākhabi vacana hūmāri ||
yaba rāi guru-janū- saṅgati taba tahi ?
nā kariha murali-nisāna |
śunaite madhura- śabade tanu pulakita
camaki camaki uṭhe prāñā ||
utapata cita rita nāhi mūnata
lore nayāna mora jhāpa |
tuā mukha daraśana lāgi cita ākula
guru-durajana-bhaye kāpa ||
ki kahaba o mukha- cāda-daraśa bine
khene kata yuga kari māni |
lākha-jana-cakora- tāpa-haraṇa mukha
dekhile ki hae nāhi jāni ||

¹ Edited by Amulya-dhana Rāya-bhaṭṭa and published from Pāṇināṣṭi, B. E. 1335

2 'tubn' ?

more kṛpā kari govardhana giri
 rādhā-kunḍa kuñja-vane |
 ye-khāne ye-khāne āra līlā-sthāne
 nibhṛta nikuñja-vane ||
 nibhṛta nikuñje rāī yābe rañge
 nayane dekhiba kabe |
 guru-rūpā sakhi anāthini dekhi
 paścāte ¹ rākhibe kabe ||
 āra kata-dine sevā-parā-gaṇe
 āmāre iṅgita-vāṇi |
 iṅgita bujhibā pālaṅka bichāba
 rādhāre basāba āni ||
 pālaṅka upare basāe rādhāre
 caraṇa dhuyāba sukhe |
 śuṣka bāsa die caraṇa muchāba
 karpūra-tāmbula mukhe ||
 ṭhākura-caraṇe mora nivedane ²
 ke āra karibe dayā |
 akiñcana-dāse sevā-abhilāṣe
 deha more pada-chāyā ||

[CU. MS. 2376.]

« When will the home of Rādhā at Yābaṭa come to my sight ?
 When will Śrī Rūpa-maṇjari take pity on me and keep me at her feet ?
 (When will she) taking pity on me (reveal to me) the hill Govardhana,
 Rādhā-kunḍa, the grotto and all other spots for the sports (of Rādhā
 and Kṛṣṇa) in the secluded woodland ? To the secluded garden Rādhā
 will go joyously ; when shall I see with my eyes ? Finding me to be a
 helpless (girl) when will a female companion in the form of my *guru* keep
 me behind her ? Again, after how long (will) the female friends in service
 command me in gestures ? May I understand (the drift of) those beckon-
 ings, make the bed on the bedstead and bring Rādhā in and make her sit
 (on the bed). Making Rādhā sit on the bed may I wash her feet
 joyfully. May I then rub her feet dry with a piece of dry cloth and
 then give her betel spiced with camphor to chew. At the feet of Ṭhākura
 (*i.e.*, *guru*) my submission is (this) : ‘ Who can take pity on me but you ?
 Akiñcana-dāsa wants service : give me the grace (*literally* shade) of
 your feet.’ »

¹ ‘pastāte’ MS.² ‘nivedana’ MS.

Dayāla.

One Brajabuli poem by Dayāla has been incorporated in APR. [503]. The poem originally occurs in VSP. MS. 201. The poem, which is quoted below, is rather good.

pekhalū aparupa nanda-kumāra |
 kālindī-nīra- tira-taru helana
 yaīchana jalada-sañcāra ||
 cūṛa-hi ūṛaye mayūra-śikhaṇḍaka
 so eka aparupa-ṭhāma |
 yaīchana indra- dhanuka tahi ūyala
 aīchana majhu mane bhāna ||
 motima-hāra ura-para lolata
 heriye tāraka-pāṭi |
 kaṭi para pīta- vasana tahi rājita
 jini saudāmini-kāṭi ||
 caraṇa-avadhi vana- mālā virājita
 unamata madhukara-jāla |
 pada-paṅkaja-tale mānasa sōpain
 kātare kahata dayāla ||

[APR. 503.]

« I have seen the wonderful Son of Nanda : (he was) reclining against a tree by the waters of the Kālindī, as if a mass of cloud had gathered (on that quarter). On his crest shivers a peacock's feather—it was a wondrous sight : it occurred to my mind as if a rainbow had appeared there. Against his chest dangled a necklace of pearls, and it appeared like a chain of stars : round his loins was girt a fine, yellow-coloured cloth, which vanquished the dazzle of the lightning. A wreath of wild flowers (*vana-mālā*) reached up to his feet, which maddened a cluster of bees. ' Under the lotus of his feet I have given away my heart,' says Dayāla piteously. »

Kāśī-dāsa.

In APR. one Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of 'Kāśī-dāsa' has been quoted from the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. The same poem was incorporated in the first issue of the *Pada-kalpa-latikā* (1849 A. C.). The poem is quoted below.

nanda-nandana- saṅge mohana
naola gokula-kūminī |
tapana-nandinī- tīre bhāle bani
bhuvana-mohana-lābani ||
tā-thaī tū-thaī mṛdaṅga bājāī
mukhara kaṅkaṇa kiṅkiṇī |
bilase govinda prema-ānanda
saṅge nava-nava raṅgiṇī ||
ura-hi lambita kanaka-campaka-
dāma karddama-candane |
dōha-kalevara bhela śrama-jala
moti marakata kāñcane ||
rāse mātala saṅge ṣaḍa-ṛtu
kuñja-kūnane rājāī |
śuka śikhi pika cātaka dāhuka
bhramara pañcama gāoī ||
rāsa-maṇḍala gopinī-kula
śyāma-sane nava-raṅgiṇī |
dei kara-tāli bole bhāli bhāli
kāśī-dāsa bali yāīni ||

[APR. 479.]

« In the company of the Son of Nanda the charming young women of Gokula (look) very fine with their all-conquering loveliness, on the bank of the Daughter of the sun (*i.e.*, the Yamunā). ‘Tā thai tā thai’—drums are beating, and their bangles and girdle-bells are quite vocal. In love’s joyfulness Govinda is enjoying himself in company of the ever brilliant damsels. On their (*i.e.*, Rādhā’s and Kṛṣṇa’s) chests, smeared with sandal-paste, dangle garlands of golden *campaka*: the beads of perspiration on their persons appear as pearls, on emerald and gold. They begin the *Rāsa* (dance): all the six seasons appear simultaneously in the woodland grove, and parrots, peacocks, cuckoos, *cātakas*, *qāhukas* ¹ and bees sing sweetly. The *Gopīs* form a circle (around the dancing pair,) Śyāma and the young *belle* (*i.e.*, Rādhā); they clap their hands and give shouts of approval. Kāśī-dāsa offers (himself as) a sacrifice (for their good). »

¹ A kind of water-bird that becomes vocal in the rainy season.

Harivaṃśa-dāsa.

Two Brajabuli poems by Harivaṃśa-dāsa have been cited in APR. [581, 582] from the *Paṇḍita-rasa-sūtra*. The poet though pedantic seems to have been a good writer of Brajabuli.

Sarvānanda.

Seven Brajabuli and four Bengali poems by Sarvānanda have been cited in APR. from the *Pada-ratnākara*. Two Bengali poems on Caitanya-deva by the same poet occur in GPT. [pp. 174f.]. These two poems are distinctly superior to the poems quoted in APR.

The poet Jagadānanda of Jophālai had a brother named Sarvānanda. Was he the poet in question ?

The following Bengali poem (mixed with a few Brajabuli forms) is quoted as the masterpiece of Sarvānanda. The poem belongs to the *Dhāmālī* type. It seems to be rather corrupt at places.

| | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| hiraṇa-barāṇa | dekhilāma gorā | duli duli yāy ṭhāṭe |
| tanu mana prāṇa | āpanāra nay | ḍubinu tāhāra nāṭe |
| acala pada | gada-gada vāk | dhairya-mada gela |
| cetana-hārā | bāula pārā | āgama-daśā haila |
| bhaya kari nay | bhaya kena hay | gā kene mora kāṭe |
| nirakhi locana | harala cetana | daṃśala yena sāṭe |
| rūpera chaṭā | cādera ghaṭā | jaṭādhārī dekhe bhule |
| naidārṣ nārīṣ ¹ | dhairya-dhvaṃsa | dāga rahe vā kule |
| prati-aṅge yadi | nayāna thākita | pūrta manera sādha |
| eke kulavati | tāy duṭi ākhi | tāy ghuṇaṭā vāda |
| cācara-cule | cāpāra phule | cāru cañcari cale |
| bhāla jhala-mala | suruja lukāy | tāy alakāṭole ² |
| bhurura jyoti ³ | haraye mati | śakra-dhanu-chaṭā hare |
| apāṅga-taraṅga | ṭaṅka kulavatiṣ | vrata-bhaṅga kare |
| vadana-cāde | madana kāde | hr̥de mukutāra pāti |
| mṛdu-mṛdu | hāsi-rāśi | dekhe kebā dhare chāti |
| svarṇa-kapāṭa | hr̥daya-taṭa | ājānu-lambita bhuṅjā |
| kona dhanī nā | nayāne heriyā | diṭhi diñā kare pūjā |

¹ 'nadyā-nārira ?'

² 'kole' Text.

³ 'bhuru-jyoti' Text.

| | | |
|---------------|---------------|--------------------|
| jānura barāṇa | kācā-sonā | yemana sāca-mocā ' |
| herile tāra | nācā kōcā | nā yāy kula bācā |
| sthala-padma | carāṇa-yugala | nakha indu ninde |
| sarabānanda | cita cañcala | maju carāṇāravinde |

[GPT., pp. 174f.]

• I saw the gold-complexioned Gorū going in a swaggering manner : (on seeing him) my body, my mind and my life were no longer mine. I was drowned in his gracefulness. My feet became immobile ; my voice became choked, and my patience and prestige were gone. Bereft of consciousness, (I became) like one mad, as if in an æsthetic (*agamyā*) situation. There was nothing to be afraid of, yet I felt terrified : (I could not know) why my limbs trembled. Glancing (at him) with my eyes I lost consciousness, as if I were bitten by a snake. The glamour of his loveliness was like the halo of the moon : even a wearer of matted hair (*i.e.*, a *sannyāsin*), on looking (at him), was charmed. It was the destroyer of the self-control of the women of Nadiyā. (I am afraid,) good name may be stigmatized. Had there been eyes on every limb my heart would have been satiated. But I am a woman of a good family, and there are only two eyes : over and above the veil is an obstacle. Pretty bees hover about the *cimpaka* flowers on his wavy locks. His resplendent forehead (looks as if) a sun is hidden (behind it) : on it are dangling strands of stray hairs. The beauty of his eyebrows, that charms the heart, steals away the gracefulness of the rainbow. The waves of his sidelong glances undermine the vow (of loyalty) of women of good family—the vow that is like the steep bank (of a river). (On looking) at his moon-like face the god of love weeps. A necklace of pearls (rests) against his chest. Who can control herself at his abundant, soft and sweet smiles ? His wide chest is like a door-leaf made of gold : his arms reach up to the knees. Who, indeed, is the blessed girl that feasts her eyes on him and worships him with her glances ? His knees have the complexion of gold, pure and clean. Having once seen his flowing *kōcā* (*i.e.*, the ample folds of *dhuti* gathered up in front) one cannot keep one's good name safe. His two feet are like (a pair of) *sthala-padma* flowers : his toe-nails put the moon to shame. May the restless heart of Sarvānanda be intoxicated at the lotus of his feet ! •

Kṛṣṇānanda.

Four Brajabuli and one Bengali poem by Kṛṣṇānanda have been quoted in APR. from the *Paṇḍu-rasa-sāra*. Another poem with the same *bh.* but written in Brajbhākhā has been quoted there [485] from the *Paṇḍu-ratnākara*. The author of this poem seems to be different from that of the other five poems.

The poet Jagadānanda of Jophlāi had a brother named Kṛṣṇānanda. Can it be that this Kṛṣṇānanda was the poet of the Bengali and Brajabuli pieces ?

‘ Dvija ’ Rāja-candra.

One Brajabuli poem by Rāja-candra the Brahmin (*dvija*) has been cited in APR. [561] from the *Paṇḍu-rasa-sāra*. The same poem also occurs in the *Paṇḍu-kalpa-latikā* (first issue).

Manmatha.

Three Brajabuli poems by Manmatha have been quoted in APR. from the *Paṇḍu-rasa-sāra*. A fourth, an ode to Caitanya-deva, occurs in GPT. [p. 147] as well as in the *Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī*. The poems are quite common-place. Sixteen poems by Manmatha occur in a MS. from Śrīkhaṇḍa.

Nanda-dulāla.

Two poems—one Bengali and one Brajabuli (mixed with Bengali forms)—have been quoted in APR. from VSP. MS. 201. The Bengali poem is rather good.

Vīra-bāhu.

One Brajabuli poem in a pseudo-Sanskrit garb, by Vīra-bāhu, has been quoted in APR. from the *Paṇḍu-rasa-sāra*. The poem occurs also in the *Paṇḍu-kalpa-latikā*. It is quoted below.

dekha sakhi mohana-madhura-suveśaṁ ।
 candra-ka-cāru-mu- -kutā-phala-mañḍita-
 ali-kula-sundara-keśaṁ ॥
 taruṇa-aruṇa-karu- -ṇāmaya-locane
 manasija-tāpa-vināśaṁ ।
 aparupa-rūpa- manobhava-mañgala-
 madhura-madhura-mṛdu-hāsaṁ ॥
 abhinava-jaladhara- kalita-kalevara-
 dāmini-vasana-vikāśaṁ ।
 kiye jara ajara sakala pulakāyita
 kuñja-bhavana-kṛta-vāsaṁ ॥
 yo pada-paṅkaja bhava nārada aja
 bhāva ahhā-va-viśeśaṁ ।
 vraja-vanitā-gaṇa- mohana-kāraṇa-
 viracita-vividha- vilāsaṁ ॥
 pañcama-rāga- tūna-taraṅgāyita-
 adhara-milita-vara-vaiśaṁ ।
 abhinava-kamala jitala pada-paṅkaja
 virabāhu-mana-haṁsaṁ ॥

[P.K.L. ; APR. 555.]

«Look, my friend, at the sweetly-robed Charmer (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa). His locks, black like the bee, (look) fine, decorated with the peacock's feather and lovely pearls. His eyes that resemble the young sun and that are full of tenderness remove the anguish of love. His loveliness is unparalleled, and it is a desire even of the god of love: his soft smiles are sweet, very sweet. His body resembles a mass of fresh cloud: the tint of his garment emulates the flash of lightning. (His presence) causes horripilation (*i.e.*, excessive joy) to all, whether animate or inanimate. He dwells in woodland pavilion. His lotus-feet Bhava (*i.e.*, Śiva), Nārada, and Aja (*i.e.*, Brahman) contemplate, (the feet) which are extremely unattainable (?). For winning (the hearts of) the young women of the Vraja he resorts to various arts of love-making. The charming flute touches his lips: it gives out waves of melodies in the fifth note. ' His lotus-feet, lovelier than fresh-blown lotuses, have conquered the swan, the heart of Vīra-bāhu. »

1. 'Pañcama svara' is the sweetest tune according to Indian music.

Nimānanda-dāsa.

Nimānanda-dāsa was the compiler of the anthology *Pada-rasa-sāra*.¹ This work contains twenty-seven hundred poems, of which about six hundred and fifty are the compiler's own composition. Nimānanda modelled his anthology closely after the *Pada-kalpa-taru*. The compilation was made some time towards the close of the eighteenth century or in the beginning of the next. The only information that we can gather about Nimānanda is that he was a Brahmin (*dvija*) and that his younger brother was named Vaiṣṇī [cf. APR. 530].

Thirty-two poems (Brajabuli and Bengali) by Nimānanda have been incorporated in APR. In the Calcutta University Library there is a MS. containing poems by Nimānanda on Caitanya-deva exclusively [MS. 323]. As a poet Nimānanda was quite common-place, if not absolutely stale. The following is a specimen of his Brajabuli composition.

| | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| sakhī-gaṇa-saṅge | raṅge kula-kāminī |
| | karāi hāsa-parihāse |
| priya eka saha-carī | turita-hi āyala |
| | śyāmaru-vacana-viśeṣe |
| | śuna śuna sundarī rāī |
| so vara-nūgara | kuñja-bhavane geo |
| | turita hi aba tuhū yāī |
| saṅketa-vacana | śuni tahi haraṣita |
| | sakhī-ka kahaī vāre-vāra |
| nibhṛta nikuñje | āju hari bheṭaba |
| | turita-hi karaha śiṅgāra |
| śyāmaru-prema-made | gara-gara sundarī |
| | ulasita hṛdaya-ka mājha |
| nimānanda-dāsa- | āśa āju pūraba |
| | bheṭaba nāgara-rāja |

[APR. 532.]

« The lady of a noble family (*i.e.*, Rādhā) is chatting merrily with her friends when one of her intimate companions comes in hurriedly with

¹ This work has not yet been published. Poems from it—especially poems by authors otherwise unknown—have been incorporated in APR. Detailed information about this anthology has been given by Satīśa-candra Rāy in VSPP., Vol. 21. Also *vide* APR., pp. iv f.; PKT., Vol. V, Introduction, p. 6.

a special message from Śyāma-rūpa (i.e. Kṛṣṇa). (She says :) 'Listen, listen, my lovely Rādhā ! That cleaver gallant has gone to the pavilion : you go there without delay.' Delighted to hear of the trysting message, she told her friends again and again, 'I shall meet to-day Hari at the secluded pavilion : you help me dress quick.' The lovely lady was overflowing with pride for (monopolizing) the love of Kṛṣṇa : she was overjoyed at heart. The desire of Nimānanda will be fulfilled to-day when she (or he as her attendant) will meet the King of Lovers.»

Kamalākānta-dāsa [c. 1806].

Kamalā-kānta was the compiler of the anthology *Pada-ratnākara* which was completed at Burdwan on the 27th Vaiśākha 1213 B.E. (= 1806 A.C.).¹ This work has not yet been published. It is known in a unique MS. (very possibly the original one) which is preserved in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Library.

Kamalā-kānta has given some facts of his life in one of his poems and at the end of his anthology [PKT., Vol. V, pp. 7]. These are as follows. He was Karaṇa (Kāyastha) by caste, and his native place was Siur, a village about sixteen miles to the west of Katwa. His father was Vraja-kiśora and his younger brother was Rukmiṇī-kānta. He made the compilation at the instance of Rādhūnātha Vasu, an officer of Teja-candra, the Maharaja of Burdwan. In one poem [APR. 469] he mentions that his *guru* was Naṭavara who was a scion of the family of Śivānanda, a disciple of Gadādhara-dāsa.

The *Pada-ratnākara* is divided into forty-three sections (*varaṅga*). It contains thirteen hundred and fifty-eight poems in all. Of these his own contributions number thirteen only. Out of this eleven have been incorporated in APR. Kamalā-kānta sometimes used the shorter form of his name, 'Kamala,' as the *bhaṇitā*.

Kamalā-kānta was a fairly good poet and careful writer of Brajabuli. He was perhaps the last of the good poets of Brajabuli and Bengali Vaiṣṇava literature. The following poem is cited as a specimen of Kamalā-kānta's Brajabuli writing.

| | | | |
|-------------|------------|-------------|---------|
| śyāma guṇa- | dhāma bine | yāma yuga | bhela । |
| kāma-śara- | dāma aba | bhela mujhe | śela ॥ |

¹ The materials for this note have been taken from APR., pp. v ff.; PKT., Vol. V, Introduction, pp. 6 ff.

| | | | |
|----------------|---------------|-------------|-------|
| bhramara-kula- | nāde ava- | -sāda majhu | prāṇa |
| kuñja mana- | rañja bhaya- | puñja sama | bhāna |
| kokila-kala- | bhāṣe aba | trāsa bhela | cita |
| saṅga-sukha | lāgi mama | aṅga bhela | bhita |
| gandha saba | gandha-vaha | manda-gati | bhela |
| iha sukhada | vipina-druma- | dāma sukha | dela |
| vikaca phula- | vṛnda cita | gandha hari | nela |
| sabala-hṛdi | kamala aba | tarala-mati | bhela |

[APR. 475.]

« ‘Without Śyāma the receptacle of all virtues a *yāma*¹ has become an aeon. The series of arrows (sped) by the god of love has become splinters unto me. At the hum of the bees my heart is failing (me): the delightful garden house seems to be a terror. At the notes of the cuckoo my heart now gets frightened: my limbs are afraid of (his) joyful touch. Laden with perfume the carrier of fragrance (*i.e.* wind) is blowing softly (*literally* has become slow-gaited). These charming trees of the woodland have given (me) much pleasure, and by the fragrance of the full-blown flowers (my) heart has been carried away.’ (On hearing these words of Rādhā) the strong-minded Kamala (= Kamalā-kānta) has now become anxious at heart. »

Rādhānanda-dāsa.

One Brajabuli poem by Rādhānanda occurs in stray leaf in a bundle of MSS. [CU. MS. 2383]. Another (written in mixed Brajabuli and Bengali) occurs in an unpublished anthology, *Mukundānanda* (or more fully, *Rādhā-mukundānanda*).² As no poem by Rādhānanda has yet been published I quote below both the poems. The poet Rādhānanda may have been the same person as the disciple of Śyāmānanda, with the same name [Bhakti-ratnākara, XV, p. 1056; Prema-vilāsa, XX]. This Rādhānanda was probably the son of Rasikānanda [*vide* Śyāmānanda-prakāśa, p. 60].

¹ Fourth part of day or night.

² This information as well as the poems cited here has very kindly been supplied by Babu Siya-ratana Mitra, who is the owner of the MS. of the *Mukundānanda*. Fuller details of this anthology have been given *infra* under the head ‘Rādhā-mukunda-dāsa.’

tuhū majhu prāṇa-ka piyārī |
 rākhaba hṛdaya bidāri ||
 tuhū vara-nāgarī bālā |
 hṛdaya-ka campaka-mālā ||
 tuhū mukha-candra ujorā |
 hāma diḥi lubadha-cakorā ||
 ramanīra anugata kāna |
 rādhānandete rasa gāna || [CU. MS. 2383.]

‘ You are the dearest of my heart: I shall tear it open and retain you there. You are a young lady, an accomplished *belle*: you are the chaplet of *campaka* on my heart. Your face is the bright moon: my eyes are the thirsty *cakoras*.’ Kṛṣṇa is loyal to the lady. So says Rādhānanda, out of joy. »

nikuñja-bhavane duhū nikuñja-bhavane |
 saudāminī aṅga ki sōpila nava-ghane ||
 rādhā-kānu duhū karu abheda piriti |
 dundubhi sahite vijayā kaila rati-pati ||
 taruṇita yamunā uthali bahilā |
 sumeru kanayā-giri timire muṭilā ||
 kanakera nadi bhedi kālindī bahilā |
 hema-latā bhuja-daṇḍe randaki (?) bāndhilā ||
 rati-rasa avasāne duhū-ka ullāsa |
 yugala-carāṇa sebe rādhānanda-dūsa ||

[Mukundānanda.]

As the poem is rather indelicate I do not append a translation.

Magana-candra.

Four poems by Magana-candra have been incorporated in the *Mukundānanda*. The name Magana-candra or Magana is very unusual. Two of these poems are quoted below. Both the poems are on Caitanya-deva.

āju re gaurāṅga-mane ki bhāva uṭhila |
 pūraba-caritra bujhi manete paṭila ||
 sabhā kari basilena gaurāṅga-sundara |
 rāmāī murāri-gupta āra vakreśvara ||

cāri-dike bhakta-vṛnda nāce hari bali |
 ānanda haīyū keha dey kara-tāli ||
 nityānanda gaura-candra śobhiyāche bhāla |
 jagannātha-miśrerṣṭ ghara kariyāche ālo ||
 koṭi-kāma murachita nayanera kone |
 magana haīyū magna heraī nayane ||

[Mukundānanda.]

« What a feeling does appear to-day in the mind of Gaurāṅga the moon! Is it that he recalls at heart his conduct in his previous incarnation? He is sitting in a company: (there are, among others,) Rāmāṇī, Murāri-Gupta, and Vakraśvara. Around them the devotees raise shouts calling Hari, and dance: some, in joy, clap hands. Nityānanda and Gaura the moon look resplendent: (they two) have illumined the homestead of Jagannātha-Miśra.¹ By their side-long looks (*literally* with the corners of their eyes) ten millions of gods of love are struck senseless. Being wrapt (in this sight) Magana beholds with his eyes. »

cāndanī-rajanī heri gaurāṅga-sundara |
 kṛṣṇa-abhisāra rase prabhu bhela bhora ||
 bhramara kokila karu sumadhura gūna |
 śeja teji uṭhila gaura rasa-dhāma ||
 ṭhamaki ṭhamaki yāy caraṇa athira |
 bhāvāveśe āola suradhunī-tira ||
 eke se nirjjana puna gaṅgūra taraṅga |
 phula-vana dekhi bhāva bāṛhala mātāṅga ||
 taḥī prabhu baithala nīpa-taru-mūle |
 śeja bichāyala kiśalaya phule ||
 diśa heri rūdhā bali ākhi chala-chala |
 magana-candra heri hṛdaya-tarala ||

[Mukundānanda.]

« Finding it a moonlit night my Master Gaurāṅga the beautiful joyfully recalled the *abhisāra*² of Kṛṣṇa. Bees and cuckoos raised charming notes, and Gaura, the receptacle of divine love, got up

¹ Father of Caitanya-deva.

² Going out in secret to meet the beloved at a trysting place.

from bed. With his restless feet he walked on gracefully, and, dazed with surging sentiments, he came to the bank of the Suradhuni (i.e. Bhagirathī, the Hoogly river). For one thing, it was perfectly secluded, and for another, there was the rippling Ganges; and on finding a flowering garden there his sentiments increased, (and he became like a rutting) elephant. There the Master took his seat at the root of a *nīpa* (i.e. kadamba) tree: he made a bed of fresh twigs and flowers. Looking at the quarters he remembered Rādhā, and his eyes welled up with tears. Seeing this Magana-caudra was moved (profoundly) at heart. »

Rādhāmukunda-dāsa (Mukunda-dāsa ii).

Rādhāmukunda-dāsa (or Mukunda-dāsa as he has often mentioned himself) was the compiler of the anthology *Mukundānanda*. This work is known in the original MS. of which no copy seems to have been made. It is now preserved in the Ratan Library, Suri.¹ There are six hundred and fifty-nine poems by more than ninety different poets. The compiler contributed only fifteen poems.

The *Mukundānanda* was compiled after the *Padāmṛta-samudra*, the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta* and the *Pada-kulpa-taru*. Thus the compiler says

padāmṛta-samudra śrī-saṅkīrttanānanda |
pada-kalpa-taru mata pada bhaktānanda ||
śrī-mukundānanda grantha mukunda-varṇana ,
mahākṛpā prakāśe śudhibeṇ mahājana ||

[VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. II. 1, p. 5.]

The work is divided into sections (*bhāga*) and sub-sections (*stavaśa*). The MS. does not bear a date. It was probably compiled in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and was, in all probability, anterior to the *Pada-rasa-sāra* and the *Pada-ratnākara*. There is one poem by Śaśi-śekhara in this anthology.

¹ A description of this MS. has been given in the Catalogue of Old Bengali Manuscripts ('Bāṅgālā Pracīna Puthira Vivaraṇa'), Vol. II, Part 1, VSP., Calcutta, 1926 B.E. Supplementary notes have been very kindly supplied to me by Babu Śiva-ratana Mītra, the owner of the Ratan Library.

Rādhāmukunda-dāsa mentions that he was a descendant of the poet Govindadāsa-Cakravartī.

jaya jaya cakravartī govinda-carana |
 chaya cakravartī madhye mukhyete gaṇana ||
 śrī-ācārya-prabhu-kṛpāpātra sarvottama |
 tāra vaṁśe janma prabhu muṇi narādhama ||

[*op. cit.*, p. 4.]

From the following couplet it appears that his father's name was Patita-pāvana.

caitanya-carāṇānvayḥ patitḥpāvanḥ-suta |
 patita uddhāra prabhu ati-kṛpāyuta || [*op. cit.*, p. 5.]

The following Bengali poem (with some admixture of Brajabuli forms) is cited as a specimen of Rādhāmukunda-dāsa's composition. He has used as the *bhaṇitā* the following forms of his name—'Mukunda,' 'Mukunda-dāsa,' 'Rādhā-mukunda,' and 'Rādhikā-mukunda.'

nāciche kṇāī saṅge balāī |
 hena kāle tathā āyala rāī ||
 lalitādi sakhi saṅgete kari |
 animiṣe hari-mukha nihāri ||
 nīla-giri kibā rajata-giri |
 tathāī śobhaye su-hemagiri ||
 śveta nīla janu kamala-māṅjhe
 sonūra kamala adhika rāje ||
 hema nīla śveta candra udīta |
 sakhi-gaṇa tahi tārū milita ||
 adabhuta śobhā śrī-nandālaye
 hay nāī kabhu habāra nahe ||
 nayane nayana kamala alī |
 cātaka pāyala megha-āvalī ||
 cakora milala candra ujore |
 rādhikā-rūpa mukunda nehāre || [*op. cit.*, p. 7.]

* Kṇāī (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) was dancing in company of Balāī (*i.e.* Balarāma): at that time there came in Rāī (*i.e.* Rādhā) accompanied by her friends, Lalitā and others. She gazed, without blinking, at Hari's face. (It

Pratāpa-nārāyaṇa.

candra-vadanī dhanī prema-taraṅgā ।
nayana nalina-yuga bhāvā vibhaṅgā ॥
nāsā khaga-patī adhara bimba-jyoti
motima re kuca śiva śiva gaṅgā ।
keśarī jini kaṭi nābhī sarovara
kiṅkiṇī jhalakāī mugadha anaṅgā ॥
pratāpa-nārāyaṇa haṁsa-kula-gāmīni
bhaminī vilasati mohāna-saṅgā ॥ ¹

« The moon-faced precious girl is a stream of love. Her eyes are a pair of lotuses, and her eyebrows are arched. Her nose is the lord of birds, her lips (have) the tint of the *bimba* fruit. Her two breasts are white like pearls. Śiva ! Śiva ! Gaṅgā ! Her waist defies (that of) a lion : her navel is but a pool. Bells tinkle (around her hips), which stupefies the god of love. Pratāpa-nārāyaṇa (says), the lady that moves like the swan is sporting in company with the Charmer (i.e. Kṛṣṇa). »

¹ One line at least seems to be lacking in this poem.

¹ mukulita-bakula-kusuma-maṅgala-keśaṃ |
 rucira-candana-cāru-carcita-veśaṃ ||
 abhinava-jaladhara-kuntala-jāle |
 śobhita parimala mālātī-māle ||
 maṇimaya-makara-kuṇḍala-śruti-deśaṃ |
 tarid-iva nava-nīta ² vasana-vikāśaṃ ||
 pratāpa-nārāyaṇa-bhaṇita-madhupaṃ |
 parama-puruṣa-puruṣottama-rūpaṃ || [CU. MS. 327.]

• (Kṛṣṇa's) locks are decked with buds of *bakula* flowers : (he has) toileted¹ superbly with fine sandal-paste. (He looks) lovely with his locks (as dark as) fresh cloud and with a wreath of fragrant *mālātī* flowers. Jewelled earrings, shaped like the *makara* (shark), (beautify his) ears : the brightness of his garment is like lightning on a piece of dark-cloud (?). Pratāpa-nārāyaṇa, the bee (at the beauty of Kṛṣṇa), describes (thus) the beauty of the Supreme Person, Puruṣottama.³ •

śārada-pūrṇimā-himakara-haraṇe |
 cañcala-nīla-nalinī-dala-śayane ||
 prātar-udita-ravi-sindūra-kānti ⁴ |
 dasūna sējala mukutā-phala-bhāti ⁵ ||
 baṅka-vilokaṇī kājara-raṅgi |
 kāma-kāmāna kuṭila-bhrūbhaṅgi ||
 śrī-phala-suphalita-kṛta-kuca-kalase |
 matta-mayūrī-gati jiniyā alase ||
 mṛgamada-candana-carcita-dehā |
 tarala-ghanātata-⁶ dāminī-rebā ||
 pratāpa-nārāyaṇa-saṅgita-bhaṇitaṃ |
 ramaṇī-śiromaṇi rādhāra caritaṃ || [CU. MS. 327.]

• (Rādhā's) complexion is that of the rays of the full moon in autumn, filtering between the petals of the quivering blue lotus. (Between

¹ This poem is corrupt at place. Should the first line read 'mukula-bakula-phala-maṅgala-keśaṃ ?'

² 'nava-ghana ?'

³ Name of the Supreme Being. It literally means 'the highest among men.'

⁴ 'kānti' MS.

'bhāti' MS.

⁶ '-ghanātata-' MS.

her lips) crimson like the tint of the morning sun ; her teeth appear like pearl beads. She looks askance : (her eyes are) painted with collyrium. The curves of her arching eyebrows (are veritable) bows of the god of love. Her full breasts, like (a pair of) the *śrī-phala* (*bilva*) fruit, have been rendered fruitful (?). Her lazy gait defeats that of an elated peahen. Her body is painted with musk and sandal-paste : (she is like) the trembling flash of lightning stretched on a cloud. Pratāpa-nārāyaṇa, in his song, celebrates the beauty (*literally* conduct) of Rādhā the crest-jewel among women. »

Kiṅkara.

A stray leaf in a bundle of MSS. in VSP. Library [MS. 2322] contains a Brajabuli poem by Kiṅkara. The poem is quoted below. The first few lines of the poem are lost. It describes Rādhā after her dalliance with Kṛṣṇa.

bigalita-kuntala bhuru-mahāraṅga |
 dvandva-bhujāṅgama janu bhela saṅga ||
 nayana rāga bharu sā(?) dura-dūraṃ |
 nīla-nalinī yena paraśala sūraṃ ||
 daśana-ka daṁśana adhara-ka aṁśaṃ |
 janu¹ bimbū-phala kira nahi daṁśaṃ ||
 alakā galita tana motima-hāra |
 tarala salila yena prātarakāra ||
 uca-kuca-kañcuka nakha nakha dantaṃ |
 śātakumbha-giri-śira cira khaṇḍaṃ ||
 śuni camakita dhanī mṛdu mṛdu hāsaṃ |
 kiṅkara kaha sakhi kiye ati-bhāṣaṃ ||

As the text is very corrupt I do not append a translation.

Lāla-vihārī.

There is a MS. in the Calcutta University Library [MS. 3499], which contains ten poems—all in mixed Brajabuli and Bengali—by

¹ 'janu,' MS.

Lāla-vihārī. Four of these songs describe the beauty of Rādhā, three are on the 'Dūtī-saṃvāda' ¹ and the remaining three on 'Milana.' ² The following is cited as a specimen.

dekha sakhi nikuñja-mājhāre anupāma |
 kautuke kokila ali karaye su-gāna ||
 eke se rasera kuñja bahe nava-bāe |
 parāga-sahita manda adhika suhāe ³ ||
 kibā aparupa śobhā vinodini rādhā |
 heriyā madana made paṛi gela bādhā ||
 ki kahaba śyāma-mohanamayī venī |
 yāhāra upare śobhe mukutāra śreṇī ||
 vividha-rasera phula sāje sārī sārī |
 yāra mājhe ratana-khecanī manohārī ||
 tāhāra agrete sukhamaya phula-thopā |
 dolae vicitra makha tula (?) ratna jhāpā ||
 sucikana rasa-veśa lakhala ⁴ nā yāe |
 nāgara-ratana-mana harae helāe ||
 yāhāra saurābhe vṛndāvana bhora ⁵ |
 lāla-vihārī tāhe kibā diba tura ⁶ || [CU. MS. 3499]

• Look, my friend, at the unrivalled (sight) within the pleasure garden. The cuckoo and the bee are singing and humming sweetly in joy. For one thing it is a pleasure garden, then again there is blowing a fresh breeze, soft and fragrant, which gives increased delight. What a wonderful sight is the charming Rādhā! On looking at her the god of love has his pride removed. What should I say about her plaited hair which has charmed Śyāma? On it lie strings of pearls. Various flowers have been arranged side by side, in the midst of which gems are set: at its centre there is a delightful tassel of flowers. Her glossy, beautiful dress dazzles the eye (*literally* cannot be seen): without any effort it captivates the heart of the Lover. How can Lāla-vihārī offer any comparison to her whose fragrance (*i.e.* beauty and gracefulness) has pervaded the entire Vṛndāvana? •

¹ The sending of message through, or intercession by a 'Dūtī' or female messenger.

² Final union.

⁴ 'lakhila?'

³ 'sohāe,' MS.

⁵ 'bhūla?'

⁶ 'tula?'

Parāṇa-dāsa (Prāṇa-dāsa).

There is a MS., about a hundred years old, in the Calcutta University Library [CU. 3554], which consists of forty-five Brajabuli poems by Parāṇa-dāsa or Prāṇa-dāsa. The following poem is given as a specimen.

madana mataṅga samare bhela bhaṅga |
 baiṭhala duhū jana smera bayana-vidhu
 srama-jala-pūrīta aṅga ||
 nava-kara-pallava aṅcala bijai
 kuntale mājai deha |
 śikhini-śikhaṇḍa yatana kari sājai
 puna nava bāṭhala neha ||
 kati vana-māla kati-hū pīta-ambara
 kati rahū murali su-yantra |
 kāla ¹-bhujāṅgama daṁśane yaichana
 vāraṇa nahe maṇi-mantra ||
 adhara-sudhā-rasa puna puna pibai
 puna parirambhaṇa ²-keli |
 ramaṇa ramaṇi duhū lakhai na pāwai ³
 anupama hiya hiya meli ||
 kāñcana-śaila jalade duhū jhāpala
 nīla-jalade kiye indu |
 bhukhita vidhantuda vidhu kiye jhāpala
 manthana kiye rasa-sindhu ||
 bahata anila kuhare kuhu-kaṇṭhini
 jhaṅkaru madhukari-pūja |
 taru-nava-śākhē kusuma-bhāra pūrīta
 jharu makaranda su-kuñja ||
 rasamaya-rāja rasika vara-nāgarī
 bilasata madana-vilāsa |
 kuñja-bahāra sakhini-gaṇa-saṅgati
 herai prāṇa-hu dāsa || [19]

« Madana,⁴ the elephant, was defeated in the battle: the two (*i.e.* Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) sat up, their moon-faces smiling and their bodies

¹ 'bāna,' MS.

² 'puna rambhan,' MS.

³ 'pābai,' MS.

⁴ The god of *līve*.

« Rāī, why do you not look straight up at me? You are my treasure, my life, my property and my youthfulness: I cannot bear (any longer) the smarting darts of Love. Why do you not bestow me a lotus, after having touched your moon-like lovely person with it? Your face is a veritable moon and so are your lips and your mouth: why do you not smile broadly and speak (to me)? You have roasted my body on the bonfire of Love: the tree (*i.e.* my body) cannot live without a touch (of you). Do please accept from me a deed (as follows), and let Dāmodara be the witness thereto: I shall never be anybody's except yours. »

Sevā-cānda.

The following poem by Sevā-cānda, written in mixed Brajabuli and Bengali, I have obtained through the courtesy of Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna.

dekha sakhi nikuñjera aparupa-raṅga |
 vinodinī gāna kare binodiyā-saṅga ||
 gheri gheri baiṭhata yata candrāvalī |
 añcala pātiñā māge yaubanera ḍālī ||
 tā dekhi mayūra-gaṇa nāce phiri phiri |
 jayḍ rādhe śrī-rādhe bali gāy śuka sārī ||
 phula-bhare taru-gaṇa lambita haīla |
 caraṇa-paraśa lāgi luṭiñā paṛila ||
 sevā-cānda bhābi rase nā pāiyā ora |
 duhū-mukha nirakhiyā bhai gela bhora ||

« Look, my friend, at the delightful sight in the pavilion! The lovely lady (*i.e.* Rādhā) is singing with the handsome young man (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa). Around (them) are sitting all the beautiful maidens (*candrāvalī*): they have spread out the hems (of their *sāris*) and are begging for the cornucopia of youthfulness. Seeing this the peacocks dance about in rounds, and *śukas* (parrots) and *sārikās* are singing, 'Victory, O Rādhā! O Glorious Rādhā!' With the load of flowers the trees are bending low: (their branches) trail on the ground for a touch of their (*i.e.* Rādhā's and Kṛṣṇa's) feet. Not fathoming, on pondering,

the depth of the sentiment (of divine love) Sevā-cānda becomes overjoyed at a sight of the faces of the Couple. »

The use of the word 'candrāvalī' as a common name is very interesting.

Rāma-ratana ('Dvija' Rāma).

There is a MS. in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad Library [MS. 2054], which contains poems by Rāma-ratana. The poet also has mentioned himself as 'Dvija Rāma.' The MS. bears a date—15th Agrahāyana (November-December) 1237 B.E. (= 1830 A.C.), and it is, in all likelihood, the author's original manuscript. The poet mentions his patron 'Viśvambhara dvija' who was undoubtedly the same person as 'Viśvambhara-Śarmā Cakravartī' mentioned at the end of the MS.

The following Brajabuli poem is cited as a specimen.

| | |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| nārada heri | nanda phukāri |
| lālana kahī jhore | |
| paraṇāma kari | muni-pāye dhari |
| bhāsala ākhi-nīre | |
| hāma udāra | nā jāni phāpara |
| i-ki paramāda bhela | |
| saravasa-dhana | lālana jivana |
| kona vidhi hari nela | |
| ki phale pāola | ki pāpe chāṛala |
| nā bujhi karama-bāta | |
| hāma abhāgiyā | lālana hārāiyā |
| nā bhela e-deha pāta | |
| parāṇa bidare | nāhi yāy dūre |
| ye du(h)kha kahaba kāy | |
| bobāra svāpana | temati parāṇa |
| bhitare ghumi berāy | |
| rāma-ratana | ei nivedana |
| carāṇe muni tohāra | |
| nila-ratane | bāreka nañāne |
| dekhāha muni hāmāra | [VSP. MS. 2054] |

« On seeing Nārada Nanda, mentioning his dear child (Kṛṣṇa), wept aloud. He bowed to the sage, and taking hold of his feet,

he was in a flood of tears. (He said:) 'I am a simple man, and have never known difficulties: what a calamity has now happened! My dear child, my all, my life—what god has taken him away? For what merit I had got him, and for what sin he has left me (I do not know): I do not know the ways of the fate. I am a wretched man, having lost my darling. (I wonder,) this my body has not yet fallen dead! My heart is rent asunder, but it does not depart: to whom shall I tell this my suffering? Like unto the dream of the dumb, my vitals (do not come out, but) are moving restlessly within.' O sage, this is the prayer of Rāma-ratana at your feet: 'Do please, O sage, make visible to my eyes, only for once, the Blue-jewel (i.e. Kṛṣṇa).' »

Gadādhara-dāsa.

Two Brajabuli poems by Gadādhara-dāsa occur in a late MS. in the Vāṅṭīya Sāhitya Paṇḍit Library [MS. 2433]. The MS. is in book form and contains the date 1273 B.E. (= 1866 A.C.) on one page. One of the two poems is quoted below. It appears to have been tampered with by singers or scribes.

aparupa rādhā-mādhava-bhāti |
 tāmbula choṛi seja para baiṭhala
 puna-hi madana-rase māti ||
 ratana-pālaṅka para śūtala duhū-jana
 hiye hiye nayāne nayāne |
 lalitā-sundarī tāmbula kapura puri
 deala duhāra bayāne ||
 sakhi saba nirakhata aparupa-mādhuri
 duhū-jana gūata duhū-rase bhoṛi |
 duhū-ka kore lapaṭāi duhū-jana
 kāla gaura koī lakhaī nā pāri ||
 koī kahata iye thīra-bijuri kiye¹
 rahata-hi jaladhare gheri |
 gadādhara kabe iha soī nava-kaiśora
 vṛṣabhānu-kiśorī || [VSP. MS. 2433]

• Unparalleled is the loveliness of Rādhā and Mādhava. Throwing away (the chewed) betel they sat on the bed and were again engaged in love's sport. The Couple (*i.e.* Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) reclined on the rich couch, chest against bust, eye to eye. Lalitā the lovely gave them betel (spiced) with camphor to chew (*literally* in their mouths). All their female companions looked on at their superb loveliness: thoroughly sympathetic to their love they sang in praise of the Couple. The Couple rolled about in each other's embrace, so that nobody could detect which was the dark one and which one the fair. Some said: 'Is it a steady streak of lightning that has encircled the cloud?' Gadādhara replies: 'He is the One in early youth, and She the youthful Daughter of Vṛṣabhānu.' •

This poet Gadādhara or Gadādhara-dāsa must be distinguished from Rāya Gadādhara, the Brajbhākhā poet, whose poems occur in some MSS. of Vaiṣṇava poetry. One such poem occurs in VSP. MS. 978.

Lalitā-dāsa.

One poem by Lalitā-dāsa, written in mixed Bengali and Brajabuli, occurs in the first issue (1849 A.C.) of the *Padu-kalpa-latikā* [pp. 98-99].

Kṣetramohana-Datta.

The following Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of Kṣetramohana-Datta occurs in the first issue of the *Padu-kalpa-latikā* (1849 A.C.). With some variant readings this poem occurs in *Śaṅkīrtanāmṛta* [378] with the *bh.* of Govindadāsa. The poem seems to be a composition of the Kavirāja. It institutes a comparison between Śiva and Kṛṣṇa who is in dishevelment.

mādhava aba tubhī śaṅkara-devā |
yākara puṇa-phale prātare-bhetālū
dūre-hu dūre rahū sevā ||
ākula kuṭila- cūṛa-śikhi-candraka
bhāla-hi sindūra-dahanā |
candana-mājhahi mṛgamada lāgala
tēl bekata tina nayanā ||

candana-reṇu- dhūśara bhela saba tanu
soī bhasama-sama bhelā ।
toḥāri vilokane majhu mana manamatha
manamatha sañe jvari gelā ॥
kāhe digambara abahū vasana para
śaṅkara-niyama upekhi ।
khṣetramohana-datta kahaye para ambara
ganaite lekhi nā lekhi ॥

• 'Madhava, you are now the god Śaṅkara. At his grace (?) I have met you early in the morning, though I have not worshipped him sufficiently enough. Your (locks are) dishevelled; on your crest there is the eye in the peacock's feather; and on your forehead is a bright dash of vermilion. There, on sandal painting, musk paint has been superimposed, which has made manifest the third eye. All your limbs are powdered with sandal dust, which appears like ash dust. At your (loving) glance the god of love in me is all aflame. Why are you naked? Put on clothes at once, discarding the behaviour of Śaṅkara.' Kṣetramohana-Datta says: 'Put on your clothes: in computing (your oddities) it is impossible to note them down all.'

Jagabandhu-dāsa.

In the *Kṛṣṇa-padāmṛta-sindhu* there are five poems by Jagabandhu-dāsa. One of these poems [p. 20] is written in mixed Brajabuli and Bengali. Jagabandhu seems to have written connected poems on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme.

Mādhavendra-Purī (?)

In the *Kīrtana-gīta-ratnāvalī* there is a poem with the *bh.* of 'Mādhavendra-Puri.' It is exceedingly doubtful that Mādhavendra-Puri (c. 1475 A.C.) was the author of this poem. Although the ideas expressed, being based on the usual rhetorical stuff of Sanskrit Poetry, can go back to the fifteenth century the lilt of the verse, however, is modern. I am of opinion that it is the composition of a late eighteenth or early nineteenth century poet named 'Mādhavendra,' while the scribes alone are responsible for making this name / Mādhavendra-Puri.'

As a matter of fact the reading ' Mādhavendra-Purī ' instead of ' Mādhavendra ' mars the metre in the last half-verse.

sājalo dhanī candra-vadanī
 śyāma-daraśana-śāśe |
 saṅginī-gaṇa raṅginī saba
 gherila cāri-pāśe ||
 taruṇārūpa- caraṇa-yugala
 mañjira tahī śobhe |
 bhṛṅgāvali puñja puñja
 guñjare madhu-lobhe ||
 kumbhi-kumbha jini nitamba
 keśari-kṣiṇa mājhe |
 pari nīlāmbara paṭṭāmbara
 kiṅkipī tahī bāje ||
 bāhu-yugala thīra-bijurī
 kari-śāvaka-śuṇḍe |
 hemāṅgada maṇi-kaṅkaṇa
 nakhare śaśi-khaṇḍe ||
 hemācala kuca-maṇḍala
 kācalī tahī śobhe |
 candrakānta dhvānta-damana
 karṇe kaṇṭhe śobhe ||
 jāmbūnada- hema-yukta
 mukutā-phala-pāṭi |
 phaṇi-maṇi-yuta dāma-sahita
 dāminī-sama bhāti ||
 bimba-phala- nindī adhara
 dāṛima-bija-daśanā |
 beśara tahī nalake jhalake
 manda-manda-hasanā ||
 nāsā tila- phula-tūla
 kabari karabī-chāḍe |
 madana-mohana- mohinī dhanī
 sājali tahī rādhe ||
 nava-yauvanī candra-vadanī
 vṛndāvana-bāṭe |
 mādhavendra-purī racita bhāṣa
 barṇi pūrṇi(?)pāṭe ||

• The lovely, moon-faced Girl dressed for the expectation of meeting Śyāma: her companions, sportive girls all, surrounded her on all sides. Her two feet were like (a pair of) young suns, round which were pretty anklets: (over them) hovered swarms of bees thirsty for honey. Her hips defeated (the roundness of) the elephant's head, and her waist was slender like that of the lion. She had put on a blue-coloured silk *sūri*, and girdle-bells were tinkling (at her hips). Her two arms, like steady streaks of lightning, were (shapely like) the trunk of a young elephant. (On them she had put on) gold armlets and jewel-wristlets; her nails were like bits of the moon. Her round breasts were like (a pair of) golden hills: over them was a lovely bodice. Moon-stones that destroyed darkness glowed at her ears and neck. A string of pearls and diamonds threaded and mounted in pure gold dazzled like a flash of lightning. Her lips put to shame the *bimba* fruit: her teeth were like pomegranate seeds. The golden nose-ornament shone with the nose pearl. She smiled softly (off and on). Her nose could be compared to the sesamum flower; her coiffure was done with *karāṭira* flower. Thus did dress herself the precious girl Rādhā, the charmer of the Charmer of the god of love. The moon-faced Girl in her early youth (walked on) along the path to Vṛndāvana. This tale told by Mādhavendra-Puri has described the ways (of Rādhā) in their completeness.

Candra-kānta.

In the *Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī* [222] there is a Brajabuli poem with the *bhaṇitā* of 'Candra-kānta.' This poem has close similarity, in style and diction, with the poems by the brothers Candra-śekhara and Śaśi-śekhara. It is therefore not unlikely that 'Candra-kānta' is really a scribe's error for 'Candra-śekhara.'

Campaka-nātha (?)

In the same work there is a Brajabuli poem by 'Campaka-nātha' [284]. This poem belongs to *māna* (love-sulk) topic. The poet Campati or Campati-nātha, as we have already seen [pp. 151ff.], specialized in this aspect of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme. It is, therefore, extremely probable that 'Campaka-nātha' is a scribe's or singer's error for 'Campati-nātha.'

dāmāliyā yādu mora nā jāne āpana-para
 bhāla-manda nāhika geyāna |
 dārṇṇa kameera cara tārā phire nirantara
 āpani haio sāvadhāna ||
 vāma kare haladhara dakṣiṇṣṭh kare giridhara
 śuna balāi nivedana-vāṇi |
 vāsudeva-dāsa bale titila nayana-jale
 mūrachiyaṁ paṇḍita dharaṇi || [KPS., p. 29]

• ‘(Kṛṣṇa) eats hundred-times in a *daṇḍa*. Whatever he finds, be it casein, curd, clotted milk or cream, he wants to eat. Keep him by your side, (so that) he, my precious treasure, may not feel hunger or thirst. Listen, dear Wielder of the Plough (*i.e.* Balarāma), to my only request. This Gopāla (Kṛṣṇa) is his mother’s life. He desires to go with you. You, therefore, must be careful yourself. My child is naughty, but he cannot distinguish between his own people and outsiders. Nor has he the sense of good or evil. The cruel spies of Kāṁsa are always prowling about. You be yourself very careful.’ (Taking hold of) the Wielder of the Plough (*i.e.* Balarāma) by her left hand and the Lifter of the Hill (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) by her left (Yasodā said), ‘Remember my request, O Balarāma!’ She then, drenched in tears, fell down senseless on the ground. So says Vāsudeva-dāsa. »

kore baiṭhāyali sundarī rāī |
 duhū nava-yauvana duhū avagāī ||
 duhū āliṅgana madana-mātā |
 tamūle berhala janu kanaka-latā ||
 rasete cañcala dohṛā śikhi |
 nācata yaichana khañjana-pākhī ||
 rūpa vilokita duhū-ka nayane |
 heri lukāyala cāda gagane ||
 kare lukāyala duhū hema-kaṭora |
 hāsi hāsi kahe duhū marama-ka bola ||
 duhū-ka pirīti duhū bhāle jāna |
 kahe vāsudeva duhū rasika-sujāna || [VSP. MS. 201]

• Lovely Rādhā was seated on (Kṛṣṇa’s) lap. The two (lovers) were engrossed in each other’s fresh youthfulness. Madly in love the Two (were) in mutual embrace, (and this looked) as if a golden creeper had

entwined a *tamāla* tree. Their eyes were unsteady for the ecstasy of love, as if a pair of *khañjana* birds were hopping about. Their loveliness was reflected on each other's eyes, looking at which the moon disappeared from the sky. The two golden cups (*i.e.* Rādhā's breasts) were covered up by the hands (of Kṛṣṇa). Laughingly they talked of their secret feelings. Their mutual love was fully known to each other, and both were appreciative lovers. So says Vāsudeva. »

Alaka.

* Three poems by Alaka along with four poems by Akiñcana occur in a MS. sheet from Śrīkhaṇḍa. The following mixed Brajabuli poem is cited as a specimen of Alaka's composition.

rati-rase avaśa raī-tanu bheli |
 alasa āala sutala duhū meli ||
 rāi ghumaī yaba bhela sthira |
 jūgata kāna ¹ catura sudhīra ||
 dhani-ka hṛdaya para kācali utāra |
 hariñā laīla tahi gajamoti-hāra ||
 tabahī cetana bhela rasavatī rūi |
 hṛdaya nirakhi dhani camakita cāi ||
 lalitā viśākhā bali ghana dāka diyā |
 kahite lāgilā dhani sakhi-mukha cūiyā ||
 e baṛi viṣama kathā śuna saha-carī |
 ācambite kuñje āmārṣ hāra gela curi ||
 caturdige saba sakhi nikuñje berhiyā |
²
 lalitā dākiyā bole kuñje nāhi rājā |
 kahena alaka bujhi arājaka prajā ||

• Rādhā's body was overcome with the excess of desire, and she felt fagged. Both of them (*i.e.* Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) then went to bed. Rādhā fell asleep, and when she was quite still, Kṛṣṇa was yet awake. Kṛṣṇa (who is) clever and patient. He took off the bodice from the precious Girl's bust and removed from there the necklace of fine pearls.

¹ MS. 'kanpa'.

² At least one line here has been omitted through scribe's oversight.

Then was awake the lovable Rādhā, and glancing at her bust she looked about in distress. She repeatedly called aloud for Lalitā and Viśākhā, and (when they came in) she looked them, her friends, in the face and said, 'Just listen to me, my friends; it is a terrible story: all unexpected, my necklace has been stolen from this pavilion!' Her friends then surrounded the pavilion..... Lalitā then said in a loud voice, 'The prince is not in the pavilion;' (at this) Alaka comments: 'I suppose that the subjects are now without a king!'

CHAPTER XIII

NINETEENTH CENTURY : MODERN REVIVAL OF BRAJABULI

Brajabuli literature continued down uninterruptedly to the middle of the nineteenth century. There is nothing to show that it was already dead, when there was an artificial revival in the hands of the English educated writers in the last quarter of the past century. It is, however, best to date the modern revival with the attempts of those poets who had received some sort of English education. I shall now deal with such poets.

‘Saṅkarṣaṇa-dāsa’ (Janamejaya Mitra).¹

Janamejaya-Mitra, the father of the great antiquarian and indologist Rājā Rājendralāla Mitra, published an anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyrics of his own composition in the year Śaka 1782 (= A. C. 1860). The title of this work was *Saṅgīta-rasāraṇava*. It contains two hundred and forty-seven Bengali and Brajabuli poems of his own, with the *bhāṣitā* of ‘Saṅkarṣaṇa’ or ‘Saṅkarṣaṇa-dāsa.’² He had also cited four lyrics by his grandfather Rājā Pītāmbara Mitra Bāhādur. Fifteen of these poems by ‘Saṅkarṣaṇa’ are on Caitanya-deva, and of these nine have been incorporated in the *Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī*. All the poems quoted

¹ For the materials of this section I am indebted to the article ‘Kavi-Saṅkarṣaṇa’ by Jagadbandhu Bhadra, published in the journal *Śrī-Viṣṇupriyā-o-Ānandabājār-Patrikā* for 15th Bhādra 1311 B. E. I am also indebted to the article ‘Kavi Saṅkarṣaṇa-dāsa’ by Mṛṅgāla-kānti Ghoṣa in the *Kāyastha-Patrikā*, Kārttika 1339 B. E. for the reference to the article by Jagadbandhu Bhadra.

² The title page of the *Saṅgīta-rasāraṇava*, which was printed by Lālacānda Viśvāsa and Co. at the Sucāru Press (*yantra*), 13 Bahir Mṛjāpur, Calcutta, contained the following statement: ‘saṅkarṣaṇa bhoga arthāt puspikāy svīya mana-santoṣārthe śrī janmejaya mitra kartṛka racita o prakāṣita haila’ with the *bhoga* (signature) or *puspikā* (colophon) of Saṅkarṣaṇa (this work) has been written and published by Śrī Janmejaya Mitra for his own satisfaction.’



namejaya Mitra

in GPT. are in Bengali. As the *Saṅgīta-rasārṇava* has not been available to me I am unable to cite here any specimen of Saṅkaraṣaṇa's Brajabuli composition.

Through the courtesy of Dr. Panchanan Mitra, Head of the Department of Anthropology in the University, himself a descendant of the poet, I had an opportunity of seeing a MS. of PKT. prepared for Janamejaya Mitra. This MS. shows some important variants, and it refers the work to the joint authorship of "Gokula-Kṛṣṇānanda-Sena mahodaya-dvaya."

Madhusūdana Datta [1824-1873].

Madhusūdana did not write anything in Brajabuli. But his Bengali poems on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa topic represent a particular phase in the modern treatment of the Vraja theme. Madhusūdana was the only great writer in modern Bengali literature that had thoroughly imbued the spirit of the Vaiṣṇava literature. As a matter of fact Madhusūdana, though he was a Christian and one of the most westernized Indians of his day, had the profoundest sympathy, the deepest respect and the greatest love for his native culture and literature than any other Bengali poet or author. Bāṅkima-candra and Rabindranath, the two other greatest figures in modern Bengali literature, have both attempted Brajabuli verses. But Madhusūdana's poems conform to the spirit of Vaiṣṇava poetry in much greater degree than the works of the latter two. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are the characters in the lyrics of both Madhusūdana and Rabindranath, both have used the *bhaṇitā* throughout. But Bāṅkima-candra's poems are mere fragments, there being no terseness and no *bhaṇitā*. Madhusūdana's poems breathe, however faintly, the perfume of devotion. But Rabindranath's Brajabuli poems have a purely esthetic appeal.

Madhusūdana's Vaiṣṇava lyrics (if I may say so) form a little work entitled *Vrajaṅganā-kāvya*. It was published in 1861. The poet had projected a bigger work which he could not or did not complete. The published portion forms the first canto called 'Viraha.'¹ The *Vrajaṅganā-kāvya* consists of eighteen poems. The titles of these poems are as follows :—

Vaṁśī-dhvani (i), Jaladhara, Yamunā-taṭe, Mayūrī, Pṛthivī, Prati-dhvani, Uṣā, Kusuma, Malaya-māruta, Vaṁśī-dhvani (ii), Godhūli,

¹ The *puṣpikā* of the *Vrajaṅganā-kāvya* runs thus :

iti śrī-vrajaṅganā-kāvyē viraho nāma prathamah sargaḥ.

Govardhana-giri, Sārikā, Kṛṣṇacūrā, Nikuñja-vane, Sakhi, Vasante (i), Vasante (ii).

All these poems are soliloquies of the love-lorn Rādhā. The following poem in triplet verse is quoted as a specimen.

| | | |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| kene eta phula | tulili svajani | bhariyā ḍālā ? |
| meghāṣṛta hale | pare ki rajani | tārāra mālā ? |
| āra ki yatane | kusuma-ratane | vrajera bālā ? |
| āra ki paribe | kabhū phula-hāra | vraja-kāmini ? |
| kene lo harili | bhūṣaṇa latāra | vana-śobhini ? |
| ali bādhu tāra | ke āche rādhāra | hatabbhāgini ? |
| hāy lo dolābi | sakhi kāra gale | mālā gāthiyā ? |
| āra ki nāce lo | tamālera tale | banamāliyā ? |
| premera piñjara | bhāūgi pika-vara | geche uṛiyā ॥ |
| āra ki bāje lo | manohara bāśi | nikuñja-vane ? |
| vraja-sudhānidhi | śobhe ki lo hāsi | vraja-gagane ? |
| vraja-kumudini | ebe vilāpini | vraja-bhavane ॥ |
| hāy re yamune | kene nā ḍubila | tomāra jale— |
| adaya akrūra | yabe se āila | vraja-maṇḍale ? |
| krūra dūta hena | badhile nā kena | bale ki chale ? |
| harila adhama | mama prāṇa hari | vraja-ratana । |
| vraja-vana-madhu | nila vraja-ari | dali vraja-vana । |
| kavi madhu bhape | pābe vrajāūgane | madhusūdana ॥ [8] |

‘Why have you, my friend, gathered so many flowers filling up your basket? Does the night when overcast with clouds ever put on the necklace of stars? Of what use can flowers now be to a girl of the Vraja? Can a woman of the Vraja ever put on a garland of flowers? Why have you stripped the ornaments of the creeper, the charm of the woodland? The bee is her lover; but who is there for Rādhā, the hapless? Alas! my friend, on whose neck are you going to put the garland, when you have made it? Does the One with the wreath of wild flowers still dance under the *tamāla* tree? The cuckoo has broken open the cage of love and has flown away. Does the enchanting flute still blow in the Nikuñja-vana? Does the Moon of the Vraja (still) smile and shine in the firmament of the Vraja? The lily of the Vraja is now sorrowing in the bed at the Vraja. Alas, O Yamunā! Why did not the marceless Akrūra drown (himself) in thy waters, when he came to the region of the Vraja? Why didst

thou not do away with such a cruel messenger by force or tricks ? That contemptible creature has stolen my life, Hari, the Treasure of the Vraja: crushing the (flower-) bed of the Vraja its Enemy has removed the Honey from the Vraja.' The poet Madhu says: 'O Lady of the Vraja ! You shall meet (your lover) Madhusūdāna (in no time).'

Baṅkima-candra Cattopādhyāya [1838-1894].

Baṅkima-candra wrote a few songs in Brajabuli. These songs are fragmentary in character, and they lack the *bhaṇitā*. Though written manifestly on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa topic they are rather parodies or rag-time verses than devotional or spiritual songs. These songs which are three in number occur in the novel *Mṛṇālīnī* [i. 3 ; iii. 4, 8] which was first published in B. E. 1276 (= A. C. 1869).

A few mixed Brajabuli poems were published in the *Vaṅga-darśana* [Vol. III: 1281 B. E.]. These poems do not contain any *bhaṇitā*. The poet signed himself as "Raja."

Rājākṛṣṇa Rāya [1855-1893].

Rājākṛṣṇa Rāya incorporated Brajabuli songs of his own composition not only in his comic operas on the Vraja legend such as the *Caturālī* and the *Candrāvalī* but also in his operas on a foreign subject-matter such as the *Benjīr-badremunir* and the *Laylā-majnu*. Rājākṛṣṇa's Brajabuli is mixed up with Hindi forms.

'Prasāda-dāsa' (Guru-prasāda Senagupta).

Guru-prasāda Senagupta, the father of the poet Rajanī-kānta Sena, published a book of Vaiṣṇava lyrics under the title of *Pada-cintāmaṇi-mālā*.¹ The poems, which are mostly in Brajabuli, were written in B.E. 1276 and earlier, but were published as late as B.E. 1283 (= A.C. 1876). In the preface of the work the author makes some correct observations on the phonology and grammar of the Brajabuli dialect. This is

¹ Printed by Śrī Murāri-mohana Viśvāsa at the Tamoghna Yantra, Boalis, B. E. 1283 (= A. C. 1876).

undoubtedly the first attempt of the kind. The first poem is quoted below as a specimen.

pūmara- jana-gaṇa- parama-suhṛta dhana
 guru-pade majhu paraṇāma |
 komala-nīraja- paṭala-kalevara-
 sarasa premamaya dhāma ||
 ko jāne tōhāri kṛpā-bala-leśa |
 deha karuṇa kari bhūtala avatari
 bhava-tari sama upadeśa ||
 yo jana so tari bahi bahi yāyata
 milata yugala-nidhi pāśe |
 sukhamaya-yugala- keli-rasa rañjana
 niti niti nirakha ulāse ||
 smaraṇa manana kari tuyā pada-paṅkaja
 prasāda-dāsa rasa gāba |
 vañcita-bhakati durita-mati jāniye
 nāhi karuṇa bichurāba ||

« My bow to the feet of the *guru*, the feet that are the best friend and treasure to men that are sinners. His gracefulness, exquisite as a mass of tender lotuses, is made solely of (divine) love. Who can know even slightly the might of your mercifulness? Do take pity and come to the earth and bless (me) with your instructions that are like the life-boat in the sea of being. He who knows, paddles that boat and comes to the proximity of the Precious Couple; and he, ever since, joyfully witnesses the ravishing, sweet sports of the Joyous Couple. With his thoughts concentrated on your lotus-feet Prasāda-dāsa will now sing of the joyous (sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa); knowing him to be devoid of *bhakti* (devotion) and evil-minded you should never withhold pity ! »

‘ *Bhānu-simha* ’ (Rabindranath Tagore) [b. 1861].

Rabindranath in his early youth wrote some poems in Brajabuli, where he used the *bhāṇitā* ‘ *Bhānu* ’¹ or ‘ *Bhānu-simha* .’ These he published in B.E. 1291 under the title *Bhānusiṃha-ṭhākura Padāvalī*. The poet’s direct inspiration was received from the poems of Vidyāpati-

¹ Literally ‘ *sup* : ’ it is a synonym of ‘ *ravi* ’ the first word in his name.

Thākura. These poems are manifestly written on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa topic. But this is no Vaiṣṇava literature strictly speaking, as the poet has treated his subject particularly from a secular standpoint. In these poems 'Rādhā,' 'Kṛṣṇa' and 'Vṛndāvana' are purely conventional names, which blend nicely with the Brajabuli speech and which lend an exotic or ethereal flavour to them. The language is good Brajabuli with a few sporadic Bengali forms, mainly verbal. The metre is that of Brajabuli. The music of the poems, however, is simply wonderful.

These poems number twenty only.¹ The following poem is quoted as a specimen.

gahana kusuma-kuñja mājhe
 mṛdula-madhura vapsī bāje
 bisari trāsa loka-lāje
 sajani āo āo lo |
 aṅge cāru nila-vāsa
 hṛdaye prañaya-kusuma rāsa
 harīṇa-netre vimala hāsa
 kuñja vana-me āo lo ||
 dhāle kusuma surabhi-bhāra
 dhāle vihaga surava-sāra
 dhāle indu amṛta-dhāra
 vimala rajata-bhāti re |
 manda-manda bhramara guñje
 ayuta kusuma kuñje kuñje
 phuṭala sajani puñje puñje
 vakula yūthi jūti re ||
 dekha sajani śyāma-rāyṣ
 nayane prema uthala yāy
 madhura vadana amṛta-sadana
 candramāy nindiche |
 āo āo sajani-vṛnda
 heraba sakhi śrī-govinda
 śyāma-ko padāravinda
 bhānu-simha bandiche || [8]

¹ The titles of these poems are : Vasanta-vāsanā, Śūnya-kānana, Viphalā-rajani, Viraha-vedanā, Milana-sajjā, Milana, Vapsī-dhvani, Abhisāra (i), Pratīkṣā, Vyākulatā, Rasāveśa, Nidrā, Abhisāra (ii), Varṣā, Anutaptā, Bidāy, Dūtīra prati, Sampāya, Marāṇa, Ko tahu.

• ‘In the thick woodland in bloom the flute is playing soft and sweet; forgetting your fear for propriety, my friends, come along, O! do come along. Your figures are draped in fine, blue clothes; in your hearts bloom the Flowers of Love; and there is a bright smile in your eyes. O! do come to the pleasurable woodland. Flowers (all around) are diffusing profuse perfume; birds are pouring out the sweetest melodies; and the moon, bright and silvery, is flooding (the world) with streams of sweetness. Bees are humming softly, and in various groves, O my friends! innumerable flowers are blooming in clusters, *bakula*, *yūthi*, *jāli* (and others). Look, friends! there is Śyāma the Prince, and Love seems to gush out from his eyes. His sweet face,* the home of sweetness, puts the moon to shame. Come, do come along, my friends! Let us, my dears, feast our eyes on Śrī Govinda.’ Bhānu-simha worships the lotus-feet of Śyāma.»

Later Poets.

Later poets need not detain us much. Brajabuli poems by these poets are more curiosities than literature. Such poems were and even now are written generally for literary exigencies such as dedication of a work, etc. Three such poems by Jagad-bandhu Bhadra are to be found in his *Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī*.

CHAPTER XIV

BRAJBHĀKHĀ POEMS IN VAIṢṆAVA ANTHOLOGIES

In a few anthologies beginning with the *Pada-kalpa-taru* and in a few MSS. containing Vaiṣṇava lyrics some Brajbhākhā poems occur. The writers of these poems are either native speakers of Brajbhākhā or Bengali poets who had either settled at Vṛndāvana or lived there for a sufficiently long period. Some of these poems no doubt show Bengali or Brajabuli influence, but I do not know how much of it is due to the poets themselves and how much to the scribes and singers.

There are about fifteen Brajbhākhā poems in the *Pada-kalpa-taru*, of which three or four poems lack the *bhaṇitā*.

‘Āgarwālī.’

One poem by ‘Āgarwālī’ occurs in PKT. [2884]. Another occurs in VSP. MS. 978. The first couplet of the second poem runs thus:

priyā-mukh dekhyo śyām nehāri |
kahi na jāti ānan ki śobhā rahi bicāri bicāri ||

Kawala-dāsa.

In the *Kṛṣṇa-padāmṛta-sindhu* there occurs one poem by Kawala-dāsa. The reading of the poem is very corrupt.

‘Kṛṣṇakānta-tanayā.’

One poem with the *bh.* of ‘Kṛṣṇakānta-tanayā’ (the daughter of Kṛṣṇakānta) is quoted in APR. [483] from the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. Kṛṣṇakānta’s Brajabuli poems contain traces of Brajbhākhā [*cf.* PKT. 2886, etc.] This poem, therefore, should be ascribed to Kṛṣṇakānta himself.

‘Kṛṣṇadāsa.’

There are four Brajbhākhā poems (mixed with Brajabuli forms) in PKT. with the *bh.* of ‘Kṛṣṇadāsa.’ Two additional poems are also known, one in APR. [462] and the other in KPS. [p. 118]. There were several Kṛṣṇadāsas living in the Vraja area. I have attributed one of these poems to Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja [see *supra*, pp. 103 f.].

Kṛṣṇānanda.

One Brajbhākhā poem by Kṛṣṇānanda is cited in APR. [455] from the *Paḍa-ratnākara*. One Bengali and four Brajabuli poems by Kṛṣṇānanda are also cited in APR. from the *Paḍa-rasa-sāra*. Nothing is known about the poet who must have flourished in the late eighteenth century.

Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa.

There are three poems in PKT. one with the *bh.* of ‘Gopāla-dāsa’ [2966] and two with the *bh.* of ‘Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa’ [1088, 2838]. See *supra*, p. 41.

Nanda.

One poem written in mixed Brajbhākhā and Brajabuli by Nanda is cited in APR. [487] from the *Paḍa-rasa-sāra*. Three Brajabuli poems of the same poet are also cited there from the same source. The poet, therefore, does not seem to be the Brajbhākhā poet Nanda-dāsa [cf. Grierson, MVLH., § 42].

Paramānanda.

Three Brajbhākhā poems by Paramānanda occur in PKT. [1585, 2858, 2871]. There also occur Bengali and Brajabuli poems with the same *bhāṇitā* [see *supra*, pp. 61 f.¹]. This Paramānanda was not the

¹ I have been wrong in identifying the Brajabuli (and Brajbhākhā) poet Paramānanda with Karpapūra (who was also named Paramānanda), the youngest son of Śivānanda-Sena. There is nothing to prove that Karpapūra had ever written anything in vernacular and that he had ever used his proper name Paramānanda in any of his literary works, which were written entirely in Sanskrit. Some of the Bengali and Brajabuli poems may be ascribed to Paramānanda-Gupta, a follower of Caitanya-deva [cf. Karpapūra's *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* 199].

disciple of Vallabhāchāryya by the same name [*cf.* Grierson, MVLH., §38]. The poet was probably no other than Paramānanda-Bhaṭṭācārya who lived at Vṛndāvana as a protégé of Sanātana-Gosvāmin and his brother [*cf.* Bhakti-ratnākara, pp. 14 f.]. Paramānanda seems to have been a disciple of Rūpa-Gosvāmin.

Mādhō.

Four poems by Mādhō (< Mādhava) occur in PKT. [2364, 2365, 2968, 3035]. The first poem occurs in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* [p. 472] in a shorter version. The poet is perhaps the Mādhava mentioned in the same work [p. 252]. He seems to have been a follower of Rūpa-Gosvāmin, as two of his poems are odes to the Gosvāmin [PKT. 2364, 2365]. According to Grierson the Brajbhākhā poet Mādhava-dāsa (was he the same person as our Mādhō?) was born in 1523 A.C. [*vide* MVLH., § 26].

Raghunātha-dāsa.

Three Brajbhākhā poems with the *bh.* of Raghunātha-dāsa occur in PKT. [2387, 2467, 2869]. The first of these poems I have ascribed to Raghunātha-dāsa Gosvāmin [see *supra*, p. 42]. Raghunātha-Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin may have written one or two such poems. Another poem with the *bh.* of 'Nṛpa Raghunātha' is cited in APR. [449] from VSP. MS. 201. This poem may be the work of the Brajbhākhā (or Hindi) poet Raghunāth Rāy [*vide* Grierson, MVLH., § 193]. Or he may have been the Malla king of Viṣṇupura.

Rāma-Rāya.

One Brajbhākhā poem with the *bh.* of Rāma-Rāya is cited in PKT. [2844]. Another such poem occurs in VSP. MS. 978. I have previously ascribed the poem in PKT. to Rāmānanda-Rāya [see *supra*, p. 28]. But very possibly these two poems are the composition of the Brajbhākhā poet Rām-Rāy Rāṭhor [*vide* Grierson, MVLH.].

Rāya Gadādhara.

In VSP. MS. 978 there is a Brajbhākhā poem by Rāya Gadādhara. The poem is rather corrupt. The poet does not seem to be the Brajbhākhā poet Gadādhara-dāsa [*vide* Grierson, MVLH., § 46].

Vyāsa.

Two Brajbhākhā poems by Vyāsa are cited in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* [p. 473]. Both poems are odes to the brothers Sanātana and Rūpa. Another poem by Vyāsa occurs in VSP. MS. 978. The poet was, in all probability, the same as the Brajbhākhā poet Vyās Svāmī [*vide* Grierson, MVLH., § 54].

Śivarāma.

One Brajbhākhā poem by Śivarāma occurs in PKT. [1557]. A few of his Brajabuli poems show Brajbhākhā influence. See *supra*, pp. 177 f.

Śrībhaṭṭa.

One poem by Śrībhaṭṭa occurs in VSP. MS. 201. The poem is quoted below :

śyāmā śyāmṣṣ sejṣ uṭha bhaiṭhe sa parasṣ dau karata śiṅgārṣ |
in pahare oyā-ke motin-ke mālā un pahare nao se bahārṣ ||
naṭa-paṭi pāḡṣ soṅārata śyāmā alaka sudhāye nandṣ-kumārṣ |
śrī-bhaṭṣ kahe yugala-ke dūti hāmāri kuñjan me karata viharṣ ||

According to Grierson Śrībhaṭṭa was born in 1544 A. C. [MVLH., § 53].

Sundara-Kavi.

One poem by 'Sundara kavi' has been quoted in APR. [464] from VSP. MS. 201.

Sūra-dāsa.

One poem by Sūrṣ-dāsṣ occurs in PKT. [1086]. Two others are cited in APR. [465, 466], one from VSP. MS. 201 and the other from the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. Sūrṣ-dāsṣ was the celebrated Brajbhākhā poet [*vide* Grierson, MVLH., § 37].

The early Brajbhākhā poets on the Kṛṣṇa legend were all under the influence of Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism. Vallabha-Bhaṭṭa ('Vallabhāchārj'),

their leader, came in direct touch with the Great Master and Gadādhara Paṇḍita [CC. ii. 19 ; iii. 7.] ; he was a friend of Rūpa-Gosvāmin [*cf.* Bhakti-ratnākara, p. 272]. Vallabha's son Viṭṭhaḷa-nātha was a follower of Raghunātha-dāsa, if not actually his disciple [*cf.* Bhakti-ratnākara, pp. 197, 210 f.]. The poet Mādhva or Mādhava-dāsa (*vide* MVLH., § 26) too was a follower of the Gosvāmins [*cf.* Bhakti-ratnākara, p. 252]. The Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa literature in Brajbhāṣā can thus be looked upon as an offshoot of the Neo-Vaiṣṇava literature of Bengal.

CHAPTER XV

SANSKRIT LYRICS BY VAIṢṆAVA POETS

Some of the Vaiṣṇava poets wrote lyrics in Sanskrit, evidently emulating Jayadeva. Among them the most outstanding name is that of Rūpa-Gosvāmin, and then comes Rāya Rāmānanda. Sanskrit lyrics, however, were not so popular as Brajabuli poems. This is perhaps the reason why only a dozen poets attempted writing such poetry. All these poets, with the exception of Rūpa-Gosvāmin and Jīva-Gosvāmin, have been previously dealt with as Brajabuli poets. They are, accordingly, only briefly noticed here. Like Brajabuli poems Sanskrit lyrics seem to have been a literary fashion in the eighteenth century as they are found sporadically in Non-Vaiṣṇava literature also. Bhārata-candra inserted four or five such poems in his *Annadā-maṅgala*.

Rāmānanda-Rāya.

Rāmānanda's *Jagannāthavallabha-nāṭaka* contains twenty-one Sanskrit lyrics. The poet used Jayadeva's metres generally. Two of these songs have been quoted before [*supra*, pp. 26 f.].

Rūpa-Gosvāmin [? 1470- ? 1554 A.C.].

Rūpa, the most famous of the *six* Gosvāmins at Vṛndāvana, was a profound scholar, a prolific writer and a fine poet in Sanskrit. Both he and his elder brother Sanātana held two of the highest posts under the Pathan king Husain Shah [1493-1519 A.C.]. Their ancestors came from Karjāṭa, and some of them were ruling princes.¹

¹ Jīva-Gosvāmin has given an account of his ancestors at the end of the *Leṅghu Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* (a commentary on the Tenth Skandha of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*). The story of Rūpa and Sanātana's subsequent history is given in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* and in the *Bhakti-ratnākara*.



A Dance of Dervishes

The brothers met Caitanya-deva, when he had come to Rāmakeli [1513-14 A.C.] on his way to the projected pilgrimage to Vṛndāvana. This incident was the turning point in their lives. Soon they managed to escape from their charges and became mendicants. The Great Master told them to remain at Vṛndāvana. The names 'Sanātana' and 'Rūpa' were given to them by Caitanya-deva. Their real names were Amara and Santoṣa respectively, but they were generally known, in their official days, as 'Dabir Khās' and 'Sākar Mallik' respectively. They had a younger brother named Vallabha, who was renamed 'Anupama' by the Great Master.

Rūpa-Gosvāmin's works number much more than a score, and these works comprise literature (poetry and drama), philosophy (including rhetorics) and theology. The following are the more important ones among his writings :

Uddhava-sandeśa ¹ (ante 1513 A.C.); *Vidagdha-mādhava* ² (1517-1532 A.C.) *Lalita-mādhava* ² (1517-1537 A.C.); *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* ³ (1541 A.C.); *Ujjvala-nīlamanī* ³; *Padyāvalī* ⁴ (ante 1541 A.C.); and *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* [A.C. (?) 1549].

Rūpa was a master of the Sanskrit language and was undoubtedly one of the greatest poets in late Sanskrit. His poems and verses were very largely laid under contribution by almost all the later Vaiṣṇava poets. The lyric poems by Rūpa number forty-two and are collected under the title 'Gītāvalī.' This *Gītāvalī* along with other minor poems and hymns by Rūpa was collected together by Jīva-Gosvāmin into an anthology entitled the *Stava-mālā*.⁵ So the compiler says in the introductory verse :

śrīmad-jīvara-rūpeṇa rasāmṛta-kṛtā kṛtā |
stavamūlānujīvena jīvena samagṛhyata ||

¹ This is a poem written in the mode of the *Megha-dūta*. It must have been written before the poet met the Great Master.

² These two dramas were begun as one sometime in 1517 A.C. At the request of Caitanya-deva he split it into two separate dramas.

³ These two rhetorico-philosophical works are really masterpieces. They are by far the most important productions of Rūpa-Gosvāmin.

⁴ It is an anthology of poems on the Kṛṣṇa legend.

⁵ This work has been published, with the commentary by Baladeva-Vidyābhūṣaṇa and a Bengali translation by Rāma-nārāyaṇa Vidyārātṇa, from the Rādhāramana Yantra, Berhampore, 1292 B. E.

Rūpa-Gosvāmin does not appear to have written any poem in vernacular. His Sanskrit lyrics, however, have always been very popular. Some at least of these poems have been included in each and every anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyrics. No less than thirty-four of these songs are incorporated in the *Paṇḍita-kalpa-taru*.

anadhigatakasamika-gada-kāraṇa-
-marpita-mantraṣaḍhi-nikurambam ।
avirata-rudita-vilohita-locana-
-manuśocati tām akhila-kuṇṭambam ॥

deva hare bhava karuṇā-sūli ।
sā tava niśita-kaṭākṣa-śarāhata-
hṛdayā jīvatu kṛṣa-tanur āli ॥

hṛdi valad-avirala-saṃjvara-paṭali-
sphuṭad-ujjvala-mauktika-samudāyā ।
śīṭala-bhūṭala-niścala-tanur iya-
-mavasīdati samprati nirupāyā ॥

[Gītāvalī 9; PKT. 172]

suffering (or, the state of *viraha* of Sanātana) ? »

[Gitāvalī 25; PKT. 1013]

friend Sanātana). »

vidhir api paśyati

na tava nakhāgra-marīcim |

idam icchāmi ni-

-śamya tavācyuta

tad api kṛpādbhuta-viḥim ॥

deva bhavantam vande |
 man-mānasa-madhu- -karam arpayā nija-
 pada-paṅkaja-makarande ||
 bhaktir udañcati yady api mādharma
 na tvayi mama tilamāstrī |
 paramēśvaratā tad api tavādhika-
 durghaṭa-ghaṭana-vidhāstrī ||
 ayam avilola- -tayādya sanātana
 kalitādbhuta-rasa-bhāram |
 nivasatu nityam ihāmṛta-nindini
 vindan madhurima-sāram ||

[Gitāvalī 24; P.K.T. 3015]

« Though even the Creator cannot get a glimpse of the shine of thy toe-tips in spite of profuse austerities, still, I, on hearing of the wonderful flow of mercy, O unchanging One ! entertain this (desire). O Lord, I beseech thee. Do thou set my mind, the bee, to the nectar of thy lotus-feet? O Mādhava, even though my mind may not have the slightest (pure) devotion to thee, still there is thy wonderful, omnipotent majesty. May this (my mind), O Eternal One, finding the supreme feast of *rasa* (ecstasy), and enjoying the supreme bliss, henceforth reside perpetually in (thy lotus-feet) which defies nectar, (or, may this, my mind, finding the supreme feast of *rasa* which has been tasted by Sanātana, and enjoying, etc.). »

Jīva-Gosvāmin [? 1511-1596 A.C.].

Jīva-Gosvāmin was the son of Vallabha (also known as Anupama), the youngest brother of Sanātana-Gosvāmin. Jīva was educated at Kāśī and settled at Vṛndāvana when he was about twenty-four years old. He became the disciple of his uncle Rūpa-Gosvāmin. Jīva was not inferior to his uncles in scholarship. He, too, was a prolific writer in Sanskrit, perhaps more so than Rūpa. His more important works are the philosophical treatises, *Tattva-sandarbhā*, *Bhagavat-sandarbhā*, *Paramātmā-sandarbhā*, *Śrīkṛṣṇa-sandarbhā*, *Bhakti-sandarbhā*, and *Prīti-sandarbhā*; the prose narrative *Gopāla-campū*; the grammar *Harināmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa*; and commentaries on the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, the *Brahma-saṃhitā*, the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and the *Ujjvala-nīlamanī*.



Jiva Gosvāmin

The *Gopāla-campū*¹ is a voluminous work. It is divided into two sections: 'Pūrva-vibhāga' and 'Uttara-vibhāga.' The first section, containing thirty-three chapters (called *pūraṇa*), was completed in *Samvat* 1645 (*Śaka* 1510=A. C. 1588), and the second, containing thirty-seven chapters, was completed in *Vaiśākha Samvat* 1649 (*Śaka* 1514=A. C. 1592). The *Gopāla-campū* contains thirty-six lyrics. But these are lyrics in form only. They are generally long poems and were apparently not intended to be sung. They are, quite rightly, not incorporated in any of the anthologies of Vaiṣṇava lyrics. The following which is one of the shortest poems is quoted as a specimen :

| | | |
|--------------------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| rādhā-rūkā-śaśadhara | murali-kara | gokula-pati-kula-pāla |
| jaya jaya kṛṣṇa hare ! | | |
| rādhā-vādhā-mocana- | sukha-rocana | vidalita-gokula-kāla |
| jaya jaya kṛṣṇa hare ॥ | | |
| rādhā-parikara-punyada | naipūnyada | gokula-ruciṣu viśāla |
| jaya jaya kṛṣṇa hare ! | | |
| rādhā-sukṛta-vaśikṛta | maṅgala-bhṛta | tilakita-gokula-bhūla |
| jaya jaya kṛṣṇa hare ॥ | | |
| rādhā-nija-gati-dharmada | puru-śarmada | hata-gokula-ripu-jāla |
| jaya jaya kṛṣṇa hare ! | | |
| rādhā-jivana-jivana | go-vraja-dhana | gokula-sarasi marāla |
| jaya jaya kṛṣṇa hare ॥ | | |
| rādhā-moda-rasākara | sarasija-vara | gokula-maṇḍala-nāla |
| jaya jaya kṛṣṇa hare ! | | |
| rādhā-bhūṣaṇa-bhūṣaṇa | gata-dūṣaṇa | gokula-hṛdila-bhūpāla |
| jaya jaya kṛṣṇa hare ॥ | | [pp. 1644ff.] ² |

• O Moon of the full-moon night—Rādhā ! O Wielder of the flute !
 O Protector of the host of cowherds ! Hail ! Hail ! O Kṛṣṇa ! O Hari !
 O Thou that art delighted with the joy of removing obstacles to Rādhā !
 O Destroyer of the scourge of Gokula ! Hail ! Hail ! O Kṛṣṇa !
 O Hari ! O Thou that causest joy to the attendants of Rādhā ! O
 Bestower of all skill ! O Thou the most resplendent in Gokula ! Hail !
 Hail ! O Kṛṣṇa ! O Hari ! O Thou that art tamed by the good deeds

¹ Published by Nitya-svarūpa Brahmācārī under the patronage of Mahārāja Manindracandra Nandī in B.E. 1318 *et seq.* (Also published from Brindaban in Nāgarī type.

² Nitya-svarūpa Brahmācārī's edition.

of Rādhā ! O Thou that bringest in all blessings ! O Thou that hast become the *tilaka* on the forehead of Gokula ! Hail ! Hail ! O Kṛṣṇa ! O Hari ! O Thou that dispensest merit for Rādhā's own way ! O Giver of infinite joy ! O Thou that hast slain all the enemies of Gokula ! Hail ! Hail ! O Kṛṣṇa ! O Hari ! O Life of the life of Rādhā ! O Treasure of the cattle and the Vraja ! O Swan on the lake—Gokula ! Hail ! Hail ! O Kṛṣṇa ! O Hari ! O Thou the wonderful lotus that contains the essence of Rādhā's pleasures ! O Thou the stalk of orb of (the lotus—) Gokula ! Hail ! Hail ! O Kṛṣṇa ! O Hari ! O Thou the ornament to the ornaments of Rādhā ! O Thou devoid of all blemishes ! O Thou the adored King of Gokula ! Hail ! Hail ! O Kṛṣṇa ! O Hari !

Locana-dāsa.

Locana wrote at least one Sanskrit lyric. This song, which is a paraphrase of a Sanskrit lyric by Rāmānanda-Rāya [Jagannāthavallabha-nāṭaka, Act V, 61], has been already cited [*supra*, pp. 64f.].

Govindadāsa Kavirāja.

Only one Sanskrit lyric by Govindadāsa Kavirāja is known [PKT. 379]. It has been quoted previously [see *supra*, p. 134]. His drama *San̄gīta-mādhava* may have contained a few such poems.

'Hari-vallabha.'

Viśvanātha-Cakravartin, whose pen-name is supposed to have been 'Hari-vallabha,' has five Sanskrit lyrics to his credit. Three of these occur with the full *bhaṇitā* [Kṣaṇadā 213, 249, 290] and the other two with the shorter *bhaṇitā* 'Vallabha' [Kṣaṇadā 254, 294].

Narahari-dāsa (ii).

Narahari-dāsa (ii), whose full name was Narahari-Cakravartī, has incorporated two Sanskrit lyrics by himself in his *Bhakti-ratnākara* [pp. 265f.]. A few more, perhaps, occurred in his anthology *Gīta-candrodaya*.

Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura.

The *Padāmṛta-samudra* contains five Sanskrit lyrics by its compiler Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura [pp. 17, 21f., 24f., 162f., 422]. Three of these are cited in the *Paṇḍita-kalpa-laru*.

Dīna-bandhu.

The *Saṅkīrtanāmṛta* [67] contains only one Sanskrit lyric by its compiler Dīna-bandhu.

Candra-śekhara (iii).

Candra-śekhara, the brother of the poet Śaṣi-śekhara has only one Sanskrit lyric to his credit. It occurs in the *Nāyikā-ratna-mālā* [57].

Śacī-nandana (ii).

Śacīnandana-Vidyānidhi, the author of the *Ujjvala-candrikā* (A.C. 1785), has incorporated one Sanskrit lyric by himself in that work [pp. 182f.].

Lyric poems written in mixed Brajabuli (or Bengali) and Sanskrit became very popular in the eighteenth century. The poet Śaṣi-śekhara had special aptitude for this form of the lyric. The beginnings of this, however, goes back to the sixteenth century. Locana was the first poet to write mixed Sanskrit lyrics. Specimens of such lyrics have been previously given.

Mixed Sanskrit and Bengali poems written in metres of Classical Sanskrit occur in one or two anthologies of the eighteenth century. I have not found such poems in any of the earlier sources. Two such poems occur in the *Saṅkīrtanāmṛta* [pp. 134, 159].

CHAPTER XVI

BENGALI LYRICS IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY (OR EARLIER)

Ananta Baru Caṇḍīdāsa [*ante* (?) 1554 A.C.].

One of the earlier lyric poets to write on the Vraja theme was one 'Baru Caṇḍīdāsa,' whose other name seems to have been Ananta. 'Caṇḍīdāsa' has almost become a legendary name in mediæval Bengali literature; quite a number of stories have grown up regarding this mysterious person. There is also reason to believe that there were more than one persons with the name of 'Caṇḍīdāsa.'¹ One such has been already discussed [pp. 251ff.]. But we are concerned here with that Caṇḍīdāsa who was the author of the work now known as the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*.

The *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*, known in a unique MS., was discovered by the veteran scholar Pandit Basanta-ranjan Ray Vidvadvallabha in B. E. 1316. It was edited by him and published by the Vaṅṅīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, in B. E. 1323. The initial leaf or leaves of the MS. is or are missing, and it is incomplete. Besides there are a few lacunæ. The MS. does not bear any title. The title 'Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana' was given by the learned editor. The preserved portion of the MS. contains 420 songs (including a few fragments) written entirely in Bengali. The poet, who subscribes himself as 'Caṇḍīdāsa,' 'Baru Caṇḍīdāsa,' or (only six times) as 'Ananta Baru Caṇḍīdāsa' (pp. 56, 61, 62, 324, 327, 341), was a worshipper of the deity 'Bāsālī,' as he pays his respects to her at the colophon of almost all the poems. These are the only facts about the poet that can be gathered from the preserved portion of the MS.

¹ Poems with the *bhaṇitā* of 'Caṇḍīdāsa' are quite plentiful. As a matter of fact such poems number more than a thousand. All these poems certainly do not come from a single hand. Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Pandit Harekrṣṇa Sāhityaratna are bringing out a critical edition, really the first critical edition of the poems of 'Caṇḍīdāsa.' This edition promises to clarify the issues, if not actually solving the problems concerning 'Caṇḍīdāsa.'

The work, on its publication, was at once hailed as a work of the fourteenth century. The script of the MS. (which, however, shows three different hands) is apparently old. Rakhaldas Banerji was inclined to put it to the first half of the fourteenth century. The language is certainly archaic, and there seems to be not the slightest influence of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism in it. These facts generally are deemed quite sufficient to favour an early date for the work.

But recently competent paleographers are not inclined to date the MS. as early as the fourteenth century. They opine that the latest date can come as down as 1525 A.C., if not still later. This has again reopened the question of the date of 'Caṇḍīdāsa.' Before discussing it I shall briefly mention the earliest references to the Bengali poet 'Caṇḍīdāsa.'

It is generally believed that Caṇḍīdāsa was an older contemporary of Vidyāpati, and as the latter flourished in the early fifteenth century, Caṇḍīdāsa is believed to have flourished in the late fourteenth century. But there is not the slightest evidence to justify this popular belief. The earliest reference to a (vernacular ?) poet Caṇḍīdāsa writing on the Vraja theme was made by Sanātana-Gosvāmin in his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* [A.C. 1554], a commentary on the Tenth Book of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*.¹ The next reference occurs in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* [A.C. 1581], where the Kavirāja mentions more than once that Caitanya-deva in his later days used to enjoy recitals from 'Caṇḍīdāsa' and other poets, viz., Jayadeva, Vidyāpati and Rāmānanda-Rāya [vide CC. ii. 2; etc.]. But it should be mentioned here that none of the earlier biographers of the Great Master, viz., Murāri-Gupta, Vṛndāvana-dāsa, Locana-dāsa, and Kavi-karṇapūra (Paramānanda-Sena) mention 'Caṇḍīdāsa.' The next reference occurs in the *Prema-vilāsa* [A.C. 1600], where the author, Nityānanda-dāsa, says that Caṇḍīdāsa's songs on the Vraja theme were sung at an anniversary festival at Khetari.

santoṣa govinda gokulḥ sabe gāy gīta |
caṇḍīdāserḥ kṛṣṇa-līlāy hare sabārḥ cita || [xix.]

Let us now examine these references and judge their bearing on the Caṇḍīdāsa problem. Sanātana-Gosvāmin in his commentary on the Tenth

¹ This reference was first brought to general notice by Satīśa candra Rāya [vide APR., Introduction, p. xxvii]. The reference runs thus : *kārya-sādhana parama-raicitri tāsām sūcitās ca gītāgorindādī-prasiddhās tathā śrī-caṇḍīdāsādī-darśita-dānakhaṇḍa-naukākhaṇḍādi-prakārās ca jñeyāḥ* [Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī, xxx. 26].

Book of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* [x. 33.26] mentions 'Śrī-Canḍidāsa' along with Jayadeva, and he implies that 'Canḍidāsa' had successfully dealt with with the *Dāna* and *Naukā* episodes.

There is nothing in this reference (supposing it to be genuine) to justify the conclusion that Canḍidāsa was a vernacular poet and that the episodes referred to are the episodes in the *Śrīkrṣṇa-kīrtana*. On the other hand the mention of the *Gīta-govinda* implies that the poet Canḍidāsa too wrote in Sanskrit, as did Jayadeva. The use of the word 'Śrī' also implies that the poet was known to be living when the reference was made. It is true that the epithet 'Śrī' was and is used with the name of persons who are no longer living, but in that case it is prefixed to the names of only very illustrious persons. Sanātana-Gosvāmin could have done so only to the name of a great devotee. But so far as we know Canḍidāsa, the author of the *Śrīkrṣṇa-kīrtana* was not a Vaiṣṇava, but a worshipper of the goddess Bāsali, a manifestation of Śakti.

Now as regards the mention of the *Dāna* and *Naukā* episodes, there is nothing to justify that this reference is to the corresponding episodes in the *Śrīkrṣṇa-kīrtana*. This work contains many episodes which are otherwise unknown, and these two episodes are certainly not the only two important episodes in this work. As a matter of fact we know of a Sanskrit work in verse, which contain the four episodes, *Vastra-haraṇa*, *Bhāra-khaṇḍa*, *Naukā-khaṇḍa* and *Dāna-khaṇḍa*. This work is variously known as *Premāmṛta*, *Rādhā-premāmṛta*, or *Gopāla-carita*, and is ascribed variously in various MSS. to Caitanya-deva, Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa, Viṭṭhala-Dikṣita or Mohinimohana Lāhiṛī. This work has been published from the Rādhā-ramaṇa Yantra, Berhampore (B. E. 1335, Third Edition), and also from the Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta (B. E. 1331).¹ Caitanya-deva was certainly not the author of this work. Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa and Viṭṭhala-Dikṣita were contemporaries and friends.

There is good evidence to show that the work known as the *Śrīkrṣṇa-kīrtana* was not known to the followers of the Great Master and their contemporaries. The *Dāna* episode was quite popular in Bengal in the early sixteenth century, and several poets of that period have referred or alluded to it. But none of these accounts tally even the slightest with the narration in the *Śrīkrṣṇa-kīrtana*. I shall now examine these references or allusions in the light of the *Śrīkrṣṇa-kīrtana*.

¹ I shall have occasion later to discuss this work more fully.

Murāri-Gupta in his *Śrī-śrīkṛṣṇacaitanya-caritāmṛta*¹ (popularly known as Murāri-Gupta's *Karacā*), when narrating the Great Master's pilgrimage in the Vraja area, says that the *Dāna* and *Naukā* sports happened in the vicinity of the Govarddhana hill (the Boating Sport taking place in the stream or lake Mānasa-gaṅgā which flowed by that hill).

vṛndāvana-pāścīme ca govarddhana-gīre taṭe |
 śrīkṛṣṇaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ yatra naukākhyaṁ līlayā || [iv. 3.12].
 nau-kṛtjāṁ kṛtavān kṛṣṇo gaṅgāyāṁ rasa-kautukī |
 kurvanti mathurāṁ goṣṭhe lokā gamana-nirgame ||
 atra dāna-nimittaṁ hi prastarāṁśaṁ viśaṁ hariḥ |
 gopikū ramayan reme bhaktānugraha-kāmyayā || [iv. 8.4,5.]

According to the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana* the Boating Sport (Naukā-līlā) happened in the Yamunā, and the Toll-collecting Sport (Dāna-līlā) somewhere else. Now, logically, the Boating Sport could not have happened in the Yamunā, as Vṛndāvana and Mathurā are on the same bank of the river, and in the Boating episode the *Gopīs* had to cross a river in order to go over to Mathurā. So the river could not have been the Yamunā.

Rūpa-Gosvāmin wrote a *Bhāṇikā* on the *Dāna* episode, entitled the *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* [A. C. 1549].² There he mentions that the *Dāna* incident happened at the foot of the hill Govarddhana. If the famous Caṇḍīdāsa, mentioned by Sanātana-Gosvāmin, were the author of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana*, Rūpa-Gosvāmin would certainly have not made this departure. As a matter of fact the treatment of the story by the Gosvāmin is almost entirely different.

All the biographers of the Great Master mention that in his home life Caitanya-deva had held a dramatic performance at the house of his uncle-in-law Candraśekhara-Ācāryaratna. Kavi-Karṇapūra in his drama, *Caitanya-candrodaya*,³ mentions that the subject-matter of the play was

¹ Published from the Anrita Bazar Patrika Office, Calcutta, second edition, Caitanya Era 426.

² gate manuṣate śāke candra-svara-samanvite |
 nandīśvare nivasatā bhāṇikayaṁ vinirmita || [colophon.]

As this *Bhāṇikā* has been referred to in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (1541 A. C.) it may be presumed that the work was begun prior to 1541 A. C. and completed in 1549 A.C., or that it was revised in 1549 A. C.

This dramatic work has been published from the Rādhāramaṇa Yantra, Berhampore.

³ This work was first published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. It has subsequently been published from several places. The *Caitanya-candrodaya* was completed in A. C. 1576.

the *Dāna* episode. The third act of the *Caitanya-candrodaya*, entitled 'Dāna-vinoda,' gives a version of the play performed by the Great Master and his prominent followers. Kṛṣṇapūra's version of the episode is, however, entirely different from the version in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*.

Vṛndāvana-dāsa, in the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* [iii. 5] mentions that Nityānanda-prabhu held a mock Dāna sport at the house of Gadādhara-dāsa and that Mādhava-Ghoṣa had sung songs on that occasion. But from the scanty reference made by Vṛndāvana-dāsa this much can be gathered that the particular version of the episode was not the same as the version in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*. Let me quote here the pertinent portions from the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* [iii. 5]:

huṅkāra kariyā nityānanda-candra rāya |
karite lāgilā nṛtya gopāla-līlāya ||
dāna-khaṇḍa gāyena mādhavānanda-ghoṣa |
śuni avadhūta-siṃha parama santoṣa ||

Again—

dāna-khaṇḍa līlā śuni nityānanda rāy |
ye nṛtya kareṇa tāhā varṇanā nā yāy ||

Mādhavācārya, the poet of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala*, was a contemporary and follower of Caitanya-deva. The *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala*,¹ which must have been composed some time before A.C. 1550, contains the two episodes, *Dāna* and *Naukā*. But this treatment, in spite of some amount of similarity, abundantly shows that the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana* was unknown to the poet.

To sum up, no work of the sixteenth century (or earlier²) betrays any acquaintance with Caṇḍīdāsa's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*.³ The 'songs of Caṇḍīdāsa' as mentioned in the *Prema-vilāsa* (see *supra*, p. 389) were, in all probability, the composition of that 'Caṇḍīdāsa' who, according to the *Narottama-vilāsa* was a disciple of Narottama.

¹ Published from the Bangabasi Press, Calcutta, second edition, B.E. 1333.

² Only one such work is known. It is Mālādhara-Vasu's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-vijaya*. But this work does not contain the two episodes.

³ One thing should be mentioned here. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja has cited four lines of a Bengali song in CC. ii. 3 [see *infra*]. An apparently complete version of this poem, with the *bhaṇitā* of 'Caṇḍīdāsa' has been discovered by Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna, in a stray manuscript leaf, which contains the date B.E. 1112 [vide VSPP., Vol. 34, p. 47]. The additional lines are evidently a later interpolation.

The language of the *Srīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana* is no doubt archaic. In fact it is, with the exception of the *Caryā-padas*, the oldest known specimen of Bengali. Still there is nothing in it that can preclude its dating in the latter half of the sixteenth century or the first half of the next. It must be remembered that the earliest known MSS. of any Bengali work do not date earlier than the seventeenth century. It must also be remembered that a border dialect—and the *Srīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana* was undoubtedly written in such a dialect, the dialect of the extreme south-west Bengal—was (and is) invariably more archaic than its contemporary central dialect or dialects.

There is, besides, quite a number of Brajabuli forms in the *Srīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana*, and one or two late forms (*viz.*, *muṛa* for *mūṛha*; *sāda* for *sādha*; *ātata* for *ātatha*; *duṭi* ‘two’; etc.). This of course does not support a very early date of the work.

The general tone of the *Srīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana* is certainly vulgar. But this vulgarity has been more than redeemed in the last section of the book, ‘Rādhā-viraha.’ Its poetry, if not particularly vigorous, has a rather refreshing tinge of primitiveness in it. The metre is mostly *payāra*, otherwise *tripadī*. The following poem, which is cited as a specimen, is by far the best piece in the work:—

ke nā bāśī bāe baṛāyi kālīnī nai kūle |
ke nā bāśī bāe baṛāyi e goṭha gokule ||
ākula śarīra mora beyākula mana |
bāśīra śabadō mo āulāilō rāndhana ||
ke nā bāśī bāe baṛāyi se nā kona jānā |
dūsi haā tāra pūe nīśibō āpanā ||
ke nā bāśī bāe baṛāyi cittera haṛiṣe |
tāra pāe baṛāyi mō kailō kona doṣe ||
ājhara jharae mora nayanera pāṇi |
bāśīra śabadō baṛāyi hūrāyilō parāṇi ||
ākula karitō kibā āmhāra mana |
bājāe susara bāśī nāndera nandana ||
pākhi nahō tāra ṭhāi ūṛi paṛi jāō |
medanī vidūra deu paśiā lukāō ||
vana poṛe āga baṛāyi jaga-jane jāṇi |
mora mana poṛe yenha kumbhārera paṇi ||
āntara sukhāe mora kāṇha-ābhilāse |
bāsali śire bandi gāila caṇḍidāse ||

• [Rādhā, on hearing the notes from Kṛṣṇa's flute, is extremely distressed, and she thus addresses her friend and chaperon, an old lady:] 'Who is he, O grandmother! that is playing on a flute on the bank of the river Kālindī? Who is he, O grandmother! that is playing on a flute at the pasture field? My body is paralysed, and my mind runs mad; and I have made a mess of my cooking, at the notes of the flute. Who is he, O grandmother! that sounds the flute? What sort of a man is he? I shall become his slave and shall offer myself at his feet. Who is he, O grandmother! that is playing on the flute, with joyfulness of heart? What offence, O grandmother! have I done at his feet? Tears of my eyes flow down in torrents: I have, O grandmother! lost my soul at the notes of the flute. Or is it that the Son of Nanda is playing on the flute so sweetly in order only to destroy the tranquillity of my mind? I am not a bird, so that I may fly over to him: let the earth yawn a chasm so that I may enter it and hide (myself). When a (whole) forest is on fire it is obvious, O grandmother! to the people of the world; but my heart is burning like the potter's oven. My inner self is drying up with a desire for Kṛṣṇa!' So sings Caṇḍīdāsa, bowing to (the deity) Bāsālī with his head. •

Fragments of Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics.

Before passing on to the next poet I should mention that some of the sixteenth century Vaiṣṇava biographical works have quoted a few fragments from Bengali and Brajabuli (or Maithil) songs.

None of these fragments, with the exception of one, have been obtained in their complete form. These fragments are certainly as old as the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and possibly earlier. I cite these fragments below. The *Caitanya-bhāgavata* [ii. 23] quotes the following Brajabuli fragment only :

tuyā caraṇe mana lāgu-hū re |
śāraṅga-dhara tuyā caraṇe mana lāgu-hū re ||

• May my mind attach (itself) to thy feet! O! Wielder of (the bow) Śāraṅga | may my mind attach (itself) to thee! •

The *Advaita-prakāśa* ¹ [A. C. 1568] of Īśāna-Nāgara contains the two following fragments of Bengali songs :

kāhā kānu kāhā kānu kāhā tāre pāṭ |
viccheda-anale porā parāṇa juṛāṭ || [xvi.]

¹ Published from the Amṛita Bazar Patrika Office, Calcutta.

« Where is Kṛṣṇa ? Where is Kṛṣṇa ? Where may I catch him,
and soothe my heart smouldering in the fire of separation ? »

bahu-kāle tore kālā lāga pāīlāṣ |
antare rākhimu bhari nāhi chāribāṣ || [xviii]

« After a long, long time I have caught you up, O Black One !
I will lock you up in my heart and will not let you go away. »

The *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* cites the three following fragments, one
in Maithil (or Brajabuli) and two in Bengali. The former occurs
in a complete form—with the *bh.* of Vidyāpati—in Prema-dāsa's
Caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī [A. C. 1712], and the second Bengali
fragment I have already discussed [*vide* p. 392, *footnote* 3] :

ki kahaba re sakhi āju-ka ānanda-ora |
cira-dine mādharma mandire mora || [ii. 3.]

« How shall I describe, O my friend ! the extreme joyfulness of
this day ? After an age Mādhava has come to my house ! »

sei-ta parāṇa-nātha pāinu |
yāhā lāgi madana-dahane jhuri genu || [ii. 1, 13.]

« After all I have got the lord of my soul, for whom I have suffered
from the tortures of Love ! »

hā hā prāṇa-priya sakhi ki nā haila more |
kānu-prema-viṣe mora tanu mana jare ||
rātri-dine porē mana soyāsti nū pāṣ |
yāhā gele kānu paṣ tāhā urī yāṣ || [ii. 3.]

« Alas, alas, my friend, dearer than my heart ! What has indeed
happened to me ? My body and soul is being consumed with the poison,
viz., love for Kṛṣṇa. My heart is burning day and night, and I do not
obtain (the slightest) respite. Would I fly over to where I can find
Kṛṣṇa ! »

Candra-śekhara (i) [c. 1500 A.C.]

Three Bengali poems with the *bh.* of 'Candra-śekhara (-dāsa)' occur
in PKT. [1854, 2184, 3030]. These poems (two of which are on Caitanya-

deva) cannot be the work of the two later Candra-śekhara, as a study of these poems shows that the poet must have come in direct touch with Caitanya-deva. Now there were three persons with the name of Candra-śekhara among the immediate followers of the Master. These were— (i) Candraśekhara-Ācārya, better known as Ācārya-ratna, uncle-in-law to Caitanya-deva, (ii) Candra-śekhara, a Vaidya, (iii) Candra-śekhara, also a Vaidya, living at Benares [CC. i. 10]. Besides these three there was a fourth, Ācārya Candra, whose full name may have been Candra-śekhara. The only poem that can be attributed to Ācārya Candra bears the *bh.* 'Ācārya-Candra' [*vide* pp. 211 f.] He, therefore, does not seem to be the poet of these three lyrics. Any of the above three may have been the poet in question, but, I think, probability lies with the second Candra-śekhara. Was he the person who was a disciple of Narahari-Sarkār of Śrīkhaṇḍa and of whom Rāmagopāla-dāsa [c. 1695 A. C.] says in his *Śākhā-nirṇaya* ¹ as follows?

candraśekharā nāme vaidya āchila khaṇḍete |
yāra basatā bāṭī khaṇḍa kṣetrera talāte ||
rasikā-rāya vighraha tāra sevā atiśaya |
svaraṇa thākuraṅ bali mogal berhila ālaya ||
bakṣe rākhilā ṭhākuraṅ tabu nā chāṇilā |
candraśekhareraṅ muṇḍa mogale kāṭilā || [pp. 6-7.]

• There was at (Śrī)khaṇḍa a Vaidya named Candra-śekhara: his residence was at 'Kṣetra-talā' in Śrīkhaṇḍa. He had installed an image (named) Rasika-rāya, worshipped with great pomp. Taking the image to be made of gold, the Moghals surrounded his house. He kept the image in close embrace and would not part with it. The Moghals chopped his head off. •

The following poem breathes in the poet's sincerity and devotion :

kapaṭa-cāturī-cite jana-mana bhulāṭe
laiye tomāra nāma-khāni |
dāṛāiyā satya-pathe asatya yajiba tāthe
pariṇāme ki habe nā jāni ||

¹. 'Śākhā-nirṇaya,' by Rāmagopāla-dāsa, published from the Madhumati-Samiti, Śrīkhaṇḍa, Caitanya Era 424.

ohe nāth^o, mo baṛa adhama durācāra |
 sādhu-śāstra-guru-vākya nā mānilū muñi dhika
 ataye se nā dekhi uddhāra ||
 loke kare satya buddhi mora nāhi nija-śuddhi
 udāra haiyā loke bhāṛi |
 prema-bhāva more kare nija-guṇe tūrā tare
 āpani hailū chōca-hāṛi ||
 candraśekhara-dāsa ei mane abhilāṣa
 āra ki emana daśū haba |
 gorā-pāriṣada saṅge saṅkīrtana rasa-raṅge
 ānande divasa goṇāiba ||

• (My) heart (is full of) guile. And I take your precious Name to impose upon the mind of men. I have taken my stand on the path of truth, but then I practise deception. I do not know what will happen (to me) at the end. O Lord! I am a very despicable sinner. I, the unfortunate fellow, have not paid heed to the teachings of the *guru*, of the scriptures, and of the saints. Therefore I do not find (my) salvation. People believe me to be honest, but I do not possess purity of self. Showing off as a pious man I cheat people. They have love for me, and that virtue saves them. I am just like the rejected earthen pot (for boiling rice). This is the desire at the heart of Candrasekhara-dāsa: 'Will such a state come again that I may joyfully pass the day in the bliss of *Saṅkīrtana* in the company of the followers of Gorā (*i.e.*, Caitanya-deva)?' •

Vijayānanda-dāsa [c. 1509 A.C.].

In PKT. there is a Bengali poem with the above *bh.* [2242]. The poet is generally believed to be Vijaya-dāsa, who had copied several manuscripts for the Great Master. The poem is a description of Caitanya-deva, and from the *bhaṇitā* portion it appears that the poet had actually seen him. The identification is probably correct.

Gaurī-dāsa [c. 1509 A.C.].

In the *Pada-kalpa-taru* there are two poems with the *bh.* of Gaurī-dāsa [161, 2313]. The first poem has the *bh.* of 'Gaura-dāsa' in one MS. of PKT. But in the *Kīrttāyānanda* [p. 87] and in the

Padma-ratnākara it occurs without a *bh.* The second poem undoubtedly comes from the pen of an immediate follower of Nityānanda-prabhu. There were two such Gaurī-dāsa : (i) Gaurī-dāsa Paṇḍita of Ambikā (now Kalna), and (ii) Gaurī-dāsa *Kīrttanīyā* (the *Kīrttana*-singer). Between these two probability lies with the former.

Gaurī-dāsa, who was younger than Caitanya-deva, was one of his earlier followers. He was deeply attracted by the Master, when the latter was enamoured of *Kīrttana* at Navadvīpa.

mahāprabhuṛ antaraṅga-bhakta gaurī-dāsa |
 • yabe gaura-saṅge kailā kīrttana-vilāsa ||
 gaurī-nitāi-saṅga binu ghare nāhi ray |
 tāra bandhu-gaṇa mahāprabhure kahay ||
 ei-bālakere ūjūnā kara dāra-grahe |
 sabhāra ānanda yadi thāke nija-grhe ||

[Advaita-prakāśa, xx.]

« Gaurī-dāsa was an intimate follower of the Great Master. While he was enamoured of the joys of *kīrttana* by the Master's side he would not leave the company of Gaura and Nitāi and would not live at home. His relatives said to the Great Master: 'Please command this boy to marry. Everybody is delighted if he only stays at home.' »

The Master acquiesced. He called Gaurī-dāsa in private and asked him to marry and stay at home. Gaurī-dāsa replied that he of course could not violate the command of the Master, but it also was certain he would not be able to remain at home bereaved of the Master's company. Nityānanda-prabhu then advised him to install an image of the Master. Gaurī-dāsa joyfully accepted this idea and he subsequently installed two wooden images side by side, one of the Master and the other of Nityānanda-prabhu.

Gaurī-dāsa was, according to Iśāna-Nāgara, a skilled wood-carver. He himself carved the two images which were vivid likenesses of the Master and Nityānanda-prabhu.

śrīmān gaurī-dāsaḥ śilpa-kārye paṭutara |
 āiche śilpa nāhi jāne deva-śilpi-vara ||
 śākṣāte rākhiyā tīha gaura nityānande |
 dāru-brahme dui-mūrti gaṇilā ānande ||

[Advaita-prakāśa, xx.]

Laksmīkānta-dāsa [c. ? 1509 A. C.].

The poet, Lakṣmīkānta-dāsa, seems to be the person mentioned by Rūmagopāla-dāsa in his *Sākhā-nirṇaya* as follows :

lakṣmī-kānta nāma śākhā ṭhākura-pūjārī ।
tūhāra vikhyāta kathā āche dui-cārī ॥ [p. 7.]

« (One of Narahari-Sarkār's) branch (*i.e.*, disciple) was the priest named Lakṣmī-kānta, who daily worshipped the deity. A few famous poems (*literally*, words) by him are (still) current. »

There is some internal evidence to show that the poet was this priest Lakṣmī-kānta. Both the poems are of the 'Nadīyā-Nāgarī' type,¹ and this aspect of the Caitanya theme was the special province of the Śrīkhaṇḍa school headed by Narahari-Sarkār.

The following poem will show that Lakṣmī-kānta was no mean poet :

ki khene dekhilū gorā navīna kāmera kōrā
sei haite raite nāri ghare |
kata nā kariba chala kata nū bhariba jala
kata yāba suradhuni-tīre ¶

¹ 'Nadiyā-Nāgarī' literally means the young women or *belles* of Nadiyā. Such a poem describes the Master as a gallant lover from the view-point of a young woman or young women who has or have fallen in love with him. This is, in fact, an imagined parallelism of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme. Narahari-Sarkār brought in this note in literature.

vidhi, to binu balite keha nāi |
 yata guru-garabīta- vacana-racana śata
 phukari kādite nāhi ṭhāi ||
 aruṇa-nayānerṣ kone cāñāchila āmā pāne
 parāṇe bāraśi diyā ṭāne |
 kulera dharama mora rākhite nārīlū go
 ki jāni ki habe pariṇāme ||
 āpanū āpani khāilū gharera bāhira hailū
 śuni khola-karatālerṣ nāda |
 lakṣmīkānta-dāsa kay marama yāra lāgay
 . . ki karibe kula-parivāda ||
 [PKT. 117 ; GPT., pp. 173 f.¹]

« At what a moment I had seen Gorā the image of the young god of love ! Thenceforth I cannot remain at home. How much longer shall I have to make pleas ? How long shall I have to fetch water ? How many times shall I have to go to the Ganges ? O Creator ! there is nobody except you to talk to. All my relations and seniors (torture me) with hundred types of deliberate (cruel) words : I have no place to cry (and pour out my grief). With the corners of his rosy eyes he had eyed me : (his glance) drew me out like a fishing angle pierced at my heart. Alas ! I cannot any longer retain the good name of my family : I do not know what may happen at the end. I am the cause of my own undoing (as) I have come out of home (to see Gorā) on hearing the sound of *khol* (drum) and *karatāla* (cymbals).’ Lakṣmīkānta-dāsa says : ‘What does she care for the bad name of her family, when it has gone home to her heart ?’ »

Gopikānta-Vasu.

In the *Kṛṣṇa-padāmṛta-sindhu* [p. 12] there is a Bengali poem with the above *bh.* There was another Gopikānta, whom we have dealt with as a Brajabuli poet. I am not in a position to say which other song or songs with the *bh.* ‘Gopikānta’ should belong to the poet under discussion. The poet seems to have belonged to the earliest period of Neo-Vaiṣṇava literature as the author has used the full name as *bhaṇitā*. Was he a

¹ In the *Pada-rosa-sāra* and in the *Pada-ratnākara* it occurs with the *bh.* of Locana.

scion of the Vasu family of Kulīna-grāma, and therefore a relation of Rāmānanda-Vasu? There is mention of one Gopikānta among the followers of Caitanya-deva [CC. i. 10].

As the poet is little known and as only one poem is extant I cite it here :

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| bihāne yaśodā rāṇī | kole laiṇā nīla-maṇi |
| āṅgināte basila kautuke | |
| gopālera mukha aṅga | kara padatāla-raṅga |
| nirikṣaṇa kare animikhe | |
| dhvaja vajrāṅkuṣa yava | mṛgāṅkuṣa kuṣa lava |
| śaṅkha cakra śuddha sakala | |
| tri-koṇa goṣpada dhanu | ūrdhva-rekhā śaṅkha janu |
| matsya janu [janu] jambu-phala | |
| e-saba dekhiyā rāṇī | adabhuta maṇe gaṇi |
| viśva-rūpa karaye bhāvana | |
| śunechi purāṇa vede | ei cihna yāra pade |
| tīha hayeṇḍ brahma sanātana | |
| vidhi bhava yogi yāra | caraṇa kariyā sāra |
| bhāvana karaye cira-kāla | |
| eka mukhe guṇa sattva | tathā-ca nā pāy tattva |
| tīha kene āmāra chhōyala | |
| hena kāle viśva-māyā | ācchanna nandera jāyā |
| mohita haiyā bale śiśu | |
| tuliyā āpana buke | cumbana karaye mukhe |
| nibedaye gopikānta-vasu | [KPS., p. 12.] |

• In the morning the consort of Nanda took the Blue Jewel (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) on her lap and joyfully sat down in the courtyard. She gazed minutely at the Child's face, limbs, palms, and soles and noted their complexion. (On his soles she found signs of the banner, the thunder-bolt, the driving pin, barley, deer (?), *kuṣa*, *lava*, conch-shell, wheel, all these clear—as well as the triangle, the hoof-print of cattle, the bow, upward lines marked like the conch-shell, or like the fish, or like the blackberry fruit. Finding these marks the lady was amazed at heart, and she (thus) thought of the *Viśva-rūpa* (the form of the Supreme Deity containing the universe in it, which Kṛṣṇa showed to Arjuna on the eve of the battle at Kurukṣetra): “I have heard in the Purāṇas and in the Vedas that the person who bears

these signs in his feet is the Eternal *Brahman*. The Creator, Śiva, and the *yogins* accept His feet as the sole object (of adoration) and meditate on them through all eternity. With a single tongue one cannot recount His greatness nor can have any idea of Him. How then can He be my child?" The wife of Nanda was then overcome with the Universal Delusion (*viśva-māyā*). Thus stupefied, she called him, 'My child!' and holding him tight in her arms she kissed him on the face. So says Gopikāuta-Vasu. »

Gupta-dāsa.

There is a Bengali poem with the *bh.* of 'Gupta-dāsa' in the *Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi* [24]. The same poem occurs also in PKT. [2319]. The poet 'Gupta-dāsa' is generally accepted to be Murāri-Gupta¹ [PKT., Vol. V, p. 44]. But the poem quoted below shows that the poet was a disciple of Rāma-dāsa or Abhirāma-dāsa, a prominent follower of Nityānanda-prabhu. Thus 'Gupta-dāsa' was a person quite distinct from Murāri-Gupta. The poem in the *Kṣaṇadā* and PKT. is an ode to Nityānanda-prabhu. The *bh.* line of the two poems is the same.

| | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| ṭhākura śrī-abhirāma | kevala premera dhāma |
| avani bihare nijānande | |
| gaurāṅga-cādera raṅgi | nitāi-cādera saṅgi |
| akhila-jīvera mana bāndhe | |
| śrī-rādhikārṣ̄ agraja | śrī-kṛṣṇera sakhā-varya |
| purube śrī-dāma yāra nāma | |
| ebe sei-bhāve matta | nāhi jāne divā rātra |
| teñi nāma ṭhākuraṣ̄ abhirāma | |
| gaurāṅgera prema-rase | sadā premānande bhāse |
| divā niśi kichuñ nā jāne | |
| sakala bhakata saṅge | bihare parāma-raṅge |
| gāna nṛtya kare haṛṣa-mane | |
| dīna bīna akiñcane | tāre kaila premu-dāne |
| purāñila mana ² abhilāṣṣ̄ | |
| patitera avāśeṣe | pañi raila gupta-dāse ³ |
| kene prabhu nā kaila talāṣṣ̄ [VSP. MS. 982.] | |

¹ I have, quite inadvertently, previously accepted this *bh.* as that of Murāri-Gupta (*supra*, p. 29).

² 'mama' MS.

³ 'gopta-dāse' MS.

• Śrī Abhirāma-Ṭhākura, full of divine love, wanders about on the earth, in his own blissfulness. A chum of Gaurāṅga the moon and a companion of the moon-like Nitāi, he has won of the heart of all people. He who was in yore the elder brother of Śrī-Rādhikā and an esteemed friend of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, and was called Śrī-dāma, is now named Abhirāma-Ṭhākura, who is ever intoxicated with divine love and who has lost all sense of time (and space). He is ever swimming joyfully in the flood of devotion to Gaurāṅga and has no sense for day or night. He moves about ecstatically in the company of the devotees and sings and dances with a delighted heart. He bestows divine grace to them that are lowly, depressed or hapless: he has fulfilled their desires. The lowliest of the lowly, Gupta-dāsa, remains neglected: why does not the master take notice of him ? •

CHAPTER XVII

POETS IN BENGALI: LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Balarāma-dāsa (ii).

When discussing the poet Balarāma-dāsa [*supra*, pp. 74ff.] I have mentioned that it is quite likely that there were more than one such poet. But the major poet Balarāma was undoubtedly the disciple of Nityānanda-prabhu. The following poem, an ode to Jīva-Gosvāmin, must have been written by a younger Balarāma as it mentions the *Gopāla-campū* which was written in Śaka 1510-14 (= A.C. 1588-92) :—

rūpa sanātana saṅge śrī-jīva gosāñi |
kata bhakti-grantha lekhe lekḥā jokā nāi ||
manera vāsanā ātma-suddhira kārāṇa |
katipaya grantha-nāma kariba kīrtana ||
gopāla-virudāvalī kṛṣṇa-pada-cihna |
śrī-mādhava-mahotsava rādhā-pada-cihna ||
śrī-gopāla-campū āra rasāmṛta śeṣa |
kṛpāmbudhi-stava sapta sandarbha viśeṣa ||
sūtra-mālā dhātu-saṅgraha kṛṣṇārcana |
saṅkalpa-kalpa-vṛkṣa harināma-vyākaraṇa ||
nikhila likhilā grantha kata kaiba¹ nāma |
khulilā bhaktira dvāra kahe balarāma || [GPT., p. 468.]

‘In company of Rūpa and Sanātana Śrī Jīva-Gosvāmin wrote so many devotional books that cannot be enumerated. I shall, however, mention here a few works only to accomplish my desire and to purify myself: *Gopāla-virudāvalī*, *Kṛṣṇa-pada-cihna*, *Śrī-Mādhava-mahotsava*, *Rādhā-pada-cihna*, *Śrī-Gopāla-campū*, the supplementary *Rasāmṛta*, *Kṛpāmbudhi-stava*, the seven *Sandarbhās*, *Sūtra-mālā*, *Dhātu-saṅgraha*, *Kṛṣṇārcana*

¹ ‘kaiba’ Text.

(-dīpikā), *San̥kalpa-kulpa-vṛkṣa*, and *Harināma* (*Harināmāmṛta*) *Vyākaraṇa*. He has written innumerable treatises; how can I enumerate them all? (In fact) he has thrown open the gate of *Bhakti* (devotion).’ So says Balarāma. »

A Brajabuli poem with the *bh.* of Balarāma (? ii) mentions ‘Kanakamañjarī’ and ‘Ratimañjarī’ [PKT. 2500; APR. 192]. ‘Ratimañjarī’ was the esoteric name of Raghunātha-dāsa, or according to some, of Sanātana-Gosvāmin [*cf.* Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā 181, 182, 186], and ‘Kanakamañjarī’ was the esoteric name of Rāmacandra-Kavirāja.

This younger Balarāma, or Balarāma-dāsa (ii), seems to have been no other person than Balarāma Kavipati, a disciple of Rāmacandra Kavirāja [*vide* Karṇānanda ii]. Balarāma was a native of the village Budharī [*cf.* Prema-vilāsa, xx].

Balarāma-dāsa (iii).

There was a third Balarāma-dāsa who used the epithet ‘dīna’ to his *bhaṇitā*. This Balarāma’s *guru* was one Gadādhara.

gadādhara-pade āśa dīna balarāma-dāsa
śloka bhāṅgi racila pāyara || ¹

The poet seems to have written a narrative poem on the Kṛṣṇa theme, probably based on the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*.

kṛṣṇera kiṅkara dīna balarāma-dāsa |
uddhava-sandēśa pada karila prakāśa ||

« Kṛṣṇa’s servant Balarāma-dāsa the humble thus narrates the poems on Uddhava’s Message. »

Vīra-hāmbīra [c. 1583 A.C.].

Vīra-hāmbīra was an independent ruler of Malla-bhūma, of which the capital town was Viṣṇupura. He was converted to Vaiṣṇavism by Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya some time about 1580 A.C. The details of this incident

¹ For these fragments I am indebted to Pandit Hare-kṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna.

are to be found in the *Prema-vilāsa*, *Karṇānanda*, and *Bhakti-ratnākara*. Vira-hāmbīra, after his initiation, became a devout Vaiṣṇava. Jiva-Gosvāmin gave him his devotional name 'Śrī-Caitanya-dāsa' [Bhakti-ratnākara, p. 580].

Two poems only by Vira-hāmbīra are extant [*vide* Karṇānanda, pp. 19 f.; Bhakti-ratnākara, pp. 581 f.]. One is an ode to his *guru* Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya, and the other describes Rādhā's love for Kṛṣṇa. The former has been cited in PKT. [2378]. The king seems to have written songs also with the *bh.* of 'Śrī-Caitanya-dāsa.'

śrī-caitanya-dāsa nāme ye gīta barṇila |

vistārera ḍare tāhā nāhi jānāila ||

[Bhakti-ratnākara, pp. 582 f.]

The two poems by Vira-hāmbīra are quite good. If they are really his own composition it must be admitted that the king was a man of culture. One of the two poems is quoted below :

śuna go marama sakhi kālīyā kamala-ākhi

kibā kaila kichuī nā jāni |

kemana karaye mana saba lāge ucāṭana

prema kari khoyānu parāṇi ||

śuniyā dekhinu kālā dekhiyā pāinu jvālā

nibhāṭte nāhi pāi pāni |

aguru candana āni debete lepinu chāni

nā nibhāy hiyāra āguni ||

basiyā thākiye yabe āsiyā uṭhāy tabe

laiyā yāy yamunāra tīre |

ki karite ki nā kari sadāi jhuriyā mari

tileka nāhika rahi thīre ||

śāśūri nanadi mora sadāi bāsayera cora

grha-pati phiriyā nā cāy |

e vira-hāmbīra-cita śrīnivāsa-anugata

maji gelā kālācāderā pāy ||

[Bhakti-ratnākara, p. 582; Karṇānanda, pp. 19 f.]

• 'Listen, O friend, to my secret. I do not know what the lotus-eyed Dark One (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) has done to me. My heart feels queer, and everything seems out of gear. (It seems) I have lost my life in falling in

love (with Kṛṣṇa). I sighted the Dark One (only) after I had heard of him: since I have seen him I am in anguish, and I do not find salve (*literally*, water) to soothe (*literally*, to quench) it. I have procured *aguru* and sandal, and after (pounding them fine and) straining I have painted my body with it; but it cannot quench the flame at my heart. When I sit tight (at home), (my love for him) pounces upon me, moves me away and takes me to the bank of the Yamunā. I do not know what I do; I shed tears perpetually; and I cannot remain calm even for a moment. My mother-in-law and sister-in-law look down upon me as a thief: the master of the house does not (even) turn to look at me.' This the heart of Vira-hāmbīra, obedient to Śrīnivāsa, has fallen deep in love with the feet of Kālācāda. »¹

Vira-hāmbīra's son was Dhāri-hāmbīra whose religious name was Gopāla-dāsa' [Bhakti-ratnakara, *loc. cit.*]. One poem in mixed Sanskrit, an ode to Śrīnivāsa-Ācāryā, by Dhāri-hāmbīra occurs in VSP. MS. 200 (dated 1223 B.E.).

Harirāma-dāsa [c. 1583 A.C.].

Two poems by Harirāma—odes to Caitanya-deva and Nityānanda-prabhu respectively—occur in PKT. [586, 2303]. The last poem occurs in the *Kṣaṇadā* also [174]. The poet seems to have been Harirāma-Ācārya, a disciple of Rāmacandra Kavirāja. His native village was Goyāsa. The incident leading to his conversion has been given in detail in the *Narottama-vilāsa* [x].

Gopī-ramaṇa.

A poem by Gopī-ramaṇa occurs in PKT. [1608]. The poem is not bad. Two persons with the name Gopī-ramaṇa are known in Vaiṣṇava history. One, a Vaidya, was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya [*cf.* Karṇānanda i; *Prema-vilāsa* xx]. The other, a Brahmin, was a disciple of Hṛdaya-caitanya of Ambikā [*cf.* Bhakti-ratnākara, p. 1041]. Either of the two may have been the poet in question.

¹ 'Kālācāda' was the name of the image of Kṛṣṇa installed by Vira-hāmbīra at Viṣṇupura. Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya presided at the installation ceremony.

Vaiṣṇava-carāṇa.

A poem by Vaiṣṇava-carāṇa has been incorporated in PKT. [8077]. It is a prayer. From the poet's reference to 'Guṇa-mañjarī' (the esoteric name of Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa) it seems that he was a follower of Śrinivāsa-Ācārya. One such Vaiṣṇava-carāṇa has been mentioned in the *Prema-vilāsa* [xx].

Rāghavendra-Rāya [c. 1583 A.C.].

I have discovered the following poem by Rāghavendra-Rāya in a bundle of stray leaves of MSS. [VSP. MS. 2416]. One of the folia, apparently from the same MS. to which the folium containing the poem in question belonged, bears the date B. E. 1090 (= 1683 A.C.). The script is certainly old enough. The poem is quoted below. The poem strongly reminds us of a similar poem by 'Caṇḍīdāsa.'

tomā ¹ nā chāṛiba bandhu tomā nā chāṛiba |
 virale pāñāchi hiyā mājhāre rākhiba ||
 rāti kailāñ dina bandhu dina kailāñ rāti |
 bhuvana bhariyā rahila tomāra ² kheāti ||
 ghara kailāñ vana bandhu vana kailāñ ghara |
 para kailāñ āpuni āpuni hailāñ ³ para ||
 sakala tejiyā dūre lailāñ śaraṇa |
 rāya rāghavendra kahe o ⁴ rāṅgā-carāṇa ||

[VSP. MS. 2416.]

• 'I will not let you go, my friend, I will not. I have found you in a quiet place: I shall detain you at my heart. The night I have made a day, O my friend, and the day I have made a night; and throughout the world, my friend, your glory shall persist! My home I have made a forest, and the forest I have made my home: the others I have made my own, and my own I have made outsiders. Every thing I have discarded at a distance, and I have taken refuge at your rosy feet.' So says Rāya Rāghavendra. •

¹ 'tumā' MS.

³ 'halāñ' MS.

² 'tumāra' MS.

⁴ 'u' MS.

Kāmadeva-dāsa.

Kumudānanda.

Gosvāmi-dāsa.

kānāi gāera garaba nahe bhāla ।
 apanā bhālāi cāo bharamē caliyā yāo
 pāche nanda-ghoṣeṛā gāri tāla ॥
 kemana vā rūpa dhara kisera garaba kara
 rākhāla haīyā eta veśa ।
 mathurā-nagara mājhe cala dekhi ai-sāje
 kapāle tālani ādha-keśa ॥

calite nā jāna pathe mohana-muralī hāthe
 bājana-nūpura diyā pāy ।
 āmarā parera nārī teñī se bharama kari
 hātha dite cāo¹ pārā gāy ॥
 āsi hātha deha hāre ki āra baliba tore
 mukhe bala kālcalī utāra ।
 gosvāmi-dāsera vāpi hāse priya-çuṛāmaṇi
 baṛa-kopa dekhiyā rād̐hara ॥ [Das MS.]

« 'O Kāṇāī (i.e. Kṛṣṇa) ! it is never good, bragging of one's looks. If thou seekest thy own good, go away with thy prestige (intact) : do not bring down shame on Nanda-ghoṣa. ³ How goes thy looks ? What art thou proud of ? Being a mere cowboy, why (hast thou put on) this dress ? Come, let me see thee go into the interior of the city of Mathurā in this garb : thy forelocks are tied into a top-knot ! Thou dost not know how to walk (properly) in the street : a charmer's flute (is) on thy hand, and jingling anklets (are) tied round on thy feet ! We are married women (*literally* we belong 'to others'), and so we safeguard our honour ; and thou really wantest to put thy hand on our persons ! You to come up and catch hold of my necklace ! What shall I say to you ? And you say with your tongue, " Put off your bodice " !' Gosvāmi-dāsa says : that Crest-jewel of lovers smiled at this great anger of Rādhā. »

Vihāri-dāsa [*ante* 1654 A.C.].

One poem by Vihāri-dāsa occurs in the earlier portions [1653-55 A.C.] of the Das MS. The poem is quoted below. Was the poet the same Vihāri-dāsa who was a disciple of Narottama-Thākūra? [Prema-vilāsa, xx; Narottama-vilāsa xii].

murali tarala karala parāṇa
 rahite nā dila,ghare |
 abalā-parāṇe nā yāe sahanē
 niti niti ākhi jhare ||

1 - City? MS,

* 'hātha āśī deha hāre' MG.

³ Krasa's foster-father.

« 'The flute (of Kṛṣṇa) has rendered my life unstable : it does not let me remain at home. A woman's heart cannot endure as much : my eyes are perpetually shedding tears. Wherever I go, it sounds everywhere : somehow he knows my name. Entering through the ears it comes to the heart and strikes at my soul. Śyāma's flute calls (me) by (my name) Rādhā : he does not pay heed to my words in protest. My duties at home, religious and social, all are in a pretty mess. The pride (that lies) at the heart of women the flute has smashed entirely : seducing the heart of the women of the Vraja he has made them handmaids at his feet. O my friend ! I cannot remain (inactive) any more : I have determined to steal the flute. I have no time to dress (properly) ; let us go quick to

¹ 'āravane parasi ridae lāge gāsi bājila jekhāne parāni' MS. 'ridae lāge gāsi' may be emended also to 'hrde lāge phāsi.'

Mathurā-dāsa [? c. 1583 A.C.].

‘Dukhinī.’

Vira-candra.

One Bengali poem by Vira-candra occurs in the first issue of the *Padakalpa-latikā* (1849 A.C.). The poem occurs also in KGR. [289]. Was the poet the son of Nityānanda-prabhu? Vira-candra (also known as Virabhadra), the son of Nityānanda-prabhu, was born in *circa* 1447 *Saka* (=1525 A.C.). As the poem is rather little known it is quoted below.

(rāi) tyaji kāla-baranṣ kariba dhārana
tomāra angera kānti)
tuyā nāma laiya berāiba kādiya .
asru-jale haiba sānti #

mili bhakṭa-gaṇa kariba kīrttana
 rādhā rādhā dhvani kari |
 kṣaṇe kṣaṇe mūrchā haibe yakhana
 acetane raiba paṛi ||
 bhābi tava bhāva haibe prema-bhāva
 svabhāva chāṛiyā deha |
 tyaji varṣī-dhara haiba daṇḍa-dhara
 rūkhite nāribe keha ||
 amūlya-ratana tava prema-dhana
 ayācake diba āni |
 vīra-candra kahe tabe se khālāsṭ
 pāibe premera ṛnī || [KGR. 289.] ¹

Kṛṣṇa speaks to Rādhā, foreshadowing his subsequent birth as Gaurāṅga (*i.e.* Caitanya-deva). « ‘O Rādhā, giving up my dark complexion I shall adopt the (fair) complexion of your person. Taking your name I shall wander about weeping and shall have peace only in tears. In company of my followers I shall sing in *Kīrttana* the name Rādhā. (In my ecstatic dances) I shall swoon away again and again and shall lie on the ground senseless. Pondering over your (profound) sentiments, I shall feel surging love, having lost my natural sentiments. Giving up the flute I shall wield the (religious mendicant’s) staff. Nobody shall restrain me (from adopting *sannyāsa*). That priceless treasure, your love, I shall give away unasked.’ Vira-candra says, ‘Then and then only you will be released from love’s debt.’ »

¹ I have adopted the superior reading of the poem in the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* [pp. 160f.] by Nṛsiṃha-prasāda Ṭhakkura [Rādhāramaṇa Yantra, Baharampur, B.E. 1816].

CHAPTER XVIII

POETS IN BENGALI: SEVENTEENTH CENTURY OR EARLIER.

Rāmacandra-Mallika [*ante* 1653 A.C.].

In the earlier portion of the Das MS. [*San* 1060] there occurs a Bengali poem by Rāmacandra-Mallika. The poem is unique in this respect that it mentions Rādhā as Candrāvalī also. This identification of Rādhā with Candrāvalī occurs nowhere in mediaeval Bengali literature except in the songs of Varu Caṇḍīdāsa (*Śrīkr̥ṣṇa-kīrtana*) and in the *Govinda-maṅgala* of Śyāmadāsa (Bangabasi Press, second edition, pp. 94, 99). The poem is quoted below. I preserve the original orthography intact (except in the *tatsama* words).

rādhe tumi more nā bāsiya bhina |
rabhase virasa-vāṇī nā baliya candrāvalī
āmi tumārṣṭ premera adhīna ||
binati kariyā kaī āmi āra kāra naī
tumāra tumāra vinodini |
asodhala tuyā dhāra sudhite nārila āra
rahlān hayiyā tumārṣṭ ṛṇi ||
a mukha paṇikaja tora mana madhukara mora
nā baliha virasa vacana |
prāṇa-saṅjīvani tumi tṛṣṭa-cātaka āmi
tumi priyā mora nava-ghana ||
svarūpe kahilān rāī bikāṣilān tuyā ṭhāni
abhinava-yauvani nārī |
rāmacandra-mallike¹ kay ati-prema atisaya
virasa sahase nā pāri || [Das MS.]

¹ '—mallike' MS.

« 'O Rādhā, do not thou look upon me as an outsider. In anger do please never speak harsh words, O Candrāvālī, (as) I am a slave of thy love. With humble submission I say that I belong to no other, but thine, thine only, O my love ! The unpaid debt (that I owe) to thee I cannot repay : I remain thy debtor. Thy face here is a lotus, and my heart is a bee ; do thou speak hard words no more. Thou art the water of life, while I am a thirsty *cātaka* ; O my darling ! thou art my fresh cloud. O Rāī, I tell thee in truth (that) I am sold to thee, O thou Woman in early youth !' Rāmacandra-Mallika says : 'Excessive love cannot bear too much estrangement (or harshfulness).'

I suspect that this Rāmacandra-Mallika was one of the heretics that cropped up in the late sixteenth century, and of whom Vṛndāvana-dāsa makes this remark in the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* [i. 12 ; also quoted in the *Bhakti-ratnākara*, pp. 1045f.] :

udara-bharaṇa lāgi pāpiṣṭha sakale |
 raghunātha kari āpanāre keha bole ||
 kona pāpi-gaṇa chāṛi kṛṣṇa-saṅkīrtana |
 āpanāre gāyāy baliyā nārāyaṇa ||
 dekhitechī dine tina avasthā yāhāra |
 kona lāje āpanāke gāyāy se chāra ||
 rāṛhe āra eka mahābrahmadāitya ache |
 antare rākṣasa vipra-kāca mātra kāce ||
 se pāpiṣṭha āpanāre bolāy gopāla |
 ataeva tāre sabe bolaye śīyāla ||

« For filling up their own stomachs so many worst sinners profess as (incarnations of) 'Raghu-nātha'..... There is another, a big *Brahma-dāitya* (demoniac Brahmin) in Rāḍha : a *rākṣasa*—within, he takes the appearance only of a Brahmin. That devil makes himself out as 'Gopāla' (Kṛṣṇa) : so everybody calls him a jackal (*i.e.* a contemptible creature). »

The *Bhakti-ratnākara* [p. 1045] makes the above statement more explicit. Thus :

keha kahe ahe bhāī bahirmukha-gaṇa |
 haīyā svatantra dharma karaye laṅghana ||
 bahirmukha-gaṇa madhye ye pradhāna tāre
 raghunātha sājāiyā bhāṛāy lokere ||

sva-mata raciyā se pāpiṣṭha durācāra |
 kahaye kavindra vaṅga-deśete pracāra ||
 keha kahe dekhilām mahāpapi-gaṇa |
 āpanāke gāyāy chāri śrīkṛṣṇa-kirttana ||
 keha kahe rāḥa-deśe eka viprādhamā |
 mallika kheyāti duṣṭa nāhi tāra sama ||
 se pāpiṣṭha āpanāre gopāla kahāy |
 prakāśi rākṣasa-māyā lokere bhāṛāy ||

* Some said: 'Look here, brother, the infidels, becoming independent, transgress *dharma*. They proclaim him, who is their head, as (an incarnation of) "Raghunātha" and thus delude people. That evil-doing sinner makes his own doctrines and professes himself as a "master poet" (*kavindra*) in Vaṅga.' Others said: 'We have seen some worst sinners who, instead of singing the name of Kṛṣṇa, sing of themselves.' Some again said: 'In Rāḥa there is a most degraded Brahmin entitled Mallika," who is worse than the worst villain. That villain proclaims himself as "Gopāla," and showing his devilish wiles he cheats people.' *

Śyāma-Mallika [*ante* 1653 A. C.].

In the earlier portion (*San* 1060) of the Das MS. there is a Bengali poem by Śyāma-Mallika. Was he a relative of Rāmacandra-Mallika? The poem is quoted below.

o vaṇṇī bāje bāje |
 nava-nava madhura śrī-vṛndāvana mājhe ||
 bisarilāṇ dhana-jana guru-garabite |
 prāṇa hariyā nila muralīra gīte ||
 ki karite ki nā kari ei nā gṛha-kāja |
 āra ki rākhite hay kula-bhaya lāja ||
 dūre kara gaurava māna abhimāna |
 (cala) bheṭiba śrī-vṛndāvane rasamaya kāna ||
 ki kariba lāsa-veśa aṅga abharaṇa |
 pulake pūrala tanu kāpe ghane ghana ||
 nayāne galaye nīra gada-gada bola |
 uthale premere sindhu ānanda-hilola ||

śyāma-mallike kabe anubhava-sāra |
eta-dine manoratha pūṛila sabhāra || [Das MS.]

« 'There | the flute sings ; it sings ! (It sings) ever-fresh and sweet (melodies) from the midst of the woodland at Vṛndāvana. I have lost care for my good things and my relatives : the song from the flute has stolen my heart away. I have made a mess of these my household duties ; shall I then fear any more for the good name of the family and for my decorum as well ? Cast off (thy) decorum, prestige or self-importance. Come, let us meet the dearest Kṛṣṇa at Śrī Vṛndāvana. What shall I do with coquettish dress and jewelry ? My body, all horripilated, is trembling violently.' Tears flow from her (*i.e.* Rādhā's) eyes : her voice is choked. (Within her) surged up the sea of love with the waves of joy. Śyāma-Mallika says : 'The secret of their (Rādhā's and her companions') joyfulness (is that) now their desire is going to be fulfilled.' »

Vraja-kiśora [*ante* 1653 A.C.].

The following poem by Vraja-kiśora occurs in the earlier portion (*San* 1069) of the Das MS. Another poem by Vraja-kiśora occurs in VSP. MS. 200 (dated 1223 B.E.).

raī sūje vaṃśī bāje nā paṛila ora |
ki karite ki kare āveśe mana bhora ||
ācarae cācara-cikura keśa-bhāra |
pāy bādhe phulerḍ mālā nā kare vicāra ||
kājara carapa-tale nayāne ālatā |
śravaṇa-kuhare lañā gūñje nāga-latā ||
gale pare kiñkiṇī kaṭite pare hāra |
kare pare nūpara jañgherḍ āge tārā ||
gada-gada hañā rāī jhāṭa cali yāy |
kene re dāruṇa patha jhāṭa nā phurāy ||
vraja-kiśore kay patha phurāilā |
nidhuvane yāñā rāī jaya-dhvani dilā || [Das MS.]

« Rādhā was dressing herself (for going out) when the flute sounded, and it did not stop. (Rādhā's heart was overwhelmed with love : she lost control over her actions. Her heavy tresses, already

done, she combs (again): she ties the wreath of flowers round her leg; she has lost all consideration. Her feet she paints with collyrium, and her eyes with red-dye. She pushes *nāga-latā* into the cavities of her ears. The girdle she puts on her neck, the necklace round her waist: the anklets she fastens round her wrists and wristlets round her anklets. Being thus intoxicated (as it were), Rāī walks quickly away. Why indeed does not the cruel way end soon? Vraja-kīśora says: the path ended (at last) and reaching Nidhuvana Rāī raised a cry of joy. »

‘Kṛṣṇa-dāsa.’

Poems (Bengali and Brajabuli) with the *bh.* of ‘Kṛṣṇadāsa’ are found in many of the anthologies and MSS. containing some collection of Vaiṣṇava lyrics. At the earliest such poems (numbering three only—all in Bengali) occur in the earlier portion (1653 A.C.) of the Das MS. Next in the *Kṣaṇadā* there occurs one Bengali poem with the *bh.* of ‘Śrī-Kṛṣṇadāsa’ [195]. In .PKT. songs with the *bh.* of ‘Kṛṣṇadāsa’ number twenty-two. No such poem, however, occurs in the *Padāmṛta-samudra*, in the *Kīrttanānanda* and in the *Saṅkīrttanāmṛta*.

Now these poems do not come from a single pen. There were several Kṛṣṇadāsas, each of whom might have contributed a few. The poems with the *bh.* of ‘Duḥkhī Kṛṣṇadāsa’ we can safely ascribe to Śyāmānanda. The probable claimants other than Śyāmānanda are the following persons.

(i) Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, the great author of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. I am not in a sure position to ascribe any of the poems to this great poet (though I have hazarded so previously). There is some likelihood that the poems written partially in Brajbhākhā came from him. I have already tentatively ascribed one such poem to⁴ him. (See *supra* p. 103). But there was a contemporary Brajbhākhā poet with the same name [*vide* Grierson, the Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān, p. 21]. Some of the later poets also tried to foist their clumsy attempts on the Kavirāja. One such poem I quote below.

caitanya kalpa-taru navadvipe sañcaru
prema-jale tanu pulakita |
eke prabhu nityānanda saṅge yārṣ advaita-candra
dui-sākhā haila upanīta |

(iv) One 'Dina-hina' Kṛṣṇadāsa flourished in the early eighteenth century. He was the translator in Bengali verse of Viśvanātha-Cakravartin's *Camalkārā-candrikā*. Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Camalkāra-candrikā* has been edited by Atula-kṛṣṇa Gosvāmī and has been published from the

Bangabasi Office, Calcutta, Caitanya Era 418. The poet was evidently a disciple of Viśvanātha. So he says—

viśvanātha-cakravartti tāra kṛpā-bale sphūrti
e-lilā varṇane haila āśa |
kānudāsa-saṅga pāñā sāhase pūṛila hiyā
kahe dīna-hīna kṛṣṇadāsa || [p. 11.]

(v) Kṛṣṇadāsa, the author of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-vilāsa*,¹ may have composed few lyrics in Bengali.

Very many other Kṛṣṇadāsas are known in Vaiṣṇava history, none of whom are known to have been vernacular poets. These are—

Kṛṣṇadāsa of Rāḍha; 'Kāliyā' Kṛṣṇadāsa; and Kṛṣṇadāsa, the brother of Nārāyaṇa and Dāmodara. All these three were followers of Nityānanda-prabhu [CC. i. 11].

'Kṛṣṇadāsa' of Lāuṛa in Sylhet. He was in his early life a ruling chief whose minister was Kubera-Paṇḍita, the father of Advaita-prabhu. He was the author of the *Bālyā-līlā-sūtra*, a biography in Sanskrit of Advaita-prabhu in his younger days [*vide* Advaita-prakāśa xxii].

Kṛṣṇadāsa-Catṭa, a disciple of Śrīnivāsa Ācārya; and Kṛṣṇadāsa Vairāgi, and Kṛṣṇadāsa-Ṭhākura, disciples of Narottama-Ṭhākura [Premavilāsa xx].

Kṛṣṇadāsa the Brajbhākhā poet [c. 1550 A.C.; *vide* Grierson, the Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān, p. 21]. This Kṛṣṇadāsa may have been the author of the Brajbhākhā poems in the *Pada-kalpa-taru*.

Madana.

Two poems by Madana have been incorporated in the *Kṣaṇadā* [57, 180]. One of these has been quoted in PKT. [2304=1322 (without the first couplet)]. Both poems are odes to Nityānanda-prabhu, and they end in the same line, *vis.*,

madana madete andha viṣaye rahala bandha
hena nitāi bhajite nā pāila

I have discovered a poem with the *bh.* of 'Madana,' which is an ode to Narahari-Sarkār. The poem is quoted below.

¹ Published by the Vaidya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta.

hā-hā prabhu narahari dayā kara more |
 dagadha haīnu paṛi dāruṇa saṃsāre ||
 adhama ayogya hitāhita nāhi jāni |
 [¹ śamana] damana bhaye kāpaye parāṇi ||
 se saba(?) ajūṇa yauvane matta hainu |
 ibe jarā [² maraṇa] sevane goṇāinu ||
 janani-jaṭhare yata ḍara nā pāinu |
 janamiye ³ māyā-mohe saba pāsarinu ||
 tomārḥ anugata haye tomā nā bhajinu |
 loka pratāraṇā kari udara pūrinu ||
 sādhu-mukhe siddhānta śuni trāsḥ upajila |
 amiyā ⁴ tejiye kiye garala bhakhila ⁵ ||
 nāmābhāsa dāsa muṇi nā dekhiye gati |
 madana tarāye prabhu rākhaha khiyāti ||

[CU. MS. 2524.]

« Alas ! alas ! O master Narahari ! take pity on me. Fallen to this cruel world I am burnt (with sufferings). I am an undeserving, lowly being. I do not know what is good or bad for me. My soul trembles in fear of the punishment of the god of Death. Being a fool I had been engaged in the futile pleasures of the young age : I have passed my days in courting old age and death. All the fright I had felt in my mother's womb I have forgotten after my birth, through the illusion of *māyā*. Your follower as I am, I have not worshipped you ; (on the other hand) I have filled my stomach by cheating people. On learning the (spiritual) truth from holy men fear has sprung upon me. I have indeed rejected ambrosia and have drunk of poison ! I am a servant only in name and I do not find a way out. By saving Madana, O my master, do please act up to your reputation. »

Narahari-Sarkār had no disciple or immediate follower by the name of Madana, at least we do not know any such. But there was such a person in his family. Narahari's elder brother Mukunda had a great-grandson named Madana. He seems to have been the poet of this song. The two poems on Nityānanda-prabhu also belong, in all probability, to him.

¹ Lacking in the original.² Four letters illegible in MS.³ 'janani ye' MS.⁴ 'amṛā' MS.⁵ 'bhukila' MS.

Madana-dāsa.

One poem with the *bh.* of 'Madana-dāsa' I have found in a stray folium of a MS. The poem, which is quoted below, is interesting as it shews that the poet was fully alive to the degradation of the Vaiṣṇava doctrines in the hand of ill-equipped and irreligious persons.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| sādhana bhajana | bahu doṣa guṇa |
| bujhite viṣama bhāra | |
| mahājana-mata | hañā anugata |
| bhakati karibe sāra | |
| gosvāmi-vacana | nā māne ye-jana |
| nija-mata kare sāra | |
| tāhāra vacane | nā pātibe kāne |
| bahu ki kahiba āra | |
| rādhā-kṛṣṇa dhyāna | ¹ |
| mahājane ihā kay | |
| ihā nā māniñā | anya ārādhiyā |
| rāgānugā nāhi hay | |
| rāgānugā hay ki | |
| kāma-gandha-hīna | premete adhīna |
| śunaha rājāra jhi | |
| rāgānugā-sāra | nā kare vicāra |
| āpanāke guru-buddhi | |
| nija-dehe rati | karaye piṇṭi |
| tāhāte nā hae siddhi | |
| rādhā-kṛṣṇa-rati | cittera ārati |
| śrī-rūpa-carāṇa āśa | |
| kintu bahu deṣe ² | dūṣita idāni |
| haila madana-dāsa [VSP. MS. 2416.] | |

* Religious and devotional practices and acts have merits and demerits in plenty; it is exceedingly difficult to understand (their proper significance). (What you should do is this :) following the doctrines (and instructions) of holy men (*literally* great men) you should adopt *bhakti* (pure

¹ This cæsura has been omitted by the scribe through oversight.

² Should 'deṣe' be emended to 'doṣe?' In that case the translation would be this : 'but now Madana-dāsa has been defiled with many blemishes.'

[illegible]

devotion) as the essential thing. You should never lend your ears to the words of the person that does not accept the doctrines of the Gosvāmins and that follows his own opinion (as the truth). What more should I say? Meditation of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.....: so say holy men. Without accepting this (doctrine) and by following another (*i.e.* erroneous) doctrine the way of 'rāga' or love (*rāgānugā padddhati*) never succeeds. What is then the path of 'rāga?' (It is) the submission (of one's soul) to love, bereft of the slightest tinge of desire in any form: listen to this, O daughter of a king! They never try to find out the essence of the doctrine of love (*rāgānugā*): but they think themselves superior. They are full of desire in respect of their bodies and they make (physical) love: success, therefore, does not come (to them). Love for Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (should be) the heart's yearning: hope must lie at the feet of Śrī-Rūpa (-Gosvāmin). But (the real doctrine of 'rāga' or pure love) has now-a-days been considerably defiled in many places: (so says) Madana-dāsa. *

Who was this Madana-dāsa I do not know. There were two Madana-Rāyas (besides the Madana discussed *supra*): one was a disciple of Narottama-Ṭhākura [*cf.* Prema-vilāsa xx; Narottama-vilāsa ii] and the other was the elder brother of Rāmagopāla-dāsa, the author of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* [*vide* VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 101]. If any of these two Madanas was the poet of the piece it must have been the former.

Viśvambhara-deva [*ante* 1653 A. C.].

In the earlier portion (*San* 1060) of the Das MS. there occurs a poem by Viśvambhara-deva. The poem is quoted below.

rāsa-manḍala mājhe yugala-kiśora |
duhū-aṅge aṅga diyā duhū bhela bhora ||
rādhā-aṅge aṅga diyā nāgarḍ cali yāy |
nāciyā caliche bhāli manda-gati ¹ tāy ||
tā dekhi maūri-saba nāce phiri phiri |
jaya rādhā kṛṣṇa bali ḍake śuka sārī ||
śyāma-adhare bāje madhura muralī |
yamunā thakita bhela mohita sakali ||
phula-bhare latā-saba lambita haīyā ² |
caraṇa-paraśa-āśe paṛiche naṭaiyā ³ ||

¹ 'mantha-' MS.

² 'hayā' MS.

³ 'naṭaiyā' MS.

vṛndāvane ānande hilola bahi yāy |
viśvambhara-deva tāhā dekhibāre pāy || [Das MS.]

« Within the *Rāsa* arena the Young Couple, reclining each against the other's person, were full of joy. Throwing (the weight of his person) against that of Rādhā the *Beau* walked on. He was walking in dancing steps, and his gait was slow. At this the peahen danced about turning (on all sides): the *śuka* and *sārikā* cried out the names of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. At the lips of Śyāma the sweet flute sang: (at this) the Yamunā became still and all around were charmed. With their burdens of flowers the creepers, being elongated, bent low in order to touch their feet. A wave of joyousness passed through Vṛndāvana. (May) Viśvambhara-deva have a sight of it! »

Viśvambhara-dāsa (?).

One poem on Caitanya-deva with the *bh.* of 'Viśvambhara' and another on the Kṛṣṇa theme with the *bh.* of 'Viśvambhara-dāsa' occur in PKT. [743, 1199]. The first poem may be a composition of Viśvambhara-deva [see above], but the other one probably came from another pen.

(Nṛpa) Udayāditya [*ante* 1643 or 1673 A. C.].

One MS. of Rāmagopāla-dāsa's *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* quotes the following couplet from a poem by 'Nṛpa Udayāditya' [*vide* VSPP., Vol. 37, p. 114].

emana bandhure mora ye jana bhāṅgāy |
ehena abalārṣ vadha lāgibeka tāy ||

« To him shall attach the (sin of) murder of such a woman (as I am), who will seduce away (from me) this my Lover! »

A fuller version of this poem occurs in another MS. of the *Rasa-kalpa-vallī* [*vide* Vaṅga-sāhitya-paricaya,¹ Part II, p. 1325]. It is as follows.

śyāma bandhure mora je jana bhāṅgāy |
ehena dukhīnī rādhārṣ vadha lāge tāy ||
kulera kāmīnī kari sirajāle vidhi |
dekhite nā pāi rūpa śyāma guṇa-nidhi ||

¹ Compiled by Rai Sahib Dinesh Chandra Sen, B.A., and published by the Calcutta University, 1914.

bāhira nā hai āmi guru janārṇḍ ḍare |
 dāruṇa nanadī vāṇī kārē nānā chale ||
 nā marie¹ nanadīnī khāo² duṭī ākhi |
 e bhara-dupure yena śyāma-rūpa dekhi ||

« To her shall attach the sin of killing this poor creature Rādhā, who seduces away my lover Śyāma. The Creator has made me a lady of a noble family, and (so) I cannot (always) have a sight of Śyāma, the Treasure of Virtue. I do not go out of my home for fear of my seniors ; still my cruel sister-in-law speaks (harsh) words on any pretext. My sister-in-law does not die ! May she eat up both her eyes, and may I be blessed with a sight of the Dark-complexioned One at this noon-tide ! »

The *Pada-kalpa-latikā* [first edition (A. C. 1849), pp. 131f.] contains a poem by Udayāditya. This poet must have been the same person as Nṛpa Udayāditya. Was this Prince (*nṛpa*) Udayāditya any way connected with Pratāpa-āditya who has been referred to by Govindadāsa Kavirāja ? The poem which is quoted below shows that the Prince (*nṛpa*) was no mean poet.

ki balite jāno³ muṇī ki balite pāri |
 eke guṇa-hina āra paravaśa nāri ||
 tomāra lāgiyā mora yata guru-jana |
 sakala haīla vairī keha nay āpana ||
 bāghera mājhe yena harinīra vāsa |
 tāra mājhe dīghala chārīte nāri śvāsa ||
 udaya-āditye kahe (mane) oi bhaya uṭhe |
 tomāra pīṛīti-khāni tilekṣ pāche ṭuṭe ||

« What shall I say ? and what can I say ? For one I am without any accomplishments or virtues, and for the other I am a woman dependent on others. For your sake all my seniors have become enemies : none can I claim as my friend. (It is), as it were a doe living among tigers : in their company I cannot release a long sigh. Udaya-āditya says : this fear only springs upon my heart that your (treasured) love may be diminished by even the slightest. »

Govindadāsa Kavirāja has mentioned one Pratāpāditya [see *supra*, p. 107]. Was Udayāditya any relation of his ? It is suggested

¹ maraye.

² —khāu.

³ 'jānu' Text.

that this Pratāpāditya was the ruler of Jessore, who was overthrown by Mānsingh, the general of Akbar and that Udayāditya was his son: (Rabindranath in his novel *Baṭhākurañīr Itāt* has done so.) But it is more than what can be proved historically.

Śyāma-priyā.

The following poem with the *bh.* of 'Śyāma-priyā' occurs in VSP. MS. 982. The poem laments the demise of Murāri and Rasikānanda, the two most prominent disciples of Śyāmānanda. Rasikānanda and Murāri were brothers, and their wives were named Mālātī and Śacī-rānī respectively [*cf.* Prema-vilāsa]. Who Śyāmapriyā was I do not know. The language of the poem precludes the supposition that the poet was a sister of Rasikānanda and Murāri. I suppose that the poet was a male follower of the two and that 'Śyāma-priyā' was his esoteric name or pen-name.

The poem runs as follows :

prāṇa dhariba kemane prāṇa dhariba kemane |
divase āndhāra haila śrī-murāri bine ||
hari-guru-vaiṣṇavera sevā haila vāda |
āra ki rasikānanda pūrūibe sādha ||
eke se rasikānanda rasera taraṅga |
basilā rasikānanda kṣīracorā-saṅga ||
kāḍite kāḍite hiyā bidare ullāse |
daśa-diga sūnya haila śyāma-priyā bhāṣe || [VSP. MS. 982.]

« How shall I hold on to my life ? How shall I do it ? Bereft of Śrī-Murāri it has become dark in daytime. The service to Hari, to the *guru* and to the *Vaiṣṇavas* has been interrupted. Would Rasikānanda again fulfil (our) desire ? Rasikānanda is for one a wave of joy ; (above that) he is (now) in the company of ' Kṣīracorā ' ¹ (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa). While weeping my heart is bursting out in joy (as he has attained that coveted state). The ten quarters are all empty : so says Śyāma-priyā. »

¹ Literally the cream-lifter. It is the name of the deity at Remunā in Orissa. The details of the cream-lifting incident is to be found in CC. [ii. 4]. Rasikānanda probably died at Remunā or near about.

Kṛṣṇaprasāda.

One poem by Śrī-Kṛṣṇaprasāda has been incorporated in the *Padāmṛta-samudra* [p. 413]. This poem (which occurs in the *Padaratnākara* with the *bh.* of Śivānanda) occurs with some variations also in PKT. [243].

This poet Kṛṣṇa-prasāda was undoubtedly a son of Gati-govinda and a grandson of Śrinivāsa-Acārya. Rādhāmohana-Thākura, the compiler of the *Padāmṛta-samudra*, was a grandson of Kṛṣṇa-prasāda.

Rājavallabha.

There are two poems by Rāja-vallabha in GPT. [p. 459 ff.]. Both poems describe the joyful ceremony at the poet Vamśī-vadana's birth. The poet seems to have been the great grandson of Vamśī-vadana.

CHAPTER XIX

POETS IN BENGALI : EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY OR EARLIER

Vipradāsa-Ghoṣa.

In PKT. and in the *Śaṅkīrttanāmṛta* occurs a single poem by the above poet [PKT. 1175, *Śaṅkīrttanāmṛta* 80]. Vipradāsa-Ghoṣa lived at Devipurṣ near Rāni-hāṭī, and he was the inventor of the Rānihāṭī style of *Kīrttana* [Birbhūm-vivaraṇa, Vol. iii, p. 167]. The poem describes Child Kṛṣṇa's yearning for driving the cattle to the woods in company with the cowherd boys and his mother's unwillingness to let him do so. The poem is written in simple style, and is one of the best poems of the *Vātsalya* type. I quote this poem below :

āgo mā āji āmi carāba bāchurṣ |
parāiṣ deha dhaṛā mantra paṛi bāndha cūṛā
caraṇete parāha nūpurṣ ||
alaka tilakā bhāle vana-mālā deha gale
śiṅgā vetra veṇu deha hāthe |
śrī-dāma su-dāma dāma subalādi balarāma
sabhāi dāṛāiyā rāja-pathe ||
viśāla arjuna jānṣ kiṅkiṇī aṁśumān
sājiyā sabhāi goṭhe yāy |
gopālera kathā śuni sajala-nayane rūṇī
acetane dharaṇī loṭāy ||
cañcala bāchuri sane kemane dhāibā vane
komala du-khāni rāṅgā pāy |
ghoṣa vipra-dāse bale e vayase goṭhe gele
prāṇa ki dharite pāre māy ||

“O mother ! may I herd calves to-day ? Clothe me up, tie me a top-knot and mutter incantations over it, and put anklets at my heels.

On my forehead paint decorations, fasten a wreath around my neck and let me have in my hand a horn, a cane, and a flute. Śrīdāma, Sudāma, Dāma, Subala, Balarāma and others are all waiting on the road. Viśāla, Arjuna, Jāna, Kiṅkiṇī, Aṃśumān,—they are all dressed and are starting for the pasture fields." On hearing this from the Child (Kṛṣṇa) the lady, her eyes filled with tears, fell down stunned on the ground. "How can you run up with the fleet-footed calves, with your tender ruddy feet?" asks Vipradāsa-Ghoṣa, "Can mother be at her ease if you go herding cattle at such an age?"

Dvija Bhīma.

There is only one extant poem by Bhīma [PKT. 34]. The poem is really a nice one. It is quoted below :

| | |
|----------------------------------|------------------|
| ki rūpa dekhilū | madhura-mūrati |
| pīrti-raseṇa sūra | |
| hena lay mane | e tina bhuvane |
| tulanā nāhika āra | |
| bara binodiyā | cūrūra tālani |
| kapāle candana cānda | |
| jini vidhu-vara | vadana sundara |
| bhuvana-mohana phānda | |
| nava jaladhara | rase (hara-)hara |
| varaṇa cikaṇa kālā | |
| aṅgera bhūṣaṇa | rajata kāñcana |
| maṇi mukutāra mālā | |
| joṛā bhurū yena | kāmera kāmūna |
| ke nā kaila niramāṇa | |
| tarala nayane | teracha cūhani |
| viṣama kusuma-bāṇa | |
| sundara adhare | madhura murali |
| hāsiyā kathāṭi kay | |
| dvija bhīme kahe | o rūpa nagara |
| dekhile parāṇa ray [PKT. 34.] | |

« What a beauty, what a lovely person I have seen ! It (is, indeed, made of) the essence of the spirit of Love. It seems as if there is nothing in these three worlds that can bear a comparison. Very

charming is the knot of his forelocks. The sandal-paste mark on his forehead (is like) a moon. His lovely face, defying the moon, is a trap for the heart of the universe. His complexion is shining black, like that of a fresh cloud laden with water. Gold and silver as well as chaplets of pearls and diamonds are his ornaments. The continuous curve of the eyebrows is really the bow of Cupid. Who has built it, pray? The corner glances of his liquid eyes are the keen shafts of the flower (-bowed god of love). Between his exquisite lips (he holds) the sweet flute. He speaks words prefaced by smiles. Dviṇa Bhīma says : ' When one eyes that lovely hero, can one's heart remain (in peace) ? ' »

Mādhurī(-dāsa).

Four MSS. of the *Paḍa-kalpa-taru* have the *bh.* of 'Mādhurī' in the poem [140]. The variant *bh.* is 'Mādhavī' [*vide* PKT., Vol. I, p. 99]. The *bh.* of 'Mādhurī' occurs in KPS. [p. 50] too. The editor of the VSP. edition of PKT. rejects the *bh.* of 'Mādhurī.' But this is hardly justifiable as the reading 'Mādhurī' is supported by a greater number of MSS. than the alternate reading 'Mādhavī.' Another poem in PKT. [776] has the alternate *bh.* of 'Mādhurī.' The existence of a distinct poet by the name of Mādhurī or Mādhurī-dāsa is supported by the *bh.* of the following poem of mystic import. The poem is rather corrupt at places, and as such the translation is but tentative.

| | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| marame marame | paśīṇā du-jane |
| peye sadā mana-madhu | |
| cakora hariṣe | sudhāra āveṣe |
| paraśīṇā rahe vidhu | |
| yakhana janame | du-ṭhāṇī du-janā |
| ācare ye yāra rīta ¹ | |
| kālākālā ² pāṇā | baṭhāt-kāre āsīṇā |
| yogāyoga paratīta | |
| e sātha ³ milana | pāila yei-jana |
| tulanā ⁴ nāhika tāra | |
| ghṛta dugdha cini | tāhāra bāchani |
| chāniṇā nikase sāra | |

¹ 'ācareye jā rīta' MS.

² 'kālākālā' MS.

³ 'sāta' MS.

⁴ 'tolanā' MS

dāsa mādhuri ¹ ānanda-lahari
 karaṇe kautuka pāi |
 paraśe miśāññā bhiññāna karaha
 manake māthaye ² bhāi || [CU. MS. 288.]

« Having both of them penetrated the inner hearts and having obtained the perpetual satisfaction, the *cakora*, in joy and in intoxication of the ambrosia, remains in contact with the moon. When they were born the two were at different places, and they behaved according to their individual proclivities (?). But on the opportune moment they were forcibly brought in (mutual) contact, and their union was complete (?). The person who has come in contact with these has nothing to be compared to. *Ghee*, milk and sugar—their pick—(are mixed together and) passed through a strainer, and the essence is the outcome. Mādhuri-dāsa (says), 'It is a stream of bliss, and when practised great pleasure is obtained : mixing with touch cook it and churn the mind, O (my) brother !'

Mānasimha-dāsa.

One poem by Mānasimha-dāsa has been quoted in the *Rasa-niryāsa*. The poet is otherwise unknown. It is quoted below :

 ohe śyāma-rāya kathā śuna mana diyā |
 ki karite ki nā kare gumari gumari jhure
 ki dekhāy kapāle hūthā diyā ||
 ati sukumāra tanu śirīṣa-kusuma janu
 bhūla manda kiehuī nā jāne |
 rāja-kumārī ghare rahite nāhika pūre
 tomāre se dekhiyā svapane ||
 vasana nā rākhe gāy kātara-nayane cāy
 sonārā tanu dhulāye paṛiyā |
 tomāra kathina mana tiri-vadha nā ganaṇa ³
 kulavati dilā cālāiyā ⁴ ||
 śuniyā sakhira vāṇī hariṣe rasika-maṇī
 kahe jhūṭa milāha yatane ||
 mānasimha-dāse bhāṇe haiyā ulasita-mane
 dhanī kāche punarāgamane ||

¹ 'mādhuri' MS.

² mathiyā?

³ MS. 'nā gana.'

⁴ MS. 'kulabati kula dilā cālāiyā.'

‘O Prince Śyāma, just listen to (my) words with attention. (Rādhā) does one thing to do another; she weeps in secret, and she indicates we do not know what by placing her hand on her forehead. She is as fragile as a *śirīṣa* flower, and she knows nothing, good or evil. She, the princess, having dreamt of you, can hardly keep herself at home. She cannot keep the *sari* on her person (out of love-sickness), she looks about with pained eyes; her superb body (she) throws down on the ground. Your heart is cruel indeed, (as) it does not care for woman-slaughter; it has (dared to) move (even) a lady of a good family!’ On hearing these words of the female friend, the Prince of lovers joyfully retorted, ‘Do please manage to make (us) meet quickly.’ Mānasimha-dāsa says (that the female friend) was delighted at heart and returned to the precious girl (*i.e.* Rādhā). •

Rasamaya-dāsa.

There are three poems with the *bh.* ‘Rasamaya’ and ‘Rasamaya-dāsa’ in PKT [1700, 1864, 1865]. The poems are all on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend and are written in simple language.

‘Rasamayī-dāsī.’

There is only one poem with the above *bh.* in PKT. [757]. In some MSS. of the *Pada-kalpa-taru* it contains the *bh.* of Locana-dāsa, and in the *Pada-rasa-sāra* it occurs with the *bh.* ‘Rasamaya-dāsa’ [PKT., Vol. III, p. 99]. The reading of the *Pada-rasa-sāra* is distinctly superior to that of the accepted PKT. reading. The poem, therefore, must have come from the pen of Rasamaya-dāsa.

Yādavendra(-dāsa).

Three poems by Yādavendra are incorporated in PKT. [1189, 1192, 1225]. Three more occur in KPS. [pp. 45, 48, 51]. Three additional poems are contained in the *Saṅkīrtanāmṛta* [77, 79, 86]. Yādavendra was a Brahmin, and was an inhabitant of the village Hariśpur near Suri, Birbhum. He flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century. Paṇḍit Harekrṣṇa Sāhityaratna’s researches have discovered these and other details of the life of the poet Yādavendra [*vide* Birbhum-vivaraṇa, Vol. iii, pp. 226 f.].

āmāra śapati lāge nā dhāiha dhenurā āge
parūnera parūṇā nīla-mañi |
nikaṭe rākhiha dhenu pūriha mohana veṇu
ghare basi āmi yena śuni ||

balāi dhāibe āge āra śīśu vāma-bhāge
śrīdāma sudāma saba-pāche |
tumi tāra mājhe dbāiha saṅga-chārā nā haiya
māthe baṛa ripu-bhaya āche ||

kṣudhā haile laiya khāiha patha pāne cāhi yiha
atīsaya tṛṇānkura pathe |
kāru bāle baṛa dhenu phirāite nā yiha kānu
bāta tuli deha mora māthe ||

thākibe tarura chāya minati kariche māya
ravi yena nā lāgaye gāy |
yādavendre saṅge laiha bādhā pānai bāthe thuiha
bujhiyā yogūbe rāṅgā pūy || [PKT. 1189.]

55

Svarṇalālī.¹

Svarṇalālī was the wife of the poet Yādavendra. She was a gifted lady. Paṇḍit Harekr̥ṣṇa has published three poems by her [Bhāratavar̥ṣa, Śrāvapa, 1336 B.E.] The following poem is quoted as a specimen of her composition :—

asakāle gelām yamunāra kūle |
 dalitāñjana cikana-rūpa |
 kene se rūpe sakhi dilām ākhi |
 urīyā basilām se rasa-kūpe |
 navina-meghete vidyut-chaṭā |
 mu-khāni dekhilām pūrṇimār̥ṣ cāda |
 tribhaṅga haīyā dāṛāye āche |
 mana muruchi mariyāchila |
 asthira gharete āsite nāri |
 keha saṅge nāi mātṛa ekākinī |
 anusāre yadi āilām ghare |
 geha haila mor̥ṣ durgama vana |
 durgama-banete sab̥ṣ jantu ray |
 se kālā bine mor̥ṣ prāṇa nā ray |
 svarṇalālī kahe śona he dhanī |
 cala abhisāre rājār̥ṣ-i bālā |

bādhure herilām nīpa-taru-mūle ||
 ā mari mari rasera bhūpa ||
 nayana mana mor̥ṣ hāila pākhi ||
 ākhi prāṇa mora hārāila rūpe ||
 haste pade dekhi cādera ghaṭā ||
 taruñira mana-nayana-phāda ||
 pājara kāṣīyā hṛdaye nāce ||
 kākhera kalasī khasiñā gela ||
 ādhuyā haīyā pathete phiri ||
 asakāla hāila kariba ki (?) ||
 kalasī nā dekhi bhartsana kare ||
 ki kari sakhi ghare nā rabe mana ||
 geha-vane mora guru-janāy bhay̥ṣ ||
 phukure kahite antare bhay̥ṣ ||
 kānur̥ṣ preme tumi hao śiromaṇi ||
 yatane āniyā milāiba kālā ||

‘ In the evening I went to the bank of the Yamunā : I saw the Beloved One (standing) at the root of the *nīpa* tree. His glossy complexion is like pressed collyrium ; alas ! alas ! he is a king of loveliness. Why did I, O friend, eye that loveliness ? My eyes and my heart became a bird, as it were. I flew away and perched on that well of beauty : my eyes and my heart were lost in that gracefulness. (His garment was like) a flash of lightning on a dark cloud : in his fingers and toes I found a series of moons. His face, I saw, was a full moon : it was the trap for the eyes and hearts of young women. He was standing in a reclining posture : (it seemed as if) he pierced through my ribs and danced in my heart. My mind swooned away and was dead, as it were : the pitcher at my waist dropped down. Restless, I could not return home, and like one blinded I wandered along the path. No one was with me, and I was alone ; it was

¹ The discovery and identification of this poetess is entirely due to the researches of Paṇḍit Harekr̥ṣṇa Sāhityaratna [vide Bhāratavar̥ṣa, Śrāvapa, 1336 B.E.]

evening. What was I to do? Though I returned home somehow (my people), not finding the pitcher, chastised me. My home has become an impassable forest to me: What can I do, my friend? My heart does not rest in peace (here). In deep forests all kinds of beasts dwell: but in the forest of my home my fear (is) from my superiors. Without the Dark One (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) my life is at stake: and to speak aloud I am afraid at heart.' Svarṇalālī says, 'Listen, O precious girl! you are the crest-jewel in (the estimation of) Kṛṣṇa's love. Come on *abhisāra*,¹ you daughter of a prince! I will do my utmost and make the Dark One meet you.'

Navacandra-dāsa.

Three poems by Navacandra are incorporated in PKT. [1193, 1230, 1240]. All the three poems are on the *Goṣṭha* (pasturing the cattle) episode of the Kṛṣṇa legend.

Navadvīpacandra-dāsa.

One poem only by Navadvīpacandra-dāsa occurs in PKT. [2961]. The poem is a prayer.

Rāmakānta.

One poem only by Rāmakānta occurs in PKT. [1572]. This poem as well as another is cited in GPT. [pp. 242 ff.]. The two poems are connected. They describe the *abhiṣeka* (anointing ceremony) of Caitanya-deva by his followers. One poem with the *bh.* 'Rāma' is cited in PKT. [2309]. 'Rāma' may be a short form of 'Rāma-kānta' or of 'Rāma-candra.'

Rūpa-carāṇa [*ante* 1795 A.C.].

One poem on the Kṛṣṇa legend by Rūpa-carāṇa is cited in KPS. [pp. 111 f.]. A MS. in the Calcutta University Library [MS. 353, dated 1202 B.E.] contains a few poems by Rūpa-carāṇa. Two of these poems—both on the *sannyāsa* of Caitanya-deva—have been cited in the Catalogue of Bengali MSS. in the Calcutta University Library [Vol. ii, pp. 303 f.].

Svarupa-carāṇa.

One poem, describing the beauty of Kṛṣṇa, by Svarūpa-carāṇa is cited in APR. [580].

Svarupa (Svarupa-dāsa).

Two poems on the *abhīṣeka* ceremony of Caitanya-deva at the house of Gauridāsa Paṇḍita, with the *bh.* of 'Svarūpa' occur in PKT. [1574, 1575]. These two as well as a third on the same topic are cited in GPT. also. [pp. 245 f.]. Another poem with the *bh.* of 'Svarūpa-dāsa,' occurs in the same work [pp. 416 f.]. This poem written in *Dhāmālī* style describes the joyousness at the birth of Nityānanda-prabhu. 'Svarūpa' may be a short form of 'Svarūpa-carāṇa.'

Rāmakṛṣṇa-Ācārya, a disciple of Narottama-Ṭhākura, had a disciple named Svarūpa-Cakravartī who lived at Husenpurṣ [Narottama-vilāsa, xii]. Was he the poet?

Sadānanda-dāsa.

One poem, an ode to Caitanya-deva, by Sadānanda-dāsa is cited in PKT. [2194]. The same poem however occurs with the *bh.* of 'Śivānanda-dāsa' in GPT. [p. 35].

Hare-(Hari-) kṛṣṇa-dāsa.

One poem by Harekṛṣṇa-dāsa is cited in PKT. [1370]. Another poem, presumably by the same poet, occurs there with the *bh.* 'Harikṛṣṇa-dāsa' [60]. The same poem however occurs in GPT. [p. 297] with the proper *bh.* 'Harekṛṣṇa-dāsa.'

'Haridāsa.'

Two poems with the *bh.* of 'Haridāsa' are cited in PKT. [2342, 3014]. Both poems are on Caitanya-deva. Besides there are four poems (all in Brajabuli) with the *bh.* of 'Dviḥa Haridāsa.' 'Dviḥa Haridāsa' has

¹ This poem occurs with the *bh.* of 'Balarāma-dāsa' in the *Pada-ratnākara*. But in the *Kīrtanānanda* [pp. 209] and other works it occurs with the *bh.* of 'Haridāsa' or 'Haridāsa-dāsa.' In VSP. MS. 982 the *bh.* of this poem runs thus: 'kehe haridāsa hāṛa' etc. Is 'hāṛa' an error for 'hōṛa'? In that case we should ascribe it to Haridāsa (v).

been already dealt with [see *supra*, pp. 56 f.]. The poet (or poets ?) Hari-dāsa may have been a different person from 'Dvija Haridāsa.' It is however evident that the poet (or poets ?) was either a younger contemporary of Caitanya-deva or belonged to the latter half of the sixteenth century at the latest. Let us now enumerate all the Haridāsas that have some chance of being our poet (or poets).

(i) Haridāsa-Ṭhākura, (ii) Choṭa (junior) Haridāsa, (iii) Dvija Haridāsa, (iv) Hari-Ācārya, (v) Haridāsa-Hoṛa : all these were followers of the Master. (vi) Haridāsa, (vii) Haridāsa-Ṭhākura, and (viii) Haridāsa Śiromaṇi, these were followers of Narottama-Ṭhākura [Prema-vilāsa, xx ; Narottama-vilāsa, xii].

Haridāsa (vi) may have been the poet of the second poem in PKT. [3014] as the *Narottama-vilāsa* [xii] makes the following remark :

jaya jaya haridāsa haṛṣa gaura-rase |
nirantara abhilāṣa navadvīpa-vāse ||

Pāvana-dāsa.

One poem by Pāvana-dāsa on the birth of Kṛṣṇa occurs in the *Kīrttanānanda* [p. 6]. The name is very peculiar.

Vaiṣṇava-dāsa (ii).

I have already discussed Vaiṣṇava-dāsa (i), the compiler of the *Paḍa-kalpa-taru*. The encyclopædic character of this anthology enables us to presume that it must have contained *all* the poems that were written by Vaiṣṇava-dāsa. It may be argued that he may have written poems after he had made the compilation. To this it may be said in reply that the anthology took many years to be completed and that it was undoubtedly a work of the compiler's mature age. It is therefore exceedingly unlikely that he should have written poems afterwards in any considerable number. Or in any case he might have added them to the anthology.

The *Kīrttanānanda* [p. 5] contains one and only one poem with the bh. of 'Vaiṣṇava-dāsa.' It deals with the newly-born Kṛṣṇa. It is quite likely that the *Kīrttanānanda* was earlier to the *Paḍa-kalpa-taru* and probably also to the *Paḍāṃṣṭa-samudra*. At least the poet Rādhāmohana-Ṭhākura was unknown to Gaurasundara-dāsa, the compiler of the *Kīrttanānanda*. It is, therefore, quite reasonable to conclude that

Vaiṣṇava-dāsa also was unknown to him. The poem with the *bh.* of 'Vaiṣṇava-dāsa' in the *Kīrtanānanda* therefore belongs to an earlier Vaiṣṇava-dāsa.

One poem by 'Vaiṣṇava-dāsa' on the Kṛṣṇa legend occurs in VSP. MS. 2416. This poem also does not occur in PKT. The last couplet of this poem runs as follows :

dukhiā vaiṣṇava-dāsa¹ pūrala manera āśa
dekhi kuñje yugala-kīśora |
kokila bhamarā saba gāna kare ucca-rava
ānandeta haīye bibhora ||

« The desire of the heart of the poor Vaiṣṇava-dāsa has been realised on seeing the Young Couple at the pavilion. Cuckoos and bees, mad in joy, sang in loud notes. »

Another poem on the same topic and presumably by the same poet occurs in CU. MS. 880. The last line of this poem, which also does not occur in PKT., runs as follows :

nivedana mora śuna he nāgara
rāī dekhibāre cala |
vaiṣṇava-dāse kay kahite lāgaye bhayā
rāī se nidāna bhela ||

« Listen to my submission, O gallant lover ! come and meet Rādhā. Vaiṣṇava-dāsa says, ' I feel terrified to say : Rādhā is in a crisis. ' »

There is one poem, and one only, by Vaiṣṇava-dāsa on the Kṛṣṇa legend occurring in PKT. [1568]. I suspect that this poem really belongs to this earlier Vaiṣṇava-dāsa. Was this earlier Vaiṣṇava-dāsa the same person as Vaiṣṇava-carāṇa ?

'Kānāi-Khuṭiyā.'

One poem with the *bh.* of 'Kānāi-Khuṭiyā' is quoted in APR. [434] from the *Paṇa-rasa-sāra*. Paṇḍit Harekrṣṇa Sāhityaratna seeks to identify this poet with Caitanya-deva's Oriyā follower of the same name [*vide* VSP., Vol. 34, pp. 51 f.]. It is quite unlikely that an Oriyā could have

¹ 'boṣṭaba-dāsa.' MS.

written such a poem in chaste Bengali. As a matter of fact this poem occurs with the *bh.* of Locana-dāsa in KPS. [p. 207]. The elegant style of the poem certainly points to such a distinguished poet as Locana.

Kubera-ānanda.

One poem by Kubera-ānanda is quoted in APR. [484] from the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. The poem describes the physical charms of Caitanya-deva.

Dhanañjaya.

Three poems by Dhanañjaya are cited in APR. [512-514] from the *Pada-ratnākara* and the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. Two poems by the same poet occur in VSP. MS. 2416. Dhanañjaya's language is simple and his diction quite good.

Rāghava.

One poem by Rāghava is cited in APR. [560] from the *Pada-rasa-sāra*. The poem describes Kṛṣṇa's gracefulness.

Paraśurāma (? i, ii).

Paraśurāma 'the Brahmin' (*vipra, dvija*) was the author of a *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala*. This work is known in several MSS. all of which, except one, are fragmentary. One complete copy of this work has been secured by Mr. Nalinināth Dasgupta [*vide* Vicitrā, Agrahāyaṇa, B.E. 1339, p. 688]. According to Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa Sāhityaratna this Paraśurāma was the author of *Mādhava-saṅgīta*, another lyrical work on the Kṛṣṇa legend [*vide* Birbhūm-vivaraṇa, Vol. III, p. 163]. The *Mādhava-saṅgīta* was written at the instance of Kumāra Śyāma-śekhara, a scion of the 'Kṣetri' race [*loc. cit.*].¹ In the introductory portion of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala* Paraśurāma pays his homage to Caitanya-deva, Nityānanda-prabhu, Advaita-prabhu, Sanātana-Gosvāmin, Dāmodara, Haridāsa and Narahari-Sarkār. Abhirāma-dāsa has also been mentioned [*vide* Vicitrā, p. 689]. As no Vaiṣṇava of the seventeenth century has been mentioned the presumption is that the poet flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century. The

¹ kṣetri-avatamśa
yāra deśe vasi

mehārāja-vamśa
saṅgīta-vilāsi

kumāra śikhara-śyāma |
racita paraśurāma |

Jagadānanda-Ghoṣa.

āy bhāi khelāite yābi gorācāda ।
 śiśu-gaṇa dāki bale āy bhāi gaṅgārā kūle
 nāciba gāiba hari-nāma ॥
 śire avatamsa kanaka-jhuri lambita
 dolata lalāṭa-sumājha ।
 tad-upari candana citra-vicitraka
 dekhi mukha candra virāja ॥
 ratana-hārāvali bakṣe vilambita
 ṭāra balayā dona kare ।
 gaura kalevara nīla-pāṭera dhaṭi
 beṛiyāche ghāghara ghuṅghure ॥
 hede re bālaka-ṇa lañā yāicha prāṇa-dhana
 sakāla āniha gorā-cāde ।
 ṭhākura sundarānanda gorā-līlā bijānata
 gāyata ghoṣa-jagadānande ॥

¹. Obtained through the courtesy of Babu Sivaratana Mitra.

On the bank of the Ganges we shall dance about and sing the name of Hari.' On (Gorā's) head there is a crest wherefrom dangle golden tassels that play against his fair forehead. On it are lovely decorations of sandal-paste: his face (thus) looks like a shining moon. Strands of a precious necklace are suspended against his chest: armlets and bangles (beautify) both his arms. A blue coloured silken cloth is draped about his fair limbs: a girdle with tiny bells encircles his waist. 'Look here, you boys, you are taking away the treasure of my life; but do bring back early Gorā the moon.' Thākura Sundarānanda knows the sports of Gorā. So sings Ghoṣa Jagadānanda. »

Bhavānanda.

Bhavānanda's *Hari-vamśa*,¹ a Bengali narrative poem on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, contains about one hundred and twenty-four lyrics in Bengali. A few of these lyrics occur in some MSS. from East Bengal. Nothing is known about Bhavānanda except that his father's name was Sivānanda and that he was an East Bengal man. One MS. of the *Hari-vamśa* bears the date 'San 1096 Sāl' [*vide* *Hari-vamśa*, Preface, p. iv]. If the date is correct Bhavānanda must have flourished, at the latest, in the second half of the seventeenth century. Bhavānanda was not a bad poet, as the following poem will testify :—

tora lāgi beṛāi nātha tora lāgi beṛāi |
 tumi bine anya jāni tomāra dohāi ||
 dekhile se rahe prāṇa nā dekhi marimu |
 tumi bine nā lay mane ki buddhi karimu ||
 tumi bahi prāṇanātha nāhi keha āra |
 tomāke tomāra dite ki yābe āmāra ||
 tora bāṇe mana hāle virale kahichi |
 tomāra tomāre diyā tomāra haichi ||
 sakala tejiyā bailu tomāra adhina |
 rāṅgā-pade chāyā māge bhavānanda dīna ||

[*Hari-vamśa*, p. 97.]

[Rādhā soliloquises to Kṛṣṇa:] 'O my lord, I wander about in search of thee. I swear by thee that I do not know anybody but thee.

¹ Edited by Satīśchandra Ray and published by the Dacca University, B.E. 1339.

My life can subsist only on seeing thee ; if not, I shall die. Nothing appeals to me except thee (*i.e.* thy thought) : what am I to do ? O lord of my life ! I have none other than thee. What shall it cost me if I give away to thee what is thy own ? I tell you confidentially that my heart is reeling, being smitten by the arrow (of) thy (love) ; but I have returned to thee what really belongs to thee, and I am now thine ! I have spurned away everything, and I am at thy command.' The humble Bhavānanda seeks the shade of (those) rosy feet. »

POETS FROM UNDATED OR LATE MANUSCRIPTS AND
FROM MODERN ANTHOLOGIES

The following poem by Rājiva-locana occurs in VSP. MS. 201. It has the ring of a poem by so-called 'Caṇḍidāsa.' There are some corruptions and *lacunæ* in the poem.

• ‘And yet the cruel people talk scandals about me with Kṛṣṇa! Out of deference to this I have given up (painting my eyes with) collyrium as dark as fresh cloud. Through fear I do not touch with my hand dark-coloured flowers: this is a great sorrow at my heart. ... Whenever I hear the flute I shut my ears with the hands.’ Rājivalocana says: ‘This scandal is not to be removed. Why do you then feel ill at heart? Like the dark stain of collyrium is (the note of) the flute on your heart: can you erase it by mere washing?’ •

² The portion in the brackets does not occur in the MS.

In the same MS. occurs a poem by 'Gopi-rāma.' This poem also has the so-called 'Caṇḍidāsa' ring. It is quoted below. There is much irregularity in the metre.

[VSP. MS. 201.]

• At what (an inauspicious) moment I had made love to the cruel Kālā (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) ! He as fire, (is burning) in my heart : how long can I suppress it ? The Dark One is fickle-hearted, fickle is his character, and disturbing are the notes of his flute. I have made love to the fickle-minded Kālīyā (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) : my heart has become restless. There is my own husband at home, whom my heart does not like ; and my two eyes are shedding ceaseless tears. To whom shall I speak out the secret of my heart ? The idol of my heart only is cognisant of it. While talking with others idle talks on indifferent topics how long can I cover up with fine linen my ever horripilating limbs ? All my limbs have become numb : my legs are unsteady while walking. Śyāma the moon has destroyed my peace. . So says Gopī-rāma. •

Āśānanda.

A rather long poem by Āśānanda occurs in VSP. MS. 982. The poem is an ode to Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa. The last two couplets run as follows:

śrī-gopālabhaṭṭa-padṣ tāra¹ dhana-sampad
 gaṇa saha ācārya-ṭhākura |
 pūjārī śrī-gopīnāthṣ more kara ātmasāt
 tabe se hrdayeṣṭ duḥkha dūra ||
 tomāra śrī-²śrī-carane dāsa kari rākha sane
 mūrḥa-mati ki baliba āra |
 • kahe dina āśānande³ paṛīāchi bhava-bandhe
 cī-vāra karaha uddhāra ||

Navacaitanya-dāsa.

A poem, an ode to Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita, by Navacaitanya-dāsa occurs in VSP. MS. 982. The poem is quoted below.

paṇḍita śrī-gaurīdāsa ambikāte yāra vāsa
 deha yāra premara svarūpa |
 caitanyera ājñā pāñā nityānanda saṅge lañā
 prema-dāne ati-aparupa ||
 prabhu kahe nityānanda rāmāī sundarānanda
 gaurīdāsa paṇḍita laīyā |
 suradhuni-tīra yāñā jibere sadaya hañā
 prema deha jagata bhariyā ||
 prema-dhana vitarane divā-niśi nāhi jāne
 dina hīna nā kaila vicāra |
 gaurīdāsa baṛa raṅgi prema-dānerṣṭ pāñā saṅgi
 khuli dila premara bhāṇḍāra ||
 pūrve vraja-vihāre kṛṣṇera ye saha-care
 subala baliyā nāma dhare |
 kṛṣṇe sukha dei sadā āpane haiyā rādhā
 dekhi kṛṣṇe viraha pāsare ||
 rādhāra svarūpa dekhi kṛṣṇa hailā mahāsukhi
 tāra rūpe ānandita mana
 tabe-ta subala-rūpa gaurīdāsa svarūpa
 mahāprabhurṣṭ sukhara kāraṇa ||

¹ 'yāra,' ?² 'sya,' MS.³ 'āśānande,' MS.

gaurīdāsa prema-dāne caitanya nā dekhi mane
 ki kariḥa ki habe upāyḥ |
 tabe-ta caitanya-hari mane mane bicāri
 nityānanda saṅga lañā yāy ||
 sākṣāt svarūpa hañā duī-prabhu sukha pāñā
 sevā-rase tāhāra adhina |
 koṭi kāma jini rūpa sva-mādhuri-svarūpa
 dekhi yena nitya-navina ||
 gauṛa-deśe gaurīdāsa sevā pāñā sukhollāsa
 ānanda-samudre sadā bhāse |
 tāhāra asīma-guṇa kaila kichu varṇana
 kahe navacaitanya-dāse ||

• Paṇḍita Śrī-Gaurīdāsa, whose residence was at Ambikā and whose person was a storehouse of divine love, on receiving the command of Caitanya, joined the company of Nityānanda and (was) wonderful in bestowing divine love (on people). The Master said: ‘Nityānanda, taking Rāmāī, Sundarānanda and Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita with you, do you go along the banks of the Ganges, and taking pity on creatures, do you bestow divine grace throughout the world.’ While dispensing divine grace (Nityānanda-prabhu) had no sense of fatigue (*literally* had no sense of day or night), and he made no discrimination between the poor, or the wretched (and the deserving). Gaurīdāsa was a very sportive person, and on finding a companion in the work of distributing the wealth of divine love, he opened wide (the gates of) the store-house. In yore during the sports at the Vraja a companion of Kṛṣṇa was named Subala. He always ministered to Kṛṣṇa’s pleasures, himself masquerading as Rādhā, and thereat Kṛṣṇa (temporarily) forgot his reparation (from his Beloved). Finding him to be an exact dual of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa became immensely delighted: his (*i.e.* Subala’s) beauty gladdened his heart. But now Gaurīdāsa was an incarnation of Subala and was a source of delight to the Great Master. When dispensing divine love Gaurīdāsa, on not finding Caitanya (near him), thought: ‘What am I to do? What should be done?’ Then Caitanya, (the incarnation of) Hari, thought something and came along with Nityānanda. The two Masters became exact images, and being delighted with his service, they became indebted to him. (The two images) are their replica: (their beauty) defeats that of millions of gods of love. They look ever-fresh. On finding this service in the country of Gauḍa, Gaurīdāsa was overjoyed: he swam in the sea of joy.

Infinite (are) his virtues of which a few are described here. Thus says Navacaitanya-dāsa. »

Dvija Ghanaśyāma [Ghanaśyāma-dāsa (iii)].

There are seven connected poems on the 'Naukā' episode by Ghanaśyāma in KPS. [pp. 86 ff.]. These are longish poems and of the narrative type. Four of these poems contain the *bh.* 'dvija Ghanaśyāma' and the rest 'Ghanaśyāma-dāsa.' The poet seems to have written a narrative work of 'Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala' type. The last poem is cited here as a specimen.

pāra haiyā yata gopī gela saba ghare |
 godhana laiṅṅā kṛṣṇa yamunāra tīre ||
 velā avasāna dekhe ānandita haiyā |
 vṛndāvana prati dhāy godhana laiṅṅā ||
 ucca-puccha kari dhenu cale hāmbā-rave |
 ābā ābā rava diye cale śīśu sabe ||
 nija nija gr̥he sabe karila praveśa |
 diua-maṇi asta gelā velā avasēṣa ||
 eī ta kahilām kṛṣṇerā naukā-khaṇḍa yata |
 ghanaśyāma-dāsa kahe āra kaba kata || [KPS., p. 91.]

« Having crossed (the river) all the *Gopīs* went home. Kṛṣṇa, with the cattle on the bank of the Yamunā, joyfully contemplated the sunset, and then he departed for Vṛndāvana, driving forward the cattle. The cattle, with tails uplifted and lowing 'Īlām-bā' trudged on, and the (cowherd) boys followed, crying 'Ābā, ābā.' They entered their respective places and the Jewel of the day (*i.e.* the sun) went down, terminating the day. Thus far I have delineated the Ferry Episode ('Naukā-khaṇḍa') of Kṛṣṇa. What more, says Ghanaśyāma-dāsa, can I add ? »

This poet Ghanaśyāma was a Brahmin as he mentions himself as *dvija*. We have already seen that the poet Narahari-Cakravartī, who was a Brahmin, sometimes signed his poems 'Ghanaśyāma-dāsa.' But as he never subscribed himself as *dvija* he does not seem to be the poet in question. The other Ghanaśyāma, the grandson of Govindadāsa Kavirāja, was a Vaidya. The poet in question must have been a third Ghanaśyāma.

‘Pratāpa-rudra.’

In VSP. MS. 192 there occurs a Bengali poem with the *śh.* ‘Pratāpa-rudra’ [Cat. MS. Vol. III. 2, p. 160 f.]. It cannot be the composition of that celebrated king of Orissa, but may have been composed by one of his courtiers. Or it might be the composition of a poet who took the pen-name ‘Pratāpa-rudra.’ The poem is a rather nice one. It is quoted below.

tomāra lāgiyā rādhe tomā ārādhinu |
 manera mānasa yata sakala sādhinu ||
 aṅga mājhe haba tomār aṅga paripūra |
 ābharāṇa mājhe haba du-khāni nūpura ||
 nakha-candra cakorṣ pada-kamale bhramara |
 o rūpe mukura haba nirāge cāmara ||
 āra eka sādha āmi kariyāchi mane |
 ati kṣṇa repu haiyā thākiba caraṇe ||
 repu haite nā pāi yadi mane anumāni |
 pratāpa-rudre kṛpā karaha āpani ||

« For your sake, O Rādhā, I have worshipped you. I have accomplished all that I had desired. Among your limbs may I become the full limbs (*i.e.*, the two breasts). Among your ornaments may I become the pair of anklets, (which are but) the *cakora* to moons of (your) toe-nails and the bee to the lotus of (your) feet. May I be a mirror to that beauty (of yours) and a chowrie fan for (your) ceremonial toilet (?). Another desire I do entertain in my heart: I may remain on your feet as a tiny speck of dust. But if I am not allowed to remain as a speck of dust, then I guess, you do be gracious to Pratāpa-rudra out of your own accord. »

Rasika-cānda.

One Bengali poem of esoteric character by Rasika-cānda occurs in VSP. MS. 180 along with a similar poem by ‘Caṇḍidāsa.’ The poem has been quoted in the Catalogue of Manuscripts [Vol. III. 2, p. 145 f.].

Keśava the Brahmin.

Three poems by 'Keśava *brāhmaṇa* (or *bāmana*)' occur in VSP. MS. 2416. The following poem is quoted as a specimen. A few initial couplets seem to be lacking in it.

phula kari yadi pari seha nahe bhāli |
 viṣama brajera vairi bhramarā bhramari ||
 hiyāra kācali sane rākhiye bāndhiyā |
 meghera cātaka ḍare marie ḍarāiyā ||
 keśava bāmana kay śuna vinodini |
 jagate sabhāi kay śyāma-sohāginī ||

« 'If I wear it as a flower it will not be judicious : male and female bees are terrible enemies at the Vraja. If I keep it fastened to my bodice against the heart I die out of terror of the *cātaka* (that is always on the look out) for cloud.' Keśava the Brahmin says : ' Listen, O lovely lady ! Every one in the world speaks (of you) as the dearest of Śyāma.' »

The *bhaṇitā* couplets of the other two poems are as follows :

keśava bāmana kay āmi baṇa hīna |
 hari nā bhajiñā michā gaṇāila dina ||
 kesava brāhmaṇa ¹ bale śuuaha brāhmaṇi ² |
 randhana karile yena pāi eka kaṇi ||

Dvīja Jita-rāma.

Two poems by *dvīja* (Brahmin) Jita-rāma occur in VSP. MS. 2416. One of the two poems is quoted below. There are a few *lacunæ* in it. I therefore do not append a translation.

ahe nanda tanaya-ucchabe |
 yadi vidhi dile nidhi vinā ya[tne]
 emana āvanda habe kabe ||
 yateka dadhira malā mohite karaha mālā (? mānā)
 sisura kalyāṇe kara ³ dāna |
 hera āsyā dekha bālā yemana ⁴ candrera kalā
 kāmadeva sama adhiṣṭhāna ||

¹ 'bāmana' MS.

² 'bāhmaṇi' MS.

³ 'kare' MS.

⁴ 'jimana' MS.

hāthe padma pāye padma kīrttana caraṇe sadma
 śrībaccha lakṣaṇa āche aṅge |
 sajala-jalada-ābhā galāy kaustubha-śobhā
 kata raṅge ||
 dekhiyā bālaka-cānde ghucila ākhera āndhe
 nanda ananda bāse mane |
 dvija jitarāma bhāṣe se pada-paṅkaja-āṣe
 dadhi-kheli kare sarva-jane ||

The *bhāṣitā* couplet of the other poem runs as follows :

antare ānanda baṛa dekhi śiromaṇi |
 dvija jitarāma bale o-pade ' nichani ||

Prāṇa-vallabha.

One poem by Prāṇa-vallabha occurs in CU. MS. 4011. It describes the sorrows of the people at the Vraja on Kṛṣṇa's departure for Mathura. The *bhāṣitā* couplet runs as follows :

bema-kānti jini gāy bhūme paṛi gaṛi yāy
 dharapī dharite nāre hiyā |
 e prāṇa-vallabhe kay yogya karma [kabhu] nay
 yāy vraja anātha kariṇū ||

Vāṇi-kaṇṭha.

Two poems by Vāṇi-kaṇṭha occur in CU. MS. 3228. The *bhāṣitā* couplet of one of them is as follows :

manete gumāni (jale) cale vinodini
 haīyā suveśa-āje |
 vāṇi-kaṇṭhe kay rādhāre dekhiyā
 kānu pālāila lāje ||

A poem on the Hara-Gauri legend by 'Vāṇi-kaṇṭha' occurs in VSP. MS. 979. For aught we know this 'Vāṇi-kaṇṭha' was a different poet altogether.

Dviĵa Goloka.

One poem by *dviĵa* (Brahmin) Goloka occurs in CU. MS. 344 [dated 9th Māgha, B.E. 1277 (1871 A.C.)]. The poem has been quoted in the Catalogue of Manuscripts [Vol. II, p. 296].

Śiśu-rāma.

A few poems by Śiśu-rāma occur in VSP. MS. 2049. The poet was a Brahmin as he has used the term *dviĵa* (Brahmin) once with his name. The *bhaṇitā* couplet of one of the poems runs as follows :

śiśurāmeṣṭ vāṇī kātarṣ haiyāche prāṇī |
jala nā dekhiyā [yena] kānde cātakinī ||

The poet was, in all probability, the same Śiśu-rāma as was noted for his *Yātrā* performances in the late eighteenth century.

Dviĵa Durgā-prasāda.

One poem by Durgā-prasāda the Brahmin occurs in Ratan Library MS. 17. It occurs also in CU. MS. 3436. The *bhaṇitā* couplet runs as follows :

dvija durgā-prasāda baliche pada-tale |
mana yena rahe guru-caraṇakamale ||

Vaikuṇṭha-dāsa.

One poem by Vaikuṇṭha-dāsa occurs in Ratana Library MS. 144 [dated 1224 B.E. (1817 A.C.)].

Dviĵa Hari-nātha.

One poem by Hari-nātha the Brahmin occurs in Ratan Library MS. 145. The poem has been published in VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. II. 1 [p. 69]. The last couplet runs as follows :

yekhāne dekhilāmṣ sei-khāne prāṇa dilāmṣ
akalanṅka kule dile kālī |
dvija harināthe bhāṇe pirīti śyāmera sane
eta kene mohana murulī ||

Śrīdāma-dāsa.

One poem by Śrīdāma-dāsa occurs in VSP. MS. 2051 [dated B.E. 1236 (1829 A.C.)]. It describes Śacī-devī's sorrow on the eve of Caitanya-deva's *sannyāsa*. The poem is quoted below :

śuna viśvambhara āmāra uttara
 tumi yābe deśūntare |
 tomā nā dekhiyā mariba jhuriyā
 śuniyā thākiba ghare ||
 lañā bhakta-gaṇa karaha kīrttana
 śunite śravaṇa-sukha |
 āra nā śuniba parāṇe mariba
 uṭhiche mana dukha ||
 mukunda murāri e-sabbhāre chāṇi
 ki lāge [vi]deśe yābe |
 viṣṇupriyā teji haībe sannyāsī
 uadiyā āndhāra habe ||
 e-saba jāniyā sthira kāra hiyā
 sannyāsīte nāhi(ka) dāyḍ |
 taruṇa-vasaye yābe dūra-deśe
 dāsa śrīdāme gāy ||

« 'Listen, O Viśvambhara, to these my words. You will be going away to a far off country ; but not seeing you I shall die of weeping. Am I to remain at home and only to hear of you ? Do you (remain at home and) sing *kīrttana* in company with your followers : on listening to it (I shall have) pleasure of the ear. If I shall not hear it again I shall indeed die : (this is) the sorrow that surges up in my heart. Leaving Mukunda, Murāri and others (here), why should you go away ? You will forsake Viṣṇupriyā and become a *sannyāsīn* : Nadiyā will then become dark. Considering these do you make up your mind : (you have) no obligation (to become) a *sannyāsīn*. Would you go to a distant land in (such) tender age ?' (Thus) sings the *dāsa* (servant) Śrīdāma. »

Another poem, on the Kṛṣṇa legend, by Śrīdāma-dāsa is cited in the *Kīrttana-gīta-ratnāvalī* [485].

Five poems by *dvija* (Brahmin) Devī-dāsa occur in VSP. MS. 2438 [dated 1278 B.E. (1866 A.C)]. The following is the *bhāṣitā* couplet of one of them :

3 'ukula' MS.

Gopīcaraṇa-dāsa.

āratī pīṛī bhājī tāhāre dekhiñā ।
 e gopīcarana-dāsa rahila ² bikāñā ॥

Dvīja Bhagīratha.

māyera karuṇā-mati dekhīñā se yadu-pati
 āsīñā mililā kutūhale |
 dvija bhagīrathe āsi yaśodāke dila ṛāki
 bāhu pasāriyā laha kole ||

rasika murāri rasa-sindhu pyāri
 rase bāre āśoyāsa ।
 kahe māṇikā-canda śuna he govinda
 mangalā-dīhi mora vāsa ॥

2 'rails' MS.

One poem by *dvija* (Brahmin) Ratana occurs in a MS. leaf in possession of Paṇḍit Harekr̥ṣṇa Sāhityaratna. The *bhaṇitā* couplet of the poem is quoted below :

Rāmā-nārāyaṇa.

śuna śuna vinodini , rāma-nārāyaṇeṣ vāṇi
 brahmā yāre dhiyāne nā pāy ।
 se hari kadamba-tale baṣiyā dānera chale
 bhāṣite tomāra guṇa gāy ॥

One poem—a prayer—by Caitanya-nandana ¹ occurs in GPT. [p. 535]. In the *bhāṇitā* couplet the poet mentions Anaṅga-mañjarī (which was the esoteric name of Jāhnabā-devī). Was he a follower of her?

In GPT. [p. 36] there occurs a poem by Nandarāma-dāsa, and also a song (modern type) by apparently by the same poet [p. 273]. The poet seems to be quite a modern one.

One poem by Maṇi-rāma occurs in the *Kṛṣṇa-padāmṛta-sindhu* [p. 61 f.]. The poem is on the *Goṣṭha* (cattle-pasturing) topic of the Kṛṣṇa legend.

¹ It may be that the poet's name was not 'Caitanya-nandana,' but that his father's name was 'Caitanya.'

58

dhabali chāḍai pācani racita
 jala(?) avalambana kariyā |
 kamala-cāda cāda-mukhe dohata
 vāma-kare bāchuri dhariyā ||
 gorase pūrṇita o cāda-bayāna
 vigalita parata duī-pāse |
 (yaiche) motima-hāra upara śobhita
 herata sura-dāse ||

Kānta.

In the *Kīrtana-gīta-ratnāvalī* [287] there is a poem with the *bh.* of 'Kānta.' The poem is quite popular with the modern *Kīrtana* singers. Was 'Kānta' the same person as 'Kamalākānta', the compiler of the *Pada-ratnākara* ?

Yaśodā-nandana.

The following lyric with the *bh.* of 'Yaśodā-nandana' occurs in CU. MS. 3436. A fuller or amplified version of this poem is attributed to 'Caṇḍidāsa.'

pīrti-nagare vasati kariba
 pīrite bāudhiba cāla ¹ |
 pīrti-kapāṭa duyāre basāba
 pīrite gōyāba kāla ||
 pīrti-upare śayana kariba
 pīrita śithāna ² māthe |
 pīrita-bālise ālisa chārība
 thākiba pīrti sāthe ||
 pīrti-beśara pariha nāsikā
 dulāba nayāna-kone |
 yaśodānandane bhaṇae pīrti
 pīrti keha nā jāne ||

• In the City of Love I shall take up my residence: I shall thatch (my cottage) with Love. I shall fix up the door-planks of Love, and I shall pass my days in Love. I shall lay myself on (the bed of) Love,

¹ 'gharaṅ MS. ² 'bālise' MS.

Love will be the pillow at my head, and I shall relax myself, (supported) by the bolster of Love : I shall live with Love. At my nose I shall wear the nose-ring of Love, and I shall make it swing upto the corners of the eyes. Yaśodā-nandana thus speaks of Love : but nobody knows what Love is. »

Haricaraṇa-dāsa.

The following poem, which is generally ascribed to 'Caṇḍīdāsa,' occurs with the *bh.* of 'Haricaraṇa-dāsa' in CU. MS. 288. The difference between the two versions is very slight.

rasika-nāgarī rasera marā |
 rasika bhamarā prema-piyārā ||
 abalā-mūratī rasera bāṇa |
 rase ḍubu-ḍubu karaye prāṇa ||
 rasa vatī sadā hṛdaye jāge |
 daraśa bārāñā paraśa māge ||
 daraśe paraśe rasa prakāśa |
 āśā kare haricaraṇa-dāsa ||

« The young woman in love (*rasika-nāgarī*) is a receptacle (?) of love and the young man (*rasika*) is but a bee thirsty of love. The person of the lady is a veritable flood of love (*rasa*), and the heart (of the lover) floats half-immersed in it. The loving lady (*rasa vatī*) is ever awake in his heart : he prolongs the sight (of her) and then hankers after a touch (of her person). By sight and by touch love is manifest : so has Haricaraṇa-dāsa his hopes. »

Rāmamohana-dāsa.

One MS. slip from Śrīkhaṇḍa contains one poem by Rāmamohana-dāsa, evidently a late poet. The poem, which is a very inferior one, is quoted below :

visamṣ haila baṛa sai visamṣ haila baṛa |
 śyāmacāḍṣ āsibe ghare tomṣṛā haiya dara ||
 ki rūṣ dekhi ālāñ kadambura tale |
 cāda suraja rāhu ¹ tine eka-mile ||

¹ MS. 'rāu'.

caraṇe nūpurā¹ cūrāy bāje komare² bāśī rāe |
 makarā kuṇḍalā hṛdaye dole tilaka rāṅgā-pāe ||
 kāliyārā kapāle śobhe candanera rekhā |
 āmā haite nā gela jāti³ kula rākhā ||
 sāgare magarā bhāse meghera hilole⁴ |
 hora⁵ dekha aparupa cānde rāhu gile ||
 cānderā kāche megherā phalā kaṇaniya (?) pātā |
 aruṇa kalikā tāhe hiṅguli ālatā⁶ ||
 śrī rāmamohanā-dāse kay ānanda sai jāni |
 yāciyā yauvana diba rūpera nichani⁷ ||

As the poem is corrupt I do not append a translation.

Nilānanda-dāsa.

There is a poem by Nilānanda-dāsa in the *Kīrtana-gīta-ratnāvalī* [370]. The poet seems to refer to 'Locana' in the *bhaṇitā*. Was this 'Locana' the same as the poet and devotee Locana-dāsa? Was Nilānanda his disciple?

Poets known from Extreme East Bengal MSS.

More than a quarter of a century ago Munshi Abdul Karim Sāhitya-viśārada published quite a number of Vaiṣṇava lyric poems written by poets who are otherwise unknown. He mentioned a few more in the Catalogue of Manuscripts prepared by him [VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. i. 1, 2]. These poets may not necessarily hail from Chittagong and the adjoining districts and they generally belong to the late eighteen century or to the early nineteenth century. A list of such poets is given below. Mohammedan poets are dealt with in a separate chapter. There are some familiar names in the list, which are possibly that of poets I have previously dealt with.

'Gaṅgādāsa': one poem on Caitanya-deva published in the *Sāhitya-saṃskṛitā*, Vol. iv, p. 290.

'Muktārāma-Sena'⁸: one poem published in the same Journal [Vol. iii, pp. 201 f.].

¹ MS. 'napura'. ² MS. 'kamare'. ³ MS. 'jaite'. ⁴ MS. 'hilale'.

⁵ MS. 'hara'. ⁶ MS. 'beṅguli-ālatā'. ⁷ MS. 'nicuni'.

⁸ Was he the same as the poet of the *Sārādā-maṅgala*?

‘Ratirāma-dāsa’ : two poems (of which one is on Caitanya-deva) published in the same volume [pp. 201, 210 f.].

‘Rasika Raghunātha’ : one poem published in the same volume [p. 209].

‘Rāmamohana (-Bhaṭṭa)’ : three poems published in the same volume [pp. 199 ff.].

‘Śrīhari-govinda’ : one poem published in the same journal [Vol. iv, p. 292].

‘Devīdāsa’ : see *supra*, p. 454.

‘Gopī-vallabha,’ ‘Dviḥ Raghunātha,’¹ ‘Śivarāma dāsa,’ ‘Śrī Cānda-Rāya,’ ‘Harīhara-dāsa,’ ‘Hīrāmaṇi’² : [VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. i. 1; p. 60].

‘Rādhā-vallabha’ : [*op. cit.*, p. 187].

‘Kṛṣṇa-śaṅkara,’ ‘Dāsa Vamśīdāsa,’ ‘Dviḥ Śyāmananda,’ ‘Dviḥ Rāmananda,’ ‘Āmīn Dīnanātha-dāsa,’ ‘Govindadāsa,’ ‘Rāma-jīvana,’ ‘Dviḥ Mādhava,’ ‘Rāmacandra-dāsa,’ ‘Rājārāma-dāsa,’ ‘Mādhava-dāsa,’ ‘Amara-māṇikya,’ ‘Kāśī,’ ‘Rāmananda,’ ‘Vaidya Yaśa-candra,’ ‘Jagadānanda’ [*op. cit.*, pp. 248f.].

‘Dviḥ Gadādhara’ [VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. i. 2, p. 67].

¹ Also *vide* VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. i. 2, p. 67.

² Also *vide* VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. ii. 2, p. 67.

MOHAMMEDAN POETS

Nasir Māmūd.

calata rāma sundara śyāma
 pācāni kācāni vetra veṇu
 murali-khurali gāna ri |
 priya śrīdāma sudāma meli
 taraṇitanayā-tīre keli
 dhabālī śāñālī āo ri āo ri
 phukari calata kāna ri ||
 bayesa kiśora mohana bhāti
 vadana indu jalada-kāṭi
 cāru-candri guñjā-hāra
 vadane madana-bhāna ri |
 āgama-nigama-veda-sāra
 lilāy karata goṭha-vihāra
 nasira-māmuda karata āśa
 carāṇe śarāṇa dāna ri ||

¹ It occurs also in the *Pada-rata-sāra* [vide PKT., Vol. ii, p. 340].

Taraṇī (i.e., the Yamunā). Dhabali ! Syāmali ¹ ! come along !' Shouting (thus) Kṛṣṇa walks on. Young is his age : charming is his beauty. (His) face is a (veritable) moon, and his complexion is that of a (dark) cloud : (he is bedecked with a crest of) fine peacock's feather and a chaplet of *guñjā* seeds. With his face (he appears) like the god of love. (Though he is) the secret of (i.e., the only Deity worshipped in) the *Āgamas*, the *Nigamas*, and the *Vedas* he is enjoying the pasturing sport out of pure sportiveness (*līlā*). Nasir Māmud holds on to the hope that He may give him the refuge at His feet. »

Munshi Abdul Karim quoted a poem by 'Nāchira Mahammad' in a Chittagong MS. in VSP. Cat. MS., Vol. i. 1, p. 3.

Sāla-beg.

Three poems by Sāla-beg are quoted in PKT. of which one is written in Oriyā [1542]. The second poem [2472] shows traces of Bengali and the third [2972] shows traces of Brajbhākhā. A fourth poem, written entirely in Brajabuli, is quoted in APR. [413] from the *Paḍa-rasa-sāra*.

According to Oriyā tradition Sāla-beg was the son of a Pathan father and a Hindu mother. He became a devout Vaiṣṇava even in his early youth, and after his mother's demise he lived at the Vraja. The Brajbhākhā influence in one of his poems also shows that the poet must have retired to Brindaban.

Saiyad Martujā.

One poem only by Saiyad Martujā is cited in PKT. [2957]. The poem is written in very simple language. The poet's father Saiyad Husein Kaderi is reputed to have come from Bareilly and settled in Bengal. Martujā is said to have been born at Bāliyāghāṭā near Jangipur (Murshidabad). ²

Shāh, Ākbar.

One poem by Shāh Ākbar occurs in GPT. [p. 57]. The poem is on Caitanya-deva and is written in Brajabuli. The poet was probably a fakir.

¹ Pet names of cows, based on their colour.

² Vide the *Musalmān Vaiṣṇava Kavi*, Part i, by Vraja-sundara Banyal, Rajshahi, 1311 B.E.

Other Poets.

Ramañimohana Mallik had published a short treatise on the Moham-medan Vaiṣṇava poets. He cited the following poets: Sāla-beg (two poems), Phatana (or Potana), Sek (Sheikh) Bhikhan, Shāh Ākbar, Fakir Habib, Kabīr Mohammad, and Sekhlāl (all one poem each). These poems however have been republished in Vraja-sundara Sanyal's *Musalmān Vaiṣṇava Kavi*, Part iv, Calcutta, 1313 B.E.

Munshi Abdul Karim noticed several Mohammedan Vaiṣṇava poets hailing mainly from Chittagong, in the Catalogue of Manuscripts prepared by him [VSP. Cat. MS. Vol. i. 1, 2]. Some of these poems he had published in the pages of the *Sāhitya-saṃhitā* and of the *Pūrṇimā*. These poems have been collected, edited and published by Vraja-sundara Sanyal under the title *Musalmān Vaiṣṇava Kavi* [1311-1313 B.E.]. This work is in four parts: Part i on Saiyad Martujā, Part ii on Āli-rājā, Part iii on Ālāol and ten other poets, and Part iv on the remaining twenty-six poets.

The pamphlet on Saiyad Martujā contains twenty-three Bengali poems, none of which is the poem cited in PKT. [2957]. But from this alone it will be injudicious to posit the existence of two Saiyad Martujās.

The following are the poets noticed by Munshi Abdul Karim in his Catalogue of Manuscripts [VSP. Cat. MS. Vol. i. 1, 2]:

Nāchir Mahammad [i. 1, p. 3]; Āli-rājā, Chaiyad Āinaddin, Chaiyad Martujā, Nāchiraddin, Gaeāj, Ālāol, Āmān, Ser-cānd [pp. 59 f.]; Badiyuddin [p. 65]; Āpjhāl Āli [pp. 117 f.]; Ābbās [pp. 185 f.]; Mahammad Hānif, Ābdul Mālī, Mohammad, Ebādollā, Mahammad Hāsim [p. 187]; Lāl-beg [p. 249]; Mīrjā Kāṅgālī, Mīrjā Phayajullā [i. 2, p. 57].

Poems by the following poets who had not been noticed in the Catalogue were published by the Munshi in the pages of the *Sāhitya-saṃhitā* [Vol. ii]:

Sarphatollā [p. 182], Shāh Keyāmaddin [p. 239], Kamar Āli [p. 240], Mahammad Āli [p. 243], Hāsmat Āli [p. 243].

Poems by a few additional poets, viz., Cāmpā-gāji, Baksā Āli, Āli Miñā, Fakir Ohāb, Dulā Miñā, Samsher, Pīr Mahammad, and Saiyad Sultān, he published in the pages of other journals.

CHAPTER XXII

SUPPLEMENTARY

Vāsudeva-Datta.

The following Brajabuli poem, occurring with the *bh.* of 'Govinda-dāsa' in PKT. [2925], contains the *bh.* of Vāsudeva-Datta in one edition of the *Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi*,¹ another edition² containing the *bh.* of 'Vāsudeva' simply.

aparupa gorā naṭa-rāja |
prakaṭa prema- vinoda nava nāgara
bihare navadvīpa mājha ||
kuṭila kuntala gandha parimala
candana tilaka lalāṭa |
heri kulavati lāja-mandira-
duyāre deoi kapāṭa ||
karivara-kara jini bhāhura subalāni
dosari gaja-moti-bhārā |
sumeru-śikhare yaichana jhāpiyā
bahaī suradhuni-dhārā ||
rātula atula carāṇa-yugala
nakha-maṇi vidhu ujora |
bhakata bhramarā saurabhe śkula
vāsudeva-datta rahu bhora³ || [Kṣaṇadā 217]

• Unequaled is Gorā, the Prince of dancers ! (He is) the veritable Young Gallant, the Sportive Lover (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) incarnate ! He is (now) disporting in Navadvīpa. The curly hair, the fragrance and the perfume, the sandal painting on the forehead, —on sighting these the young women of noble houses shut the door to the cellar of bashfulness (and decorum). The round of his arms vanquishes the trunk of the best elephant : (on his chest sits) a two-stringed necklace of the most precious

¹ Edited by Rādhānāth Kābāsi, published from Dhānyakupiyā, Caitanya Era 439.

² Edited and published by Nṛtyalāl Śil, Calcutta, B.E. 1816.

³ 'vāsudeva-mana rahu bhora,' Śil's edition.

pearls, (and it seems) as if (two) streams of the celestial river are flowing down flooding the peak of Mount Sumeru. The two feet are (a pair of) unique red (lotuses): the dazzling toe-nails are but the resplendent moons; devotees are the bees thereat, blinded in deliciousness. May Vāsudeva-Datta remain intoxicated (thereat)! »

Vāsudeva-Datta was one of the most prominent followers of the Great Master.

Paramānanda-dāsa (ii).

Early in this work [pp. 61ff.] I had identified the poet Paramānanda-dāsa with Kavi-karṇapūra, the youngest son of Śivānanda-Sena. But this seems hardly likely. There is nothing to show that Kavi-karṇapūra had ever written anything in vernacular. It is however more than likely that Paramānanda-Gupta, a follower of the Great Master, was the poet in question. Kavi-karṇapūra mentions that Paramānanda-Gupta had written hymns on Kṛṣṇa.¹ Jayānanda in his *Caitanya-maṅgala* says that he was the author of a poem (or lyrics?) on the Great Master. It may be that these hymns or poems were nothing but vernacular lyrics on the Vraja theme.

One Brajabuli poem² with the *bhaṇitā* of 'Paramānanda-dāsa' [PKT. 2906], however, mentions with respect 'Śrī Rūpa-mañjarī' (which was the esoteric name of Rūpa-Gosvāmin). It is therefore certain that the author of this poem at least was a disciple or admirer of the Gosvāmin. It may be that this Paramānanda-dāsa was Paramānanda-Bhaṭṭācārya who resided at Brindāban. Or he may have been Kavi-karṇapūra as we know that the latter in his advanced age settled at Brindāban.

Rāmānanda-dāsa.

There is a long poem in *payāra* metre, entitled the *Hāṭa-pattana*. It is of the nature of a prayer poem. This poem is generally ascribed to Narottama-dāsa. But as Narottama-dāsa has been mentioned with

¹ paramānanda-gupto yat-kṛtā kṛṣṇa-stavāvalī || [Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā 199].

² The last couplet of this poem runs thus :

guru-jana jāgala sūra udaya kaila
saba-hu bhela parakāśa |
śrī-rūpamañjarī- caraṇa bhādaye dhari
kahe paramānanda-dāsa |

reverence in the body of the poem, it is not likely that Narottama-dāsa was the author of the piece. Now no second Narottama-dāsa is yet known in Bengali Vaiṣṇava literature. A very authentic edition of this poem ascribes it to 'Rāmānanda-dāsa,'¹ which seems to have been the real fact.

This Rāmānanda-dāsa—I do not know who he was—must have been posterior to Narottamadāsa-Ṭhākura. It may be that he was the author of the poems with the *bhs.* of 'Rāmānanda' and 'Rāmānanda-dāsa,' occurring in PKT. and elsewhere.

Bhāgavatācārya [*ante* 1576 A.C.].

In the Bangabasi edition of the *Kṛṣṇa-prema-taraṅgiṇī*² there is a mixed Brajabuli poem [x. 16]. The corresponding portion of the VSP. edition³ of the same work is an entirely different poem, a Bengali poem in *tripadī* metre. Raghunātha Bhāgavatācārya was a follower of Caitanya-deva. He was a disciple of Gadādhara Paṇḍita, and lived at Barāhanagara (modern Baranagore, a northern suburb of Calcutta). On his way back to Nīlācala from Kāñāi-nāṭasālā the Great Master stopped for a night at the house of Raghunātha. He was so pleased with Raghunātha's recital of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* that he conferred on him the title 'Bhāgavatācārya' [*vide* Caitanya-bhāgavata, iii. 5]. Kavi-karṇapūra in his *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (completed in *Saka* 1498=1575 A.C.) mentions the *Kṛṣṇa-prema-taraṅgiṇī*.⁴ So the work must have been completed some time before that date. The *Kṛṣṇa-prema-taraṅgiṇī* is a metrical, abridged translation of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*.

In the absence of old and authentic MSS. it is hard to decide whether the Brajabuli poem is genuine or not. I quote the poem below. It is corrupt at places, and so I do not add a translation.

kṛta-aparādhi bhujaṅga deva-deva
nibāṛile mada paracaṇḍa |
ripu sute samadara- -śita tūhu bhagavān
samucita kara kbala-danḍa ||

¹ *Bhakti-ratna-mālā*, published from the Bangabasi Press, Calcutta.

² Edited by Vasanta-raṅjan Rāy Vidvadvallabha, Bangabasi Press, Calcutta, 1317 B.E. This is the better edition.

³ Edited by Nagendranāth Vasu, VSP., Calcutta, 1312 B.E.

⁴ *nirmita pustikā yena kṛṣṇapremataraṅgiṇī |*
śrīmadbhāgavatācāryo gaurāṅgātyantavallabhaḥ || [208].

‘ Duhkhī ’ Śyāma-dāsa (Śyāma-dāsa iii).

¹ Edited by Īśānacandra Vāsu, Bangabāsi Press, Calcutta, second edition, B.E. 1817.

The poet has inserted one Brajabuli poem in his work [p. 118]. It is cited below. As the poem as printed is corrupt no translation is added.

vane vinoda vinodinī rāī |
 kiśora kiśorī rūpe manohara
 duhū [dohā] mukha cāī ||
 cāḍa cakora jāī jāise milana
 kamala ali-kula saṅga |
 kapana (?) koṭi koṭi yugala jātu (?)
 kabahu ¹ nahu diṭhe bhaṅga ||
 sura-taru yuta prema pulakita .
 stoka pika rasa bora |
 duḥkhi śyama kaohi
 āratiyā kiśorī kiśora ||

Yadunātha-dāsa.

I have previously discussed the two or three Yadunandanas, all of whom had often used the short *bh.* 'Yadu' and sometimes, *metri causa*, the *bh.* 'Yadunātha.' But this does not preclude the existence of a poet 'Yadunātha.' On the other hand there is strong evidence for this presumption. One poet, who had written almost exclusively in Bengali and who had systematically treated the Vraja theme, invariably subscribed himself as 'Yadunātha.' His lyrics on the 'Subala-milana' episode ² seems to have been rather popular.

In PKT. there are sixteen poems by 'Yadunātha,' of which a few undoubtedly goes to Yadunandana the translator of the *Vidagdha-mādhava*. Two poems celebrate Gaurāṅga and Gadādhara together, which, therefore may be ascribed either to Yadunandana-Cakravartī of Katwa (a disciple of Gadādhara-dāsa) or to Yadu-Gāṅguli who has been mentioned among the disciples of Gadādhara Paṇḍita [CC. i. 12]. Twelve poems by 'Yadunātha-dāsa' occur in the Das MS. (earlier portion). In *Kṣaṇadā* there are five poems by 'Yadunātha' (of which three are in Brajabuli), but no poem with the *bh.* of 'Yadunandana' occurs in it. No poem with the *bh.* of 'Yadunandana' occurs in the *Saṅkīrtanāṃṛta*, but there are five poems with the *bh.* of 'Yadunātha'; of these only one is in Brajabuli [210=244].

¹ 'karahu' text.

² Cf. subala-milana rasa yadunātha gāna [APR. 296].

Two poems of 'Yadunātha' are cited in the *Kīrttanānanda* [pp. 260, 309] along with two with the *bh.* of 'Yadunandana' [pp. 91 f., 292] and one with the *bh.* of 'Yadu' [p. 156].

The poet Yadunātha is generally identified with Yadunātha Kavicandra who was a prominent follower of Nityānanda-prabhu [*vide* GPT., Introduction, pp. 154-55 ; PKT., Vol. v, p. 195]. This does not seem likely. Being a poet and a prominent follower of Nityānanda-prabhu it is expected that he must have written some poems on his master. But no such poem is known. Therefore Yadunātha Kavicandra's claim may be dismissed. The title 'Kavicandra' was not rare in those days. There is mention of one Vanamālī Kavicandra among the disciples of Advaita-prabhu [CC. i. 12].

Some of Yadunātha's poems on the Great Master bear the stamp of an early sixteenth century writer, that is, of one who had seen the Master. On the other hand a few poems show some palpably late forms [*cf.* APR. 290]. It may be that there were two Yadunāthas or even more.

Echoes from the so-called 'Caṇḍidāsa' are to be found in some of the poems by Yadunātha. One such poem is cited below.

gañje gañjukṣ guru-jana tāhe nā ḍarāi |
 chāre chārukṣ nija-pati āpada eṛāi ||
 bale balukṣ pāṛūrṣ loka tāhe nāhi ḍara |
 nā baluka nā ḍākuka nā yāba tāra ghara ||
 dharama-karama yāukṣ tāhe nā ḍarāi |
 manera bharama pāche bandhure hārāi ||
 kālā-māṇikera mālā gāthi niba gale |
 kānu-guṇa-yaśa āmi pariba kuṇḍale ||
 kānu-anurāga-rāṅgā vasana pariyā |
 deśe deśe bharamiba yoginī haiyā ||
 yadunātha-dāse kahe ehi mane sādha |
 hay haukṣ jaga bhari kālā-parivāda || *

[APR. 286]

* 'Let my seniors chastise me, if they will ; let my husband divorce me, if he likes : that will be so much trouble avoided. If my neighbours speak ill (of me), let them do so : I am not afraid of it. They may not speak to or invite me, and I would not visit their houses. My religious duties may not be done : I do not care. (But my only concern is) that I may not lose my lover through the waywardness of my mind. I will make a chaplet of black precious stones and hang it round my neck ; I

will wear as earrings the virtues and glories of Kṛṣṇa, and, clothed in a garment dyed crimson with my love for Kṛṣṇa, I will become a mendicant (*yoginī*) and will wander about from land to land.' Yadunātha-dāsa (identifying himself with Rādhā) says, 'This is the desire of my heart. If there will be, throughout the world, scandalous talk in connection of (myself and) Kṛṣṇa, let that be so.'

Śyāmadāsa-Ācārya (Śyāma-dāsa i).

Śyāmadāsa-Ācārya, a follower of Advaita-prabhu,¹ was the author of the two odes to his master, cited in PKT. [2350, 2352 = GPT., pp. 440, 451]. He was, in all probability, the author of some at least of the poems with the *bh.* of 'Dviḥ Śyāmadāsa.'

Gokulānanda.

There are three Bengali poems with the *bh.* of 'Gokulānanda' which, owing to their realistic nature, seem to be the work of a sixteenth century poet [GPT., p. 450 ; pp. 450 f. = PKT. 2351 ; p. 451]. The poet seems to have been a follower of Advaita-prabhu or of one of his sons.

Mohana-rāma (Mohana-dāsa ii).

In APR. there are two poems [426, 428] which, though bearing slightly different *bhs.* (*viz.*, 'Mohana-dāsa' and 'Mohana-rāma'), appear to be the work of a single poet, as the poet (or poets?) pays his respect to 'Śrī Nanda-kumāra' apparently his *guru*, in both the poems. 'Mohana-rāma' seems to have been the name of the poet (or was it 'Rāma-mohana?'). One Mohana-dāsa was a disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya.

¹ This fact has not been noted in CO. The *Vaiṣṇavācāra-darpaṇa*, however, mentions this—

śyāmadāsa advaitera śākhāra pradhāna |
 sitāmātā yāre karāila stana-pāna |
 pūrve kārttikēya mahābala senāpati |
 ebe śyāmadāsācārya sei mahāmatī |
 acyutānandera mata avalamba kari |
 yāra vāsa bhaṭṭe śingārkoṇa ādi purī | [p. 322.]

CHAPTER XXIII

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE RĀDHĀ-KṚṢṆA LEGEND

The 'Kṛṣṇāyana' or the Kṛṣṇa legend falls into two distinct cycles : (i) the exploits of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva Devakīputra, the hero of the Yadus, and (ii) the miraculous deeds and amours of Kṛṣṇa the Cowherd Boy. The exploits of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva are not unknown in pre-Christian literature.¹ The most noted feat was the slaying of Kāṁsa. But the only possible reference to a feat of Kṛṣṇa the Cowherd Boy occurs in a verse in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.²

Coming to the post-Christian period one of the earliest references to the feats of Kṛṣṇa the Cowherd Boy is made by Aśvaghoṣa in his *Buddha-carita* [i. 50] :

khyātāni karmāṇi ca yāni śaureḥ śūrādayas teṣv abalā babbhūvuh ||

References to Kṛṣṇa *Gopāla*, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, became quite abundant in secular literature from the fourth century onwards. The name 'Viṣṇu-gopa' occurs in Hariṣeṇa's *Prāśasti* of Samudra-gupta. Kālidāsa's reference to 'Gopa-veśa Viṣṇu' is well-known [Megha-dūta 15].

There is only one or two references to Kṛṣṇa's early life at the Vraja in the *Mahābhārata*. But it is hard to say whether they are interpolations or not. The most important passage is this :

ākṛṣyamāṇe vasane draupadyā cintito hariḥ |
govinda dvārakāvāsin kṛṣṇa gopījanapriya |
kauravaiḥ paribhūtām mām kiṁ na jñāsi keśava ||
he nātha he ramānātha vrajanāthārttīnāśana |
kauravārṇavamagnām mām uddharasva janārdhana ||
[Bangabasi Edition, Sabhāparvan, 68. 41-42.]

¹ Vide History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect by H. C. Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.

² Vide Political History of Ancient India by H. C. Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., third edition, pp. 3 f. The verse runs as follows :

paṇiḥ girim giriṇ dorbhyāṇ vapur viṣṇor viḍambayan | [Laṅkā-kāṇḍa 69. 32].

Dr. Raychaudhuri seems to be right in finding here a reference to the lifting of the hill Govardhana. The lifting of the earth by Viṣṇu is possibly referred to in the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* [1. 8. 2].

But the systematic treatment of the legend of Kṛṣṇa *Gopāla* occurs in the Paurāṇic literature. I shall now show how the *Purāṇas* successively treated the Vraja theme and how it grew up in successive periods.

The *Hari-vaṃśa* devotes twenty chapters (*Viṣṇu-parvan* 6-25) to the exploits of Kṛṣṇa at the Vraja. The incidents narrated are Śakaṭa-bhaṅga (breaking the cart), Pūtana-vadha (slaying the bird demoneess Pūtana), Dāma-bandha (securing Kṛṣṇa with a rope by Yaśodā), Yamal-ārjjuna-bhaṅga (uprooting the two *Arjjuna* trees), Vṛka-darśana (setting wolves to terrify the cowherd folk so that they may leave Gokula and settle at Vṛndāvana), Vṛndāvana-praveśa (settling at Vṛndāvana), Kālīya-damana (vanquishing the serpent Kālīya), Dhenuka-vadha (slaying Dhenuka, the ass-demon), Pralamba-vadha (slaying the demon Pralamba), Govarddhanoddharaṇa (lifting up the hill Govarddhana), Govindābhiṣeka (anointing ceremony of Kṛṣṇa), Hallisaka-kṛīḍā (the Hallisaka dance) Vṛṣabhāsura-vadha (slaying the bull-demon), and Keśi-vadha (slaying Keśin, the horse demon).

All these incidents are depicted in the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*. In a few points these two *Purāṇas* disagree with the *Hari-vaṃśa*. Thus in the *Hari-vaṃśa* it is Kṛṣṇa who wanted to leave Go-vraja and settle at Vṛndāvana. So he, in consultation with Saṅkaraṇa, terrifies the cowherd folk with wolves which he created. But in the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* the cowherds themselves wanted to leave Gokula on account of the several attempts on the life of Kṛṣṇa. The name of the bull-demon does not occur in the *Hari-vaṃśa*; in the other two *Purāṇas* he is called Ariṣṭa. Kṛṣṇa's nocturnal dance with the cowherd damsels is called 'Hallisa,' elsewhere it is 'Rāsa.' There is no mention by name of the *Gopīs* loved by Kṛṣṇa. The only cowherd boy friend of Kṛṣṇa mentioned by name is Śrīdāman [ii. 14. 19]. The banian tree, Bhaṇḍira, growing on Govarddhana, is mentioned [ii. 8. 26].

The *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* almost faithfully follows the *Hari-vaṃśa*. The additional incidents mentioned here are the naming ceremony by Garga [v. 5] and the cowherd girls' love for Kṛṣṇa [v. 13]. Reference to a particular *Gopī* (though unnamed) occurs here for the first time [v. 13. 29-40]. There is a fair similarity in the descriptions of the Hallisa or Rāsa dance in these two works. One verse [Hari-vaṃśa ii. 20. 24; *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* v. 13. 57] is common in both. The lament of the *Gopīs* when Kṛṣṇa leaves for Mathurā is a new feature appearing for the first time in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*.

The following new topics are introduced in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*: *Tṛpāvartta-mokṣa* (the release of the cyclone-demon), *Vatsa-baka-vadha*

(slaying the demons Vatsa and Baka), Brahman's theft of Kṛṣṇa's cattle, Dāvāgni-mocana (rescue from the forest fire), Dāvāgni-pāna (quenching the forest fire), *Gopa* maidens worshipping the goddess Kūtyāyanī, Vastra-haraṇa (stealing away the clothes of the cowherd damsels), Yajñapatnyuddharaṇa (showing grace to the wives of the sacrificial priests), Sudarśana-mokṣa (release of Sudarśana), Śaṅkhacūḍa-vaiha (slaying the demon Śaṅkha-cūḍa), and Vyomāsura-vadha (slaying the demon Vyoman).

Kṛṣṇa's amours with the cowherd girls have been elaborately treated in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* in five chapters (x. 29-33); these five chapters are known as *Rāsa-pañcādhyāya*. As a poetic work these chapters are really interesting. The sublimation of Kṛṣṇa's amours with the *Gopa* girls have been attempted but slightly in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* but quite considerably in the *Bhāgavata*. The *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* for the first time mentions the love of the *Gopīs* for Kṛṣṇa, but in the *Bhāgavata* the *Gopa* maidens are made to worship the goddess Kūtyāyanī so that they may have Kṛṣṇa for their husband. There is also the reference of a *Gopī* who was the best beloved of Kṛṣṇa [x. 30. 28], but she is not mentioned by name. The *Gopa* boys mentioned by name are Śrīdāman, Vṛṣabha, Subala, Stoka-kṛṣṇa, Bhadra-sena, Aṃśu, Arjjuna, Viśāla, Rṣabha (same as Vṛṣabha?), Tejasvin, and Varūthapa.

The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* simply mentions that Kṛṣṇa was reared in the cowherd settlement and that his foster-parents were Nanda and Yaśodā [vide Bangabasi Edition, 96. 6, 19]. The *Agni-Purāṇa* briefly mentions the feats of Kṛṣṇa *Gopālu*, but it dismisses the cowherd damsels with the following verse :

rathastho mathurāṇi cāgāt kaṃsoktākṛūrasaṃstutah ||
gopībhir anuraktābhiḥ kṛdītābhir nirikṣitah |

[Bangabasi Edition, 12. 22-23.]

Of the very late *Purāṇas* only the *Padma* and the *Brahma-vaiivarta* require some notice. The *Padma-Purāṇa* does not mention the Vraja legends as such. Instead it describes the transcendental sports (*nīlga-īlī*) of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. It elaborately describes the topography of Vṛndāvana [Pātala-khaṇḍa 38], but this is really the ethereal Vṛndāvana, Goloka. It also describes the plan of the 'Rāsa-maṇḍala' and seats therein occupied by Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and their friends, male and female [Pātala-khaṇḍa 38, 39]. The *Padma-Purāṇa*, at least the portion in question, is a very late work. The name Kāliya appearing here as Kālī [38. 32] shows

that it was written when the vowel combination *ia* has already been contracted to *ī*. It also appears that at the time of its composition the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult had already become an esoteric religion. Names of several *Gopas* and *Gopīs* appear in the *Padma*.¹

The *Brahmavaiṣṇava-Purāṇa* (Bangabasi Edition) is a still later one. Rai Bahadur Jogesh Chandra Ray Vidyānidhi has shown that it was compiled in Western Bengal some time in the sixteenth century. The *Gīta-govinda* was undoubtedly known to its author or compiler. The treatment of the Vraja legend in the *Brahma-vaiṣṇava* is haphazard, incomplete and peculiar. It gives elaborate history and genealogy of the principal *Gopas* and *Gopīs*. [Chapter 15.] The names of the female friends of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are almost all new.²

The name Rādhā or Rādhikā, the chief *Gopī*, occurs in secular literature as early as the seventh or the eighth century. It occurs in Hala's *Gāthā-saptasatī* [i. 89] and in Ānanda-varḍhana's *Dhvanyāloka* [2. 6]. Later references are numerous.

Candrāvalī, Rādhā's rival and foil, has already come into prominence, when the *Padma-Purāṇa* was written [vide Pātāla-khaṇḍa 39. 9].

The elimination of the *Gopa* damsels and the substitution of Rādhā as the beloved of Kṛṣṇa was made in secular literature much earlier than in the late *Purāṇas*. The verses on the Kṛṣṇa topic quoted in the rhetorical works and in anthologies testify to this. In late works the *Gopa* damsels became mere associates.

Coming to the later non-Paurāṇic (vernacular and Sanskrit) literature, the most important additions to the amorous sports of Kṛṣṇa appear to be the boating (*Naukā*) and the toll-collecting (*Dāna*) episodes. In the boating episode Kṛṣṇa takes over the *Gopīs* to the other side of the river to Mathurā and in exchange of his services he demands love from Rādhā. Rādhā is unwilling, but Kṛṣṇa frightens her when they are in midstream. Rādhā has no alternative but to submit to him. One of the earliest

¹ Besides Rādhā (Rādhikā) the following *Gopa* damsels have been mentioned in the *Padma-Purāṇa* : Lalitā, Śyāmalā, Dhanyā, Hari-priyā, Viśākhā, Śaivyā, Padmā, Bhadrā, Candrāvātī, Candrāvalī, Citra-rekhā, Candrā, Madana-sundarī, Priyā, Madhumatī, and Candra-rekhā [39].

² The following names occur : Suśilā, Śaśī-rekhā, Candra-mukhī, Mādhavī, Kadamba-mālā, Kuntī, Yamunā, Sarva-maṅgalā, Padma-mukhī, Sāvitrī, Pārijātā, Jāhnavī, Sudhā-mukhī, Subhā, Padmā, Gaurī, Svayamprabhā, Kālikā, Kamalā, Durgā, Sarasvatī, Bhārati, Aparṇā, Rati, Gaṅgā, Ambikā, Kṛṣṇa-priyā, Campā, Candana-nandinī, Śaśī-kalā, Maṅgalā, Sati, Nandinī, Sundarī, Kṛṣṇa-prāṇā, Madhumatī, and Candanā [Chapters 27, 28].

references to this episode occurs in the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala*. The passage in question is this :

are re bābahi kāhna ṇāva choḍi ḍagamaga kugati ṇa dehi |
tai itthi ṇaihi santāra dei jo cābahi so lehi ||¹

In the *Paḍyāvalī* Rūpa-Gosvāmin incorporates thirteen verses on the boating episode, five by himself, two anonymous, two by Manohara, and one each by Sañjaya-Kaviśekhara, Jagadānanda-Rāya, Sūryadāsa and Mukunda-Bhaṭṭācārya. I quote below the poem by Mukunda-Bhaṭṭācārya.

idam uddiśya vayasyāḥ svam Ihita-daivatam namata |
yamunaiva jānudaghnī bhavatu na vā nāviko 'stv aparāḥ ||²

« With this prayer, O friends, do you bow down to your revered deities : ' May the Yamunā herself become knee-deep, or let another be the boatman ! ' »

This episode forms the subject-matter of some of the lyrics of the Hindi poet Sūrdās [c. 1550]. In Bengali it occurs in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana*, in Mādhavācārya's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala*, in Śyāma-dāsa's *Govinda-maṅgala*, and in lyric poems of many sixteenth and seventeenth century Vaiṣṇava poets.

The subject-matter of the *Dāna* or toll-collecting episode is this. Kṛṣṇa is in desperate love with Rādhā who is either still unwilling or timid. Finding no other opportunity of meeting her he waits on the way that leads to Mathurā (or, according to another version, to the hill Govarddhana). Rādhā goes to Mathurā, in company with her friends, to sell milk-products there (or, according to the second version, to Govarddhana to offer milk-products on a ceremonial occasion). Kṛṣṇa stops her, impersonating the toll-man. An amorous altercation follows, and finally Rādhā submits to him with more or less willingness.

Rūpa-Gosvāmin wrote a *Bhāṇikā* on this episode, entitled the *Dāna-keli-kaumudī*. Mādhava-Bhaṭṭa or Mādhava-kavi wrote a poem on the subject, named *Dānalīlā-kāvya*.³ This work was completed in the year "vasu-kara-rasa-indu," which gives 1628. If the year is *Samvat* it is equivalent to A.C. 1571, if *Saka*, to A.C. 1706.

¹ Bibliotheca Indica, p. 12.

² Published from the Rādhāramana Yantre, Berhampore, Verse 277.

³ Published in the *Kāvya-mālā* series, Trīṭīya Guṇahaka, pp. 152-60.

Originally the *Dāna* episode had no erotic motif. Kṛṣṇa and his cowboy friends simply wanted to eat the milk-commodities carried by the *Gopa* damsels. This version was probably known to Vṛndāvana-dāsa [see *supra* p. 392].¹ The chief note of Mādhava's *Dāna-līlā-kāvyā* is not erotic.

The episode of Kṛṣṇa as a porter carrying the commodities for Rādhā occurs in Jīva-Gosvāmīn's *Gopāla-campū* and in the *Premāmṛta* or *Gopāla-carita*. In Bengali it occurs in the *Srīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana* and in the *Srīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala* of Kṛṣṇadāsa. In this respect the *Premāmṛta* agrees to a remarkable extent with the *Srīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana*. In the *Premāmṛta* the order of narration of the three episodes are *Bhāra*, *Naṅkā* and *Dāna*, but in the two Bengali works it is *Dāna*, *Naṅkā* and *Bhāra*. In the *Premāmṛta* there is continuity and sequence in the depiction of the three episodes, but not so in the *Srīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana*.

Some minor events, such as Kṛṣṇa buying fruits from hawkers, hinted at in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* [x. 11], are described more elaborately in the *Gopāla-campū* of Jīva-Gosvāmīn.

Rūpa-Gosvāmīn is responsible for the introduction of the following events or episodes: Kṛṣṇa, in the garb of a girl meets Rādhā;² Rādhā impersonating her cousin (or, according to some brother) Subala, goes out to meet Kṛṣṇa, while Subala remains at home impersonating Rādhā;³ Rādhā steals flowers from Kṛṣṇa's garden.⁴

Such incidents as Kṛṣṇa meeting Rādhā, in various characters such as a doctor, a female mendicant, etc., were created in the late sixteenth or the early seventeenth century by the Vaiṣṇava poets. The 'Kalaṅka-bhañjana' (removal of calumny) incident⁵ was introduced in the late

¹ In Caitanya Era 424 Ambikācarana Brahmācārī published from Kalna what purports to be the three supplementary chapters (12-14) of the Antya-khanda of the *Caitanya-bhāgavata*. In editing this text two MSS. were consulted, one of which was secured from the residence of Vṛndāvana-dāsa. In the last chapter (Chapter xiv) of this text there are passages which strongly reminds one of the *Dāna* episode in the *Srīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana*. It is very possible that the *Srīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana* or some similar text was known to the author of this text. These chapters, however, are undoubtedly spurious.

² 'yuvati-veśa-gūḍhe harau' [Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu (fourth edition, Berhampore), p. 918]; Uddhava-sandēśa 64.

³ 'pravṛtati subalo'yam rādhikā-veśa-gūḍhaḥ [Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu, p. 914].

⁴ Svayamntprekṣitalīlā, Stava-mālā, pp. 584 ff.

⁵ The gist of the story is this. Rādhā's liaison with Kṛṣṇa was much talked about in Vṛndāvana. To free her from this calumny Kṛṣṇa feigned sore illness. Appearing as

eighteenth century ; so also the 'Kṛṣṇa-Kālī' (Kṛṣṇa becoming Kālī when Rādhā's husband Abhimanyu surprised the two lovers) episode. Viśvanātha-Cakravartin in his *Camatkāra-candrikā* gives some more incidents of Kṛṣṇa meeting Rādhā in secret.

The mention of Rādhā's husband 'Abhimanyu' occurs first in the sixteenth century. Rūpa-Gosvāmin mentions him in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* [pp. 831-840]. The name 'Abhimānyu' occurs in its proper *tadbhava* form 'Āihana' in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*. In Murāri-Gupta's *Cailanya-caritāmṛta* it is 'Āyāna' and in the *Brahma-vaivarta* it occurs as 'Rāyāna,' an obviously late form. The names 'Jaṭilā' (Abhimanyu's mother), 'Kuṭilā' (his quarrelsome sister), 'Mukharā' (Rādhā's grandmother), 'Kīrttidā' or 'Kṛttikā' (Rādhā's mother), 'Jarātī' (an old lady), her son 'Govardhana-malla' (husband of Candrāvalī) first occur in the works of Rūpa-Gosvāmin. The name of Rādhā's mother appear as 'Kālāvātī' in the *Brahma-vaivarta*, and as 'Padumā' (< Padmā) or 'Kālīnī' (< Kālindī) in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana*.

Rūpa-Gosvāmin in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* gives a list of the names of Kṛṣṇa's cowherd friends and makes the following interesting observation :

eteṣu ke'pi śāstreṣu ke'pi lokeṣu viśrutāḥ ॥ [p. 729].

« Some of these are known from scriptures and some from popular tradition. »

As a matter of fact the names of the boy friends and girl companions of Kṛṣṇa, especially the latter, were in a floating condition even up to the end of the sixteenth century. Thus for instance the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-vijaya* [1480 A.C.] mentions the following *Gopīs* : Candrāvalī, Śaśi-rekhā, Citra-rekhā, Priyā, Vana-priyā, Ramā, Madana-mañjarī, Śrīmatī, Madhumatī, Mādhavī, Kādambinī, Nava-raṅgā, Rati-lekhā, Kuntinī, Sīmantinī, Lalitā, Śyāmalā, Dhavalā, Rati, Bhadrā, Padmā, Hari-priyā, Vīṣākhā, Indu-mukhī, Su-mukhī, Vallavī, Candrikā, Vilāsini, Apsarā, Caturā, Madhurā, and Kama-lā ; in the *Jagannāthavallabha-nāṭaka* [ante 1510 A.C.] the following : Aśo-kamañjarī, Madana-mañjarī, Mādhavī, and Śaśi-mukhī ; in *Mādhavācārya's*

a physician he told Yaśodā that her son will be all right, only if any woman can fetch some water from the Yamunā in a leaking pitecher. Nobody could do this except a woman who was perfectly loyal to her husband. Ultimately no woman could do this except Rādhā. She was at once hailed as a paragon of virtue.

¹ The germ of this incident is to be found in Rūpa-Gosvāmin's work.

Śrīkrṣṇa-maṅgala [c. 1530 A. C.] the following: Candrāvalī, Śāśī-kalā, Līlā, Ānandā, Līlāvatī, Śuci, Premavatī, Vilāsinī, Svarṇa-prabhā, and Hari-priyā.

The semi-divine character 'Paurṇamāsī' (also known by other names) who brings about the union of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa was introduced earlier to the sixteenth century. In the *Jagannātha-vallabha* she is called Madanikā; in Mathurādhāsa's *Ṛṣabhānujā-nāṭikā*¹ she appears as Vṛndā, and so on. In Bengali works, especially in narrative poems such as the *Śrīkrṣṇa-kīrtana*, the *Śrīkrṣṇa-maṅgala*, and the *Govinda-maṅgala*, Baṛāyī (literary 'grandmother') is the substitute for Paurṇamāsī. Baṛāyī has two aspects, one serious and the other comic. The latter aspect has been emphasized in the *Śrīkrṣṇa-maṅgala* and in the *Govinda-maṅgala*.

The 'Dola-līlā' or 'Holī' or 'Horī' (spring festival) was introduced by Rūpa-Gosvāmin [*vide* Gītāvalī]. This as well as the 'Jhulana-līlā' (swing festival during the rainy season) was introduced in the sixteenth century. Songs relating to these festivals were quite abundant in contemporary Hindi literature also.

The domestic aspect of the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa—when Rādhā virtually has become Kṛṣṇa's wife—was first dealt with by Kṛṣṇadhāsa Kavirāja in his *Govinda-līlāmṛta*, a Sanskrit poem in epic form. It describes the daily life of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (technically known as 'Aṣṭakālīna-līlā').

In the *Hari-varṇa* Kṛṣṇa's feats only are emphasized, and the treatment of the amours of Kṛṣṇa with the *Gopīs* is matter-of-fact and crude. The only poetic feature is the description of the rainy season ('Prāvṛṣṭ-varṇana,' ii. 10), which is repeated in the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*. The *Viraha* (separation from the beloved) aspect of the amorous element first appears in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* [v. 13.24 ff.; 18.14-31]. It is further developed in the *Bhāgavata* [x. 30, 31]. The *Vātsalya* (mother's love for child) aspect first appears in the *Bhāgavata*, and here also an attempt is first made to justify the amorous element.

In secular literature only two elements persisted, the *Vātsalya* and the amorous. Of the two the latter was more popular. So various subtleties were introduced. Mutual love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa was analysed into different stages and aspects, viz., *Pūrva-rāga* (falling in love), *Anurāga* (love), *Abhisāra* (the girl going out at night to meet the lover), *Milana* (meeting), *Māna* (love-sulk), *Viraha* (separation), *Sambhoga* (union), etc. The heroic and other elements (as found in Kṛṣṇa's feats) which

¹ Published in the *Pandit* (Old Series), Vols. iii and iv.

were originally the main feature of the Vraja legend, were entirely ignored. The *Vīraha* aspect, however, throughout remained the key-note.

In plastic art 'Kṛṣṇāyana' legends occur from the first or the second century A.C.¹ From the fourth century onwards such motifs became rather popular in sculpture. 'Govarddhana-dhāraṇa' (lifting up Govarddhana), 'Navanīta-caurya' (stealing butter), 'Śakata-bhaṅga' (wrecking the cart), 'Dhenuka-vadha' (killing the demon Dhenuka), and 'Kālīya-damana' (suppressing the serpent Kālīya)—these scenes are depicted on the surface of two broken door-jambs found at Mandor. The date of this sculpture is accepted to be fourth or the fifth century A. C. A very beautiful piece of art is a sandstone relief from Mathurā depicting Kṛṣṇa lifting up Govarddhana. It probably dates in the fourth century A. C. In plastic art 'Govarddhana-dhāraṇa' seems to have been the most popular motif out of the Kṛṣṇa legends. Quite a magnificent representation occurs in a Mahabalipuram bas-relief. The most notable works of later times are to be found in the Vaiṣṇavite caves of Badami as well as the bas-reliefs in the hill fort of Badami [*vide* R. D. Banerji's Bas-reliefs of Badami, Archaeological Survey of India Memoir; G. C. Chandra's Note and plate in the Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report for 1928-29]. The date of the sculpture is accepted to be the sixth or the seventh century A.C.

The earliest representation of the Kṛṣṇa legends in art in Bengal is to be found in the Paharpur bas-reliefs [*vide* Notes on the Paharpur Reliefs by K. N. Dikshit, Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report for 1926-27]. These reliefs probably date in the seventh century A.C. In one relief Kṛṣṇa in his familiar pose is accompanied by a female apparently a beloved *Gopī*. Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji first pointed out the female figure to be that of Rādhā.

Scenes from the 'Kṛṣṇāyana' were represented in plastic or mural art in Bengal even as late as the sixteenth century. Some such representations Caitanya-deva saw at the village Kānsira-nāṭasālā near Gauṛ.

prāte cali āilā prabhu kānsira-nāṭasālā |

dekhila sakala tñhā kṛṣṇa-caritra²-līla || [CC. ii. 1.]

¹ The earliest known specimen is a fragment of a relief from Mathurā, depicting the Birth-ceremony of Kṛṣṇa. Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni dates it in the first or the second century A. C. [*c/* Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report for 1925-26]. For this and some other references I am indebted to Mr. Jitendranath Banerji, Lecturer in the Department of Indian History and Culture in the University.

² 'citra' v.l.

Though Kṛṣṇa worship dates from an early time, stone, clay or wooden images of Kṛṣṇa *Gopāla* (as a crawling infant or as a child playing on the flute) were made for the purpose of worship only from the sixteenth century. One of the finest specimens of such images is the image of Gopīnatha at Agra-dvīpa (near Kātwa). This image was made at the instance of Govinda-Ghoṣa, a follower of the Great Master, whom I have previously discussed as a poet.

At first the image of Rādhā was not placed by and worshipped along with the image of Kṛṣṇa. It was done from the second half of the sixteenth century. One of the initiators of this practice was Jāhnavā-devī, the junior wife of Nityānanda-prabhu. According to the *Prema-vilāsa* and the *Bhakti-ratnākara* Jāhnavā-devī, on her first visit to Vṛndāvana, was sorry not to find the images of Rādhā by the side of the images of Kṛṣṇa worshipped there. Coming home she ordered some images of Rādhā to be made, the sculptor being one Nayāna Bhaskar, and sent them to Vṛndāvana. At the instance of Jīva-Gosvāmin these images were placed by the side of the images of Kṛṣṇa. Since then a solitary image of Kṛṣṇa is not worshipped in Bengal, unless it is an ancient image of Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva or an image of Kṛṣṇa as a crawling infant.

CHAPTER XXIV

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE RĀDHĀ-KṚṢṢṂA LITERATURE PRIOR TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

To some extent Kṛṣṇa the Cowherd Boy was originally a pastoral deity. It is hard to determine the exact relationship between Kṛṣṇa *Gopāla* and the South Indian (Tamil) pastoral deity Mullai or Māyōn the Black God.¹ But it cannot be doubted that there was some connection between the two deities. Just as Kṛṣṇa can be equated to Māyōn the Black God, Bala or Bala-rāma (older name Saṅkarṣaṇa) can be equated to Vāliyōn or Vellaiyōn, the White God, whose implement was the plough and whose flag was the palmyra, just as in the case of the Aryan deity.² Just as Kṛṣṇa *Gopāla* was connected with music of the flute and the autumnal dance, so Māyōn was fond of the flute and delighted in dancing with milkmaids.

But there is a distinction ; unlike Kṛṣṇa *Gopāla* Māyōn was never known to have done any astonishing feats or miracles. It cannot be doubted that the most important feature of the Aryan God was the miracles and feats done in his childhood, at least in the earlier versions of the legend. Can it be that the amorous element in the Kṛṣṇa legend did not occur originally but was brought from a different (South Indian ?) tradition ? On the other hand the ancient Tamil tradition does not go back further than *circa* fifth century A.C., and it is not unlikely that Māyōn is to a great extent the Tamil version of Kṛṣṇa *Gopāla*.

It cannot, however, be doubted that Kṛṣṇa worship found a congenial home in South India. It is held by some that the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* is a South Indian work. Some of the most important texts of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism (*viz.*, the *Brahma-saṃhitā* and the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* of Bilva-maṅgala) were written in the South. That the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa story had some connection with the South cannot be denied. In this connection it is very

¹ Vide P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, *The History of the Tamils* (Madras, 1929), p. 77 ; also vide P. T. Srinivas Aiyangar, *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*, p. 25.

² Vide *The History of the Tamils*, p. 202.

interesting to note that Kṣemendra in his *Daśāvatāra-carita*¹ (middle of the eleventh century A.C.) mentions the South Indian river Godāvarī in this connection. The verse in question is quoted below.

govindasya gatasya kāmśa-nagarīm vyāptā viyogāgninā
snigdha-śyāmala-kūla-līna-hariṇe godāvarī-gahvare |
romantha-sthita-go-gaṇaiḥ paricayād utkarṇam ākarṇitam
guptam gokula-pallave guṇa-gaṇam gopyaḥ sarāgā jaguḥ || [8. 172].

The *Hari-vaṇśa* is perhaps the earliest work to treat systematically Kṛṣṇa's early life at the Vraja. In this work the amorous element consists of Kṛṣṇa's love for the cowherd damsels and their dances in moonlit nights in autumn.² It also records that the damsels sang songs on the feats of Kṛṣṇa.³ These songs were not only on the feats of Kṛṣṇa but were popular songs that were sung in the autumnal (nocturnal) festival—songs on the beauties of the autumnal moon and night.

tataḥ sa vavṛte rāsas calad-valaya-nisvanah |
anuyāta-śarat-kāvya-geya-gītir anukramāt ||
kṛṣṇaḥ śarac-candramasaṁ kaumudīm kumudākaram |
jagau gopī-janas tvekaṁ kṛṣṇa-nāma punaḥ punaḥ ||
rāsa-geyaṁ jagau kṛṣṇo yāvat tārātara-dhvaniḥ |
[Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, v. 13. 50, 51, 55.]

evaṁ śaśāṅkāmśu-virājitā nīśāḥ
sa satya-kāmo' nuratābalā-gaṇaḥ |
siṣeva ātmany avaruddha-saurataḥ
sarvāḥ śarat-kāvya-kathā-rasāśrayāḥ ||
[Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, x. 33. 25.]

No such song has come down to us. But the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* [x. 31] contains a very fine poem of lyrical nature on the lament of the *Gopīs*, when Kṛṣṇa vanishes from them to test their fidelity. To illustrate the high excellence of this poem I quote below two stanzas from it.

¹ Kāvya-mālā 26, Bombay, 1891.

² evaṁ sa kṛṣṇo gopīnāṁ cakravālair alaṁkṛtāḥ |
śārādīṣu sa-candrāsu nīśāsu mumude sukhī || [ii. 20. 35.]

³ gāyantyāḥ kṛṣṇa-caritaṁ dvandvaśo gopa-kanyakāḥ || [ii. 20. 25.]
Cf. gopyāḥ kṛṣṇe vanam yāte tam anudruta-cetasāḥ |
kṛṣṇa-līlāḥ pragāyantiyo niyay duḥkheṇa vāsaram || [Bhāgavata x. 35. 1.]

aṣṭati yad bhavān ahni kānanam
 truṣṭir yugāyate tvām apaśyatām
 kuṣṭila-kuntalam śrī-mukhaṃ ca te
 jaḍa udikṣatām pakṣmakṛd dṛśām ||

pati-sutānvaya-bhrāṭṛ-bāndhavān
 ativilāṅghya te 'nty acyutāgatāḥ |
 gatividas tavodgīta-mohitāḥ
 kitava yoṣitaḥ kas tyajen nīsi || [x. 31. 15, 16.]

• Whilst you wander in woodlands in daytime a trice seems (as long as) an æon (to us,) not seeing you ; and (when we are blessed with a sight of your face, alas !) the stupid (creator) has given lashes to our eyes that feast on your glorious face with wavy locks !

Transgressing our husbands, children, kinsmen, brothers and relatives we have come to you, O Acyuta ! being ravished with the notes (played on the flute) by you who are aware of all our movements. Who else, O Cheat ! can spurn girls (in love) at night ? •

Kṛṣṇa's intrigue with Rādhā and other maidens became a favourite subject of *Udbhata* poetry since the seventh century A. C. And to this date may be assigned the Trivendrum play entitled the *Bāla-carita* (generally ascribed to Bhāsa), which is perhaps one of the earliest secular poetical work on the Vraja legend that has come down to us. Such Sanskrit poems are partially preserved in rhetorical works¹ and in anthologies.² Such verses were not unknown in Prakrit also. The *Gāthā-saptāṣṭi* of Hāla contains five stanzas on the amours of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā and other *Gopīs*.³ In fact these Prakrit verses may be taken as some of the earliest known secular verses on the subject.

Sanskrit lyrics on Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa topic, written in moraic metres and riming, are known from Jayadeva and his innumerable imitators. No such poem, earlier than the *Gīta-govinda*, are known. But Jayadeva was not the creator of the *genre*. Such poems, possibly originating from Prakrit sources, must have been common in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. Kṣemendra in his *Daśāvātāra-carita* (middle of the

¹ Such as the *Dhanyāloka*, *Kāvya-prakāśa*, etc. Short collections like the *Puṣpa-bāṇa-vilāsa* contain some such verses.

² The *Kaśīndra-vacana-samuccaya* (twelfth century A. C.) contains five or six such poems, the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* (early thirteenth century A. C.) about ten.

³ *Kāvya-mālā* edition (Bombay, 1889), i. 89 ; ii. 12, 14, 47 ; vii. 55.

eleventh century) gives two couplets of such a lyric poem. This is perhaps the earliest known specimen of the *genre*. I quote them below.

lalita-vilāsa-kalā-sukha-khelana-
 lalanā-lobhana-śobhana-yauvana-
 mānita-nava-madane |
 alīkula-kokila-kuvalaya-kajjala-
 kāla-kalinda-sutāv iva lajjala-
 kāliya-kula-damane ||
 keśi-kīśora-mahāsura-māraṇa-
 dāruṇa-gokula-durita-vidāraṇa
 govarddhana-dharaṇe |
 kasya na nayana-yugaṃ rati-sajje
 majjati manasi-ja-tarala-taraṅge
 vara-ramaṇi-ramaṇe || [8. 173].¹

From the eleventh or the twelfth century onward Sanskrit poems, epic or otherwise, and dramas on the early life of Kṛṣṇa became popular. Since the fifteenth century such works became quite abundant. To name a few: *Vraja-vihāra* ² of Śrīdhara-Svāmin, *Yālavābhyudaya* ³ of Vedānta-Deśika (1268-1366 A. C.), *Gopāla-līlā (mahākāvya)* ⁴ of Rāmacandra-Bhaṭṭa (late fifteenth century), *Hari-vilāsa* ⁵ (in five cantos), *Kaṃsa-nidhana* ⁶ (*mahākāvya*) of Śrī-Rāma, *Hari-carita Kāvya* ⁷ of Caturbhuja (completed at Rāmakeli in Śaka 1415 = A.C. 1493), *Kṛṣṇa-vijaya* ⁸ of Śaṅkarācārya, *Hari-vilāsa Kāvya* ⁹ of Lolimba-rāja, *Gopāla-carita* ¹⁰ of Padmanābha (the author of the *Supadma* grammar, c. 1350),

¹ This song was sung by the *Gopīs* when Kṛṣṇa had left Vṛndāvana for Mathurā.

² Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. ii, p. 148.

³ First eight cantos published in two volumes from Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, 1907, 1909.

⁴ The *Pandit* (Old Series), Vol. vi.

⁵ *Kāvya-mālā* 11; the *Pandit* (Old Series), Vol. ii.

⁶ Peterson, *A Third Report on Search for Sanskrit MSS.*, Bombay, 1887, pp. 355 ff.

⁷ Haraprasāda Shastri, *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper MSS.*, belonging to the Darbar Library, Nepal (Calcutta, 1905), pp. 134 ff.

⁸ Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. i, p. 123. This work has been printed at Trichur.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 760. This work has been quoted from in Puruṣottama-deva's *Varṇa-deśanā*. Published in the *Pandit* (Old Series) Vol. iii; *Kāvya-mālā*, 9.

¹⁰ Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. iii, pp. 35, 69.

Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta ¹ of Bilva-maṅgala, *Murāri-vijaya* (*nāṭaka*) ² of Kṛṣṇa-Bhaṭṭa (*Samvat* 1541 = A. C. 1484), *Kaṁsa-vadha* (*nāṭaka*) ³ of Śeṣa-kṛṣṇa, *Keśava-carita*, ⁴ *Hari-vilāsa*, ⁵ *Goninda-vilāsa*. ⁶

Bengal's contribution to this literature (prior to the sixteenth century) was by no means small or insignificant. During the rule of the Sena kings quite a number of poets wrote on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme. Jayadeva of course stands unique in the history of Sanskrit literature. The *Saṁskṛti-karṇāmṛta* of Śrīdhara-dāsa [A.C. 1204] contains some poems by evidently Bengali writers (*e.g.*, Divākara-Datta, Umāpati-Dhara, Bhaṭṭapālīya Pītāmbara, Keśava-kolīya Nāthoka, Śaraṇa, etc.). Two poems are ascribed to Lakṣmaṇa-Sena and one to Keśava-Sena. This last poem too has been ascribed to Lakṣmaṇa-Sena in the *Padyāvalī* [207 (206)].⁷

Rūpa-Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* contains a large number of poems by Bengali poets, a few of whom were his contemporaries and friends at Gaur. I may mention here a few names: Puruṣottama-Ācārya, Mādhava-Cakravartin, Jagannātha-Sena, Govardhanācārya, Jagadānanda-Rāya, Sañjaya-Kaviśekhara, Keśava-Bhaṭṭācārya, Śaṣṭhivara-Dāsa, Rāmacandra-Dāsa, Mukunda-Bhaṭṭācārya, Keśava-Chatrin, Govinda-Bhaṭṭa.

It would not be uninteresting to quote here a few verses by some of these Bengali poets as specimens.

āstām tāvad vacana-racanā-bhājanatvaṁ vidūre
dūre cāstām tava tanu-parīrambha-sambhāvanāpi |
bhūyo bhūyaḥ prañatibhir idam kintu yāce vidheyā
smāraṁ smāraṁ svajana-gaṇane kāpi rekhā mamāpi ||

[346 (342): Keśava-Bhaṭṭācārya].

* [Rādhā sends the following message to Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā through Uddhava:] There may not be even the remotest chance of direct

¹ Published in several editions.

² Peterson, *op. cit.*, pp. 337 f.; Shastri and Guin, *Catalogue of MSS. in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta*, Vol. vi. pp. 178 f.

³ Kāvya-mālā 6, Bombay, 1888. Rūpa-Gosvāmin in his *Nāṭaka-candrikā* [published from Cossimbazar, B.E. 1813; p. 16] quotes from a drama *Kaṁsa-vadha*. As the passage quoted does not occur in Śeṣa-kṛṣṇa's work this *Kaṁsa-vadha* seems to be a different work.

⁴ A drama quoted from in Rūpa-Gosvāmin's *Nāṭaka-candrikā* [pp. 12f.].

⁵ A drama quoted from in Rūpa-Gosvāmin's *Nāṭaka-candrikā* [p. 11].

⁶ Quoted from in Rūpa-Gosvāmin's *Ujjvala-nīlamayī* [Third Berhampore edition; p. 652].

⁷ A critical edition of the *Padyāvalī* with an elaborate introduction and bibliographical notes has been very recently published by the University of Dacca under the able editorship of Dr. Sushil Kumar De. The number in simple brackets is that of Dr. De's edition.

conversation (with you). It may also be that there will not be even (the slightest) possibility of a touch of your person. Still, with repeated bows, I beg only this much that remembering me ever and anon you may scratch a line (for me) in the count of your own people ! •

jīrṇā tariḥ sarid atīva-gabhīra-nīrā
bālā vyaṃ sakalam ittham anartha-hetuḥ |
nistūra-vījam idam eva kṛṣṇadarīṇāṃ
yaṃ mādḥava tvam asi samprati karṇadhārāḥ ||

[272 (271); Jagadānanda-Rāya].

• The boat is old ; the river has very deep waters ; and we are very young girls ;—all these are causes for danger. But the only chance for safety for (us) the slender-waisted (damsels) is that you, O Mādhava ! are the helmsman here. •

satyaṃ jalpasi duḥsahāḥ khala-girāḥ satyaṃ kulam nirmalam
satyaṃ niṣkaruṇo'py ayam saḥcaraḥ satyaṃ sudūre sarit |
tat sarvaṃ sakhi vismarāmi jhaṭiti śrotrātithir jāyate
ced unmāda-mukuṇḍa-maṇju-murali-nisvāna-rāgodgatih ||

[185 (184); Govinda-Bhaṭṭa].

• 'True, as you say, the words of malicious (people) are unbearable. True, (the honour of my) family is immaculate. True, this my companion also is pitiless. True, the river is far, far away. But all this, O my friend ! I forget quickly as soon as the ravishing stream of melodious notes (from the flute) of Mukunda (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa) reaches my ears. •

panthāḥ kṣemamayo 'stu te parihara pratyūha-sambhāvanām
etanmātram adhāri sundari mayā netra-praṇālī-pathe |
nīre nīla-sarojaṃ ujḡvala-guṇaṃ tīre tamālāṅkurāḥ
kuñje ko' pi kalinda-śaila-dubituḥ puṃskokilāḥ khelati ||

[248 (247); Sarvavidyāvinoda]. •

• May thy path be auspicious ! Forget any possibility of mischance. Only this much I have ascertained, O my beauty ! that in the waters (of the river) there is a resplendent blue lotus, that on the (river) bank there is a *tamāla* sapling, and that in the grove by the Daughter of the mountain Kalinda (*i.e.* the river Yamunā) a he-cuckoo is playing about. •

līlā-mukharita-murali-taralīkṛta-gopa-bhāvinī-nivahāḥ |
tad-adhara-madhuni satṛṣṇaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ pāyād apāyato bhavataḥ ||

[288 (287); Mādhava-Cakravartin].

« May Kṛṣṇa, who has disturbed the hearts of the Cowherd damsels and who is ever athirst for the honey at their lips, protect you from harm. »

When did the Bengali poets or devotees begin to write on the Vraja topic in the vernacular? This is a question that cannot be settled at the present state of our knowledge. There is no doubt that mystic songs with the *bhāṣitā* were composed even in the Old Bengali period. Remnants of such a literature are to be found in the *Caryā-padas* of the Buddhist 'Siddhācāryas.' It may be argued that in those days vernacular songs on the Kṛṣṇa legend also were composed. This is rather unlikely. In the centuries ending the first millennium A. C. and beginning the second the 'Kṛṣṭāyana' legend was really a high and learned subject, and so verses and songs were written in Sanskrit, Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa.

I am of opinion that the fashion of writing poems or songs on the Vraja legend arose in Bengal not much earlier than the fifteenth century, possibly in the neighbouring territory Tirabhukti (Tirhut). Taking the most lenient view the *Srīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana* of Ananta Bara Caṇḍidāsa cannot be placed earlier than the latter half of the fifteenth century. The earliest dated work in Bengali is the *Srīkṛṣṇa-vijaya* of Mālādhara-Vasu who had the title of 'Guṇa-rāja Khān.' This work is an adaptation of the tenth and eleventh *Skandhas* of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*. It was completed in 1480 A.C. [vide VSPP., Vol. 38, p. 155 ff.]. But songs on the Vraja theme (not so much the amorous topics as the miraculous feats) was popular certainly towards the end of the fifteenth century. Vṛndāvana-dāsa in the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* [i. 14] says—

kāli-dahe karilena ye nāṭya īśvare |
sei gīta gāyenṇ kārūṇya uccasvare ||
śuni nija prabhura mahimā haridāsa |
paṛilā mūrchita hai kothā nābi śvāsa ||

A *Daṇḍa* (snake-charmer?) was singing a song on the 'Kāliya-damana' theme at the house of a rich man at Phuliyā. Haridāsa-Ṭhākura (an elder contemporary and principal follower of Caitanya-deva) was passing that way. On hearing that sweetly sung song relating to the glory of his Lord (i.e., Kṛṣṇa) Haridāsa was overcome with joy and became senseless in ecstasy. This happened some years before he met the Great Master.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

[The first number denotes the page : the number in brackets denotes the line.]

2 (36) Read *Kunstsprache* for *Kuntsprache*.

4 (14) Read who was for was.

5 (7-8) According to Kṣetragopāla Senagupta, a descendant of 'Vaiṣṇava-dāsa,' Rādhāmohana, the guru of 'Vaiṣṇava-dāsa,' was a descendant of Dviṇa Haridāsa, and not a descendant of Śrinivāsa-Ācārya as supposed here and *infra*. Vide VSPP., Vol. xii, pp. 65-69. Necessary correction should be made at pages 297 (17), and 300 (3).

5 (16) Read Bengali for Beagali.

6 (19) Read B.E. for B.S.

6 (29) Read Sanibärer for Sanibarar.

8 (11) Read *bāṇa* for *vāṇa*.

8 (12) Add : See p. 245.

11 (20 ff.) Later in this work I have occasion to revise my opinion as to the date of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana* [see *supra*, pp. 392 f.].

15 (3) Read Rādhā-hood for Radha-hood.

15 (17 f.) This verse occurs in the *Pañcadaśī* (ix. 84).

23 f. KGR. [141] gives some better readings of the poem by Yaśorāja-Khān. They are noted below.

23 (20) 'āra payadhara gora,' KGR.

23 (24) 'karata sundari,' KGR.

23 (25) Read bāhira dehalī mājhe.

23 (28) 'kamala-yugale,' KGR.

23 (29) 'cānda pūjala kāma,' KGR.

25 (35) Read pāca-bāṇa for pāca-vāṇa.

29 (10) Add : A few cantos at the end of the work seem to have been added later.

29 (18) Delete *Gupta-dāsa*. See pp. 402 f.

29 (25) Read bāhire for vāhire.

29 (36) Read bilasata for vilasata.

30 (1) Read dokha for dekhi.

31 (12) Delete the before propriety.

31 (31) *Read kuhū for kuhu.*

32 For additional facts on the life and activities of Narahari-Sarkār, see my article, "Narahari-Sarkār O Śrīkhaṇḍera Sampradāya," in the *Bangasree* (Vaṅgaśrī) for Jyaiṣṭha, 1340 B.E., pp. 572-577. Not a few of Narahari's poems on the Kṛṣṇa legend seem to have been passed on to the so-called 'Caṇḍīdāsa.' I have discussed this matter fully elsewhere [*vide* "Śrīkhaṇḍera Sampradāya O Caṇḍīdāsa," VSPP., Vol. 40, pp. 15-33].

35 (19) The *Vaiṣṇavācāra-darpaṇa*, Part I, third edition, published by Nṛtyalāla Śīla, Calcutta, Śaka 1823, p. 341. The first edition of this work* was published in Śaka 1802 (= 1880 A.C.).

38 (4) *Read kaba for kava.*

38 (26) *Vide Vaiṣṇavācāra-darpaṇa*, p. 341.

39 (11) *Read bidariyā for vidariyā.*

39 (22) *Vide Vaiṣṇavācāra-darpaṇa*, p. 341.

39 (24) *Read a son for son.*

39 (27) *Read Bhāgavata-Purāṇa for Śrīmad-Bhāgavata.*

39 (33-35) *Delete the sentence.*

40 (footnote) *Read 413 for 414.*

41 (15-17) For a third Rāmānanda, see p. 466 f.

42 (20) *Read Vamśīvadana-dāsa or Vamśī-dāsa (i).*

43 (27) *Read breasts for breast.*

44 At pages 70-71 has been given a Brajabuli poem by Vamśīvadana which, according to 'Prema-dāsa,' was sung before the Master at Puri.

47-48 The poem cited occurs with the *bh.* of Govindadāsa in KGR. [133].

47 (1) *Read Vṛndāvana-dāsa (i).*

47 (21) *Read tabahi for tavahi.*

50 (19) *Read sveda-bindu for sveda-vindu.*

50 (28) *Read yūthi for yuthi.*

51 Through inadvertence Śivānanda-Sena has been treated in Chapter V instead of in Chapter IV.

52 (footnote) *Read Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-līlā-rasa-kadamba for Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-rasa līlā-kadamba.*

54 (22) *Add*: None of the poems of Mādhava occurring in the anthologies are to be found in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala* (published from the Baṅgabāsi Press, Calcutta).

54 (28) *Read śarada for śārada.*

54 (30) *Read -baraṇa-haraṇa- for -haraṇa-haraṇa-.*

56 (19) *Read iṅgita for iṅgita.*

58 (14) *Add* : In these poems of 'Mādhavi' or 'Mādhavi-dāsa' the name occurs in some MSS. of PKT. and also in KPS. as 'Mādhuri' or 'Mādhuri-dāsa.'

61 For the correct identification of Paramānanda-dāsa, see p. 376, *footnote*.

61 (7) *Read* mṛgi-kula *for* mṛgi-kūla.

63 The *Sākhā-gīṛṇaya* of Rāmagopāla-dāsa gives this interesting fact about Locana-dāsa—

gururṣ arthe bikāila phiringira hātha ||

64 (2) According to the *Prema-vilāsa* [second edition, Berhampur, B. E. 1318, p. 317] the *Gosvāmins* at Vṛndāvana were responsible for changing the original title of Vṛndāvana-dāsa's work.

64 (36) *Read* kāhu *for* kāhū.

65 (7) *Read* no section *for* section.

67 For further information about Locana's literary activities, *vide* VSPP., Vol. 40, pp. 21 f.

70 Delete the first paragraph.

71 (15) *Read* bāhira *for* vāhira.

73 (6) *Read* PKT. 748 *for* PKT. 784.

74 (14) *Read* kiṅkiṇi- *for* kiṅkiṇi.

74 (35) *Read* Balarāma-dāsa (i).

76 (36-37) *Delete* not even excepting Caṇḍīdāsa.

79 (7) *Read* raṅgiṇī *for* raṅgiṇī.

79 (25) *Read* woodland *for* wood land.

80 (35) *Read* from at home *for* at home.

84 (28) *Add* : The poet Jagannātha-dāsa seems to have written some connected poems on the Kṛṣṇa legend, possibly a work of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala* type. Thus he says in the colophon of a poem :

ei-rūpe naukā-khaṇḍa pāra haila kānu-saṅga
jagannātha-dāsa biracila || [KPS., p. 90.]

88 One Uddhava-dāsa seems to have written a work of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala* type. This Uddhava-dāsa may have been a disciple of Karṇapūra [*vide* GPT., p. 471].

89 One Caitanya-dāsa appears to have systematically treated the Vraja theme [*cf.* KPS., pp. 50 f.].

90 (23) Also *vide* *Prema-vilāsa* (Berhampur, second edition), p. 349.

92 In the *Prema-vilāsa* Nityānanda-dāsa has more than once referred to another work of his, *Viracandra-carita*, a biography of Viracandra, the son of Nityānanda-prabhu. Nityānanda-dāsa seems to have written connected poems on the Vraja legend [*vide* VSPP., Vol. 40, pp. 35 f.].

93 (18) *Read c. 1735 A. C. for 1750 A. C.*

94 (16) *Read 3072 for 3073.*

94 f. The *Padāmṛta-samudra* version [pp. 408 f.] of the poem PKT. 790 has eight and the *Karṇānanda* version [vi (pp. 111 f.)] has nine couplets. These additional couplets are as follows :

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| sundara kapāle śobhe | sundara tilaka go |
| tāhe śobhe alakāra pāṭi | |
| hiyāra bhitare mora | jhalamala kare go |
| cānde yena bhramarera pāṭi (4) | |
| amiyā mākhala kibā | candana tilaka go |
| kapāle sājiyā dila ke | |
| nirakhiyā cāda-mukha | kemane dhariba buka |
| parāṇe kemane jiye se (5) | |

97 (10) *Read mediocrity for mediocrity.*

101 (12) Also *vide* *Syāmānanda-prakāsa*, by Kṛṣṇacarāṇa-dāsa, edited by Amūlyadhana Rāyabhaṭṭa and published from Pāṇihāṭi, 1335 B. E.

106 (25) One poem on the *Sakti* theme, written by Govindadāsa before his initiation in Vaiṣṇavism—in fact the only such poem as yet known—has been quoted in page 319.

106 (28) *Read fearing for fearing.*

107 (24) *Add* : Also one poem with the joint *bh.* of 'Rāya Rāmacandra' and 'Govindadāsa' occurs in APR. [66].

108 (3) *Cf.* the poem by Vallabha-dāsa [GPT., pp. 480 f.].

110 (3) *Read* kuñjara-karabha- kara-hi kara-bandhana.

110 (5) *Read* -tarāṅgiṇī for -tarāṅginī.

110 (6) *Read* raṅgiṇī- for raṅginī-.

110 (86) *Read* bañjula for vañjula.

111 (15) *Read* bañjula for vañjula.

116 (1) *Read* -pariramabhane for -pariramabhane.

116 (28) *Read* hariṇī- for harinī-.

119 (33) *Read* baṛhāyabi for baṛhāyabi.

121 (6) *Read* tarāṅgiṇī- for tarāṅginī-.

128 The poem [PKT. 988] is an adaptation of the following verse :

lajjaivodghaṭitā kim atra kuṣīṣodbaddhā kapāṭa-sṭhitir
maryādaiva vilaṅghitā pathi punaḥ keyaṃ kalindātmajā ।
ākṣiptā khaladr̥ṣṭir eva sahasā vyālāvali kidr̥ṣi
prāṇā eva samarpitāḥ sakhi ciraṃ tasmai kim eṣā tanuḥ ॥
[Padyāvali 211 (210).]

123 (13) *Read* agādhā *for* āgadhā.

132 (19) *Read* indu *for* indū.

132 (21, 22) *Read* bindu *for* vindu.

136 (4) *Read* rūkhaha nayana- *for* rūkhaha-nayana-.

138 Govinda-Ācārya was considerably older than the Great Master, as he has been mentioned among the seniors (*guru-varga*) ; cf. *Gauragaṇ-oddeśa-dīpikā*, *loc. cit.*

138 (29) *Vaiṣṇavācāra-darpaṇa* also says—

pūrve ye barāi kṛṣṇe karita dhāmāli ।
seimata govinda-ācārya gītāvali ॥ [p. 364.]

149 (2-3) *Delete* the sentence. *Add* : Notwithstanding this slavish imitation of other poets Śekhara wrote some very brilliant lyrics in Brajabuli. PKT. 2706 (quoted in p. 149) is one such poem. Another is the universally favourite poem 'e bharā bādara māha bhādara' etc. [PKT. 1735]. This poem is generally attributed to Vidyāpati as his *bh.* is found in most of the anthologies. But this poem really belongs to Śekhara. My argument is based on the following fact. Pītāmbara-dāsa's *Aṣṭa-rasa-vyākhyā* [c. 1700] is the earliest work to quote this poem, and the *bh.* there is that of 'Śekhara' and not of Vidyāpati. Thus the *bh.* line runs—

bhaṇahū śekhara kaiche bañcaba
so hari binu iha rātiyā ॥

The *Pada-rasa-sāra* version also bears the *bh.* of Śekhara [*vide* PKT., Vol. ii, p. 77]. The generally accepted version of the *bh.* line is as follows :

vidyāpati kaha kaiche goṇāyabi
hari bine dina rātiyā ॥

Now this line is rhythmically different from the rest of the poem. Moreover the reading 'so hari' is distinctly better than 'dina rāṭiyā' as the question of 'dina' (day) does not arise.

149 (15) *Read raṅgiṇī for raṅgini.*

158 (16) *Read dūṭi for duti.*

166 (1) *Read love's ecstasy for love ecstasy.*

166 (7) *Read koṇa for kona.*

173 (7) *Read Good ladies for good ladies.*

173 (20) *Read chāṛiyā for chārīyā.*

174 (21) *Read tahi for tahi.*

174 (82) *Read gharama-bindu for gharama-vindu.*

175 (6) *Read ghanāiyā for ghānaiyā.*

176 (12) *Read Vrajānanda (i).*

178 (83) *Read Chapter for Addenda.*

180 (19) *Add:* Mr. Manomohan Ghosh, M.A., has brought to my notice the existence of Yadunandana's translation of Rūpa-Gosvāmin's *Dāna-keli-kaumudī*. It has been published by Keśava-candra De in B. E. 1325.

181 (8) *Read -koṇe for kone.*

185 (21) *Read bāūri for baūri.*

185 (27) *Read bicāra for bicara.*

194 (31) The *Bṛhad-bhakti-tattva-sāra*, compiled by Rādhā-nātha Kābāsī, has been published from Dhānyakuriyā, fourth edition, Caitanya Era 444.

197 (17) *Read tuhāri for tuhārī.*

197 (19) *Read te' for te.*

202 (9) *Read [1534-1583 A.C.] for [Born ? A.C. 1584].*

203 (23) According to the *Vaṁśī-śikṣā* [published by Jogendranātha De, Calcutta, B.E. 1331, p. 235] Rāmacandra was born in *Saka* 1456 (=1534 A.C.) and died in *Saka* 1505 (=1583 A.C.). He wrote three treatises, *Kaṇacā*, *Anaṅgamañjari-samputikā*, and *Pāṇḍa-dalana* [*op. cit.*, p. 232].

204 (20) *Read dishevelled for disheelled.*

204 (29) *Delete probably a pre-Caitanya poet.*

205 (17) *Read bindu for vindu.*

206 (5) *Vide Vaṁśī-śikṣā*, p. 232. Śacīnandana had three sons, Rājavallabha, Śrīvallabha, and Keśava, who were the respective authors of *Vaṁśī-vilāsa*, *Śrīvallabha-līla*, and *Keśava-saṅgīta* [*loc. cit.*].

211 Ācārya Candra has been treated in this chapter instead of in Chapter IV, out of sheer inadvertence.

212 (20) Ācārya Candra was a person quite distinct from Candra-śekhara Ācāryaratna. The *Caitanya-bhāgavata* distinctly mentions him as a follower of Nityānanda-prabhu. Ācāryaratna, however, was a direct follower of Caitanya-deva.

216 (6) *Read* forty-seven for forty-six.

216 (11) *Add*: All the songs in the *Govinda-rati-mañjarī* are written in Brajabuli. They are, however, adaptations of Sanskrit verses, also composition of Ghanaśyāma, that immediately precede them. Thus the poems cited in pp. 216-218 (PKT. 1633, 350) have the following verses as their corresponding Sanskrit originals :

ārdribhūta-tanur nilīna-vasanā netrāmbhasām dhūrayā
paśyanti mathurā-patham gata-ratham gopi-tatir majjati |
kācit tatra vidheya-śūnya-ḥṛdayā citrārpiteva sthitā
yāvad dṛṣṭi-pathe rathas tad anu sā chinna-drumābhāpatat ||

ko'yaṁ huṁkurute harir giri-guhāṁ hitvātra harmye kutah
kānte 'ham madhusūdanas tad iha kim padmālayaṁ gacchatu |
kṛṣṇo 'smīti guṇo 'tanur vadati kiṁ na śyāma-mūrtiḥ priye
somābhā-pariksheditaḥ kim iti su-smero hariḥ pātu vaḥ ||

217 (15-16) *Read* and bewailed their friend who had lost consciousness for and (being) ignorant etc.

219 (26) *Read* *Sārāṅga-raṅgadā* for *Rasika-raṅgadā*.

230 (36) *Add*: One Brajabuli poem, occurring in CU. MS. 343, contains the joint *bh.* of 'Vidyāpati' and 'Yadunandana.' I do not know which of the three Yadunandanas this poet was. As the poem is rather interesting on account of this joint *bh.*, I quote it here.

ki kahaba re sakhi takhana-ka lāja |
sapane āpane piyā śola samāja ||
kare kara dhari piyā pūchata bāta |
haṭhe hāma tāka choṛāyala hāta ||
phārāla malla-torāla hāra |
kata-hi kahaba tāi karae vibhāra ||
bhanae vidyāpati iha rasa gāy |
iha avāśeṣa yadunandana gāy ||

233 (11) According to another tradition Gati-govinda had seven sons of whom Subalacandra or Subalānanda was one.

233 (16) This Subalacandra (Ācārya) Ṭhākura probably was the author of the Sanskrit poem *Rādhā-saundarya-mañjarī* (consisting of 170

A HISTORY OF BRAJABULI

*śloka*s only). *Vide* Rājendralāla Mitra, *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. viii, p. 280.

233 (25) *Read* *bayanaṁ for vayanṁ.*

238 (21) *Read* *amarāvati for amarāvati.*

342 (12) *Read* *Madhusūdana dāsa for Madhusudana-dāsa.*

243 (16) *Read* *niṭhura for niṭhūra.*

243 (21) *Read* *bayāna for vayāna.*

243 (23) *Read* *rākhae for jhākhae.*

248 (27) The following poets are represented in the *Aṣṭa-rasa-vyākhyā*: Govindadāsa, Gopāla-dāsa, 'Caṇḍidāsa,' Nava-kaviśekhara (Śekhāra), 'Giridhara-dāsa, Gupta, Jñānadāsa, Vidyāpati, Balarāma-dāsa.

Pitāmbara mentions that Śacīnandana was his guru—

śacīnandana-prabhu ṭhākura āmāra |

śrīkhaṇḍa mahāpāṭe vasati yāhāra ||

249 (5-6) For Subalānanda or Subalacandra-Ṭhākura, see pp. 233 f.

254 (18) *Read* *Sanātana-Gosvāmin and Rūpa-Gosvāmin jointly for Sanātana-Gosvāmin Rupa-Gosvāmin jointly.*

261 (25) *Read* *PKT. 2842 for PKT. 9842.*

270 (31) *Read* *kula śīla for śīla kula.*

276 (6) *Delete* *Mādhya.*

289 (34) *Read* (fiddle) *for* (a kind of lute).

295 (17) *Read* *Cūrāmaṇi-dāsa for Cūrāmaṇi-dāsa.*

301 (1) *Read* *mahatī for mahatī.*

301 (21) *Read* the lute (*mahatī*) shall sound *for* I shall sing.

301 (21) *Delete* (?).

306 (21) *Read* *duhū-ka for duhū-ka.*

314 (32) *Read* *Gokula-candra for Gokula-chandra.*

321 (8) This Bhāgavatānanda was probably the grandson of Bhagavān-Ācārya 'the lame' (Khañja), a follower of the Great Master.

321 (18-19) This poem, however, occurs with the *bh.* of Govindadāsa in KGR. [133].

321 (23) One Vṛndāvana-dāsa probably had written a work of the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala* type [*cf.* KPS., pp. 103 ff.].

322 (31-32) Mukundarāma-Cakravartī Kavikañkaṇa had already used Brajabuli in his *Abhayā-maṅgala* or *Caṇḍikāvyā* [c. 1577 A.C.]. So it cannot be maintained that Bhāratacandra was one of the first writers to use Brajabuli in secular poetry. The occurrence of Brajabuli poems or fragments in Mukundarāma's work goes to show what a tremendous

influence], the Neo-Vaiṣṇava Brajabuli literature exerted on the contemporary secular literature as early as the third quarter of the sixteenth century. I quote below one poem from the *Caṇḍī-kāvya* [Baṅgabāsi Press, third edition, 1332 B.E., pp. 162 f.], written in mixed Brajabuli and Bengali. Some corruptions or emendations have undoubtedly crept in.

māne madane duhe bājala dvandva |
 ākula mugadhe paṛi geo dhanda ||
 mānini ramaṇi nā baise pati-pāṣe |
 nayane ārati nā bhaje rati-rase ||
 vimala kamala jhāpai kara-tale |
 pīna kaṭhina aṅga daraśāy chale ||
 supurukhaparaśa-hi madana vikāśa |
 bālāra hrdaye lajjā bhaya vināśa ||
 lāja tejiyā rāmā kare nivedana |
 abhayā-maṅgala gāna śrī-kavikaṅkaṇa ||

325 (10) *Read* -paṅkaja-nīrahi *for* -paṅkaja nīra-hi.

327 (4) *Read* repartee *for* rapartee.

327 (12) *Add*: One poem by 'Śaṣi-śekhara' occurs in the *Rasa-kalpa-latā* of Jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa, which was completed in *Saka* 1607 [*vide* VSPP., Vol. xii, Ambikācaraṇa Gupta's paper on Kavi Jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa]. If this Śaṣi-śekhara be the same poet as is under discussion, he must have flourished at the latest in the middle of the seventeenth century.

333 (24) *Read* prāṇa *for* prāṇū.

336 (14) *Read* khela *for* kela.

341 (1) *Read* śācā *for* sāca.

344 (23) *Read* bāre-bāra *for* vāre-vūra.

344 (25) *Read* śiṅgāra *for* śiṅgāra.

346 (28) *Read* xv *for* XV and xx *for* XX.

351 (24) *Read* bhāmini *for* bhamini and mohana *for* mohāna.

361 (17) *Read* Śaṅkara *for* Saṅkara.

362 (3) *Read* sājala *for* sājalo.

369 (9) *Read* Madhusūdana Datta *for* Madhūsudana Datta.

397 (11) *Add*: [PKT. 3030].

404 (Footnote) *Read* 'kaba' *for* 'kaiba.'

418 *Add*:

Jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa (ii) [c. 1685 A.C.].

In the pages of VSPP. [Vol. xii, pp. 25-34] Ambikācaraṇa Gupta had noticed a work entitled the *Rasa-kalpa-latā*, an anthology consisting of

eighty-four Bengali and Brajabuli poems by Jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa and one by Śaśi-śekhara. This Jayakṛṣṇa may have been distinct from the poet Jayakṛṣṇa dealt with *supra* [p. 195 ff.]. The *Rasa-kalpa-latā* was completed in *Saka* 1607 (= 1685 A.C.).

gaura-kṛpāra kathā raci rasa-kalpa-latā
likhi tihō yebā lekhāila ;
śake śaśi ṣaṣa bindu tāhe milāiyā sindhu
mārgaśīrṣe samāpta haīla ॥

The poet's real name was Kenā-rāma. His father was 'Śrī Rāma-mohana-dāsa.' Their native village was Gaṛabārī, about two miles to the east of Arambag in the district of Hughli.

The following Bengali poem is quoted as a specimen of the poet's composition :

prabhāse rādhāra vāṇi śuniyā gokula-maṇi
kahe tāhe kariyā piriti |
dāruṇa vidhātā more ānāiyā eta-dūre
rākhe laiṣā ¹ dūra dvārāvati ² ॥
tomāra virahānale sadā mora hiyā jvale
ḍubi bhāsi bhāvanā-sāgare |
ki karite ki nā kari dhairaja dharite nāri
sadā dhyāna karite tomāre ॥
āche dui cāri sūtra nārāyaṇa-śakti hetu
naṣṭa kaile yābo Vṛndāvane |
tumi mora du-nayana āmāra amūlya-dhana
tomā binu ki āche bhuvane ॥
karuṇa nayane nīra bhijila hiyāra cīra
puna kahe gada-gada bhāṣā |
jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa bhaṇe karuṇā kariye mane
dīnabandhu-caruṇa bharasā ॥

[VSPP., Vol. xii, p. 33.]

On hearing the speech of Rādhā at Prabhāsa the Jewel of Gokula (i.e., Kṛṣṇa) affectionately accosted her thus : 'The cruel Fate has called me away to such a distance and detains me in this distant Dvārāvati. In the fire of separation from you my heart is ever burning : I am drifting

¹ MS. 'layyā'

² MS. 'dārāvati.'

in the sea of anxiety. I do not know what I do, and I cannot hold on to patience as I am always thinking of you. Because of the spirit of Nārāyaṇa (I shall have to stay here for some time in order to slay) a few more enemies (?). When they are done away with I shall return to Vṛndāvana. You are my two eyes; what more precious treasure other than you do I possess in this universe?' With tears from his pitcous eyes the garment on his chest was drenched, and again he addressed her in faltering voice. With extreme humility at heart Jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa says that the feet of the Friend of the Poor is his only hope. »

- 428 (13) *Read alakā tilaka for alaka tilakā.*
 - 431 (28) *Read gaṇana for ganaṇa.*
 - 435 (25) *Read Rūpa-carāṇa for Rupa-carāṇa.*
 - 436 (1) *Read Svarūpa-carāṇa far Svarupa-carāṇa.*
 - 436 (4) *Read Svarūpa (Svarūpa-dāsa) for Svarupa (Svarupa-dāsa).*
 - 447 (1) *Read mane for mane.*
 - 457 (6) *Read Pūrṇānanda-dāsa for Purnānanda-dāsa.*
 - 457 (7) *Read occur for occurs.*
 - 459 (29) *Read viṣama for visama.*
-

APPENDIX
PADA-MANJARI

পদমঞ্জরী

[গ্রন্থমধ্যে রোমান অক্ষরে মুদ্রিত সম্পূর্ণ পদগুলি এইখানে বঙ্গাক্ষরে একত্রে গ্রথিত হইল। ইহাতে রোমান অক্ষরের সহিত অপরিচিত বাঙ্গালী পাঠকের মূল পদগুলি বুঝিবার সুবিধা হইবে। গৌণতঃ ইহার দ্বারা একটি আদর্শ পদসংগ্রহের কার্যও চলিবে। পদের শেষে প্রদত্ত সংখ্যা ধারাবাহিক পদসংখ্যা সূচিত করিতেছে, এবং বন্ধনীস্থিত সংখ্যা গ্রন্থমধ্যে উদ্ধৃত পদের পৃষ্ঠা-সংখ্যা নির্দেশ করিতেছে।]

যশোরাজ-খান

এক পয়োধর চন্দন-লেপিত
আরে সহজই গোর।
হিম-ধরাধর কনক-ভূধর
কোলে মিলল জোর।
মাধব, তুয়া দরশন-কাজে।
আধ পদচারি করত সুল্লরী
বাহির দেহলী মাঝে।
ডাহিন লোচন কাজরে রঞ্জিত
ধবল রহল বাম।
নীল ধবল কমল-যুগলে
চাঁদ পুজল কাম।
শ্রীযুত হুসন জগত-ভূষণ
সোই ইহ রস জান।
পঞ্চ-গৌড়েশ্বর ভোগ-পুরন্দর
ভণে যশোরাজ-খান।

১ ১ [২৩-২৪] ॥

রামানন্দ-রায়

পহিলিহি রাগ নয়ন-ভঙ্গ ভেল।
অহুদিন বাঢ়ল অবধি না গেল ॥
ন লো রমণ ন হাম রমণী।
তুহঁ মন মনোভব পেশল জনি ॥
এ সখি সো সব প্রেম-কহানী।
কাহু-ঠামে কহবি বিছুয়হ জানি ॥
ন খোঁজলুঁ দোতী ন খোঁজলুঁ আনি।
তুহঁক মিলনে মথ্যত পাঁচবাণ ॥
অব সো বিরাগে তুহঁ ভেলি দোতী।
সুপুরুষ-প্রেমক ঐছন রীতি ॥
বন্ধন রক্ত-নরাধিপ-মান।
রামানন্দ-রায় কবি ভাণ ॥

২ ২ [২৫] ॥

মুরারি-গুপ্ত

তপত কিরণ যদি অঙ্গ না দগধল
কি করব জল-অভিষেকে।
দুখ-ভরে প্রাণ বাহিরে বব নিকসব
কি করব ঔষধ-বিশেষে ॥
মানিনি, অতএব সমাপহ মানে।
মৃহমৃহ ভাবে সজাবহ বরভদ্র
একবার সেহ জীউ দানে ॥

১ গ্রন্থমধ্যে রোমান হরকে মুদ্রিত পদটিতে কিছু পাঠান্তরের বৈলক্ষণ্য দৃষ্ট হইবে। বর্তমান পাঠটিই শুদ্ধতর, ইহা কীর্তনপীঠরত্নাবলী হইতে গৃহীত হইয়াছে। মূলগ্রন্থে হাণা হইবার সময় কীর্তনপীঠরত্নাবলী আবার হস্তগত হয় নাই

স্বন্দর বদনে বিহসি বরভামিনি
রচহ ননোহর বাণী ।

কুচ কনয়া-গিরি মধি গহি রাখহ
নিজ ভুজে আপন জানি ॥

অধর-ইধারস পান বেহে মধি
হৃদয় জুড়ায়হ বোর ।

তুয়া মুখ-ইন্দু- উদয় হেন্নি বিসমন্ত
তিরশিত নয়ন-চকোর ॥

নিজ গুণ হেরি পরক দোখ পরিহারি
তেজহ হৃদয়ক রোখ ।

জগই মুরারি প্রাণপতি সঙ্গিনী
পুরুষ-বধ বহে দোখ ॥

৩ ॥ [২৯-৩০] ॥

মধি হে, ফিরিয়া আপন ধরে যাও ।

জীয়েন্তে মরিয়া যে আপনা খাইয়াছে
তারে তুবি কি আর বুঝাও ॥

নয়নপুতলী করি লইলো মোহন রূপ
হিয়ায় মাঝারে করি প্রাণ ।

পিরীতি-আগুনি জালি সকলি শোড়াইয়াছি
জাতি কুল শীল অভিমান ॥

না জানিয়া মৃত্যু লোকে কি জানি কি বলে যোকে
না করিয়ে প্রবণ-গোচরে ।

স্রোত-বিধার জলে এ তহু ভাসাইয়াছি
কি করিবে কুন্দের কুকুরে ॥

খাইতে শুইতে যৈতে আন নাহি জয় চিতে
বন্ধু বিনে আন নাহি জায় ।

মুরারি-গুপ্তে কহে পিরীতি এততি হৈলে
জয় বশ তিন লোকে যায় ॥

৪ ॥ [৩০-৩১] ॥

কি ছার পিরীতি কৈলা জীয়েন্তে বধিয়া আইলা
বাঁচিতে সংশয় ভেল রাই ।

শকরী সলিল বিন গোড়াইব কত দিন
শুন শুন নিষ্ঠুর মাথাই ॥

দুত বিয়া এক রতি জালি আইলা যুগবাতি
সে কেন্দর্নে রহে অবোপানে ।

তাহে সে পবনে পুন নিভাইল বারো হেন
ঝাঁট আসি রাখহ পরাণে ॥

বুঝিলাম উদ্দেশে সাক্ষাতে পিরীতি ভোবে
স্থানছাড়া বন্ধু বৈরী হয় ।

তার সাক্ষী পক্ষ ভাষু জল ছাড়া তার তহু
শুখাইলে পিরীতি না রয় ॥

যত সুখে বাঢ়াইলা তত হুখে পোড়াইলা
করিলা কুসুদবন্ধ-ভাতি ।

গুপ্ত কহে এক বাসে বিপক্ষ ছাড়িল দেশে
নিদানে হইল কুহুরাতি ॥

৫ ॥ [৩১] ॥

মনসহস্রি-সন্মুখান

গৌরলীলা দরশনে ইচ্ছা বড় হয় মনে
ভাবায় লিখিয়া সব রাখি ।

মুঞি তো অতি অধম লিখিতে না জানি ক্রম
কেনন করিয়া তাহা লিখি ॥

এ গ্রন্থ লিখিবে যে এখন অয়ে নাই সে
অন্নিতে বিলম্ব আছে বহ ।

ভাবায় রচনা হৈলে বুঝিবে লোক সকলে
কবে বাছা পুরাবেন পহ ॥

মৌরবধার-সীলা আশ্রয় করয়ে শিলা
কার সাধ্য করিবে বর্ন ।

সন্মুখ লিখেন যদি নিরন্তর নিরন্তর
আর সদাশিব পকানন ॥

কিছু কিছু পদ লিখি যদি ইহা কেহ দেখি
প্রকাশ করয়ে প্রতুলীলা ।

নরহরি পাবে হৃথ যুচিবে মনের দুখ
এই গানে দরবিবে শিলা ॥

৬ ॥ [৩৩] ॥

রাইক বিপত্তি শুনি বিদগ্ধ-শিরোমণি
পুছই গদগদ ভাষা ।

নিজ মন্দির ত্যজি চলু নব নাগর
পুনঃ পুনঃ পরশই নাসা ॥

বিছুরল চরণ-রণিত মণিমঞ্জীর
বিছুরল মুরলীক রঞ্জে ।

বিছুরল বেশ বসন ভেল বিগলিত
বিগলিত শিখিপুচ্ছ-চক্রে ॥

মলয়ঙ্গ-পরিমলে দশদিশ আঘোদিত
যামিনী বহে অতি পুঞ্জে ।

লালস দরশ-পরশে ছুই আকুল
চিরদিনে মিলল কুঞ্জে ॥

হুঁ হ মুখ হেরই অধির ভেল ছুই তহু
পরশিতে ভুজে ভুজে কাঁপ ।

নরহরি-হৃদি-মাথে অপরূপ জাগল
অলধর বিধুবর কাঁপ ॥

৭ ॥ [৩৪] ॥

বান্ধুদেব-ঘোষ

নিরবধু গোরা-তহু কবিল কাঞ্চন জহু
হেরইতে তৈ গেলুঁ জোর ।

তাড়-কুঙ্কলবে দংশল বহু মন
অন্তর কাঁপই ঘোর ॥

সজনি, কব হাব পেখলুঁ গোরা ।

আকুল-নিঃ-বিদগি না পাইয়ে
বদন-ক্লান্তলে কব জেরা ॥

অকর্ণিত-নয়নে তেরছ-অবলোকনে
বরিখে কুহুমশর সাধে ।

জীবইতে জীবনে ধেহ নাহি পায়লুঁ
ডুবলুঁ গঙ্গ অগাধে ॥

মত্ত-মহৌষধি তুই জানসি যদি
মধু লাগি করবি উপায় ।

বান্ধুদেব-ঘোষ কহে শুন শুন এ সখি
গোরা লাগি প্রাণ ঘোর মায় ॥

৮ ॥ [৩৬] ॥

শতীর আঙ্গিনায় নাচে বিশ্বস্তর রায় ।
হাসি হাসি ফিরি ফিরি মায়েরে লুকার ॥

বয়নে বসন দিয়া বলে লুকাইছ ।
শচী বলে বিশ্বস্তর আমি না দেখিছ ॥

মায়ের অঞ্চল ধরি চঞ্চল চরণে ।
নাচিয়া নাচিয়া যায় খঞ্জন-গমনে ॥

বান্ধুদেব-ঘোষ কহে অপরূপ শোভা ।
শিশু-রূপ দেখি হয় জগমন লোভা ॥

৯ ॥ [৩৬] ॥

আশ্ব-ঘোষ

নিজ নিজ মন্দির যাইতে পুন পুন
ছুই দোহী বদন নেহারি ।

অস্তরে উয়ল প্রেম-পয়োনিধি
নয়নে গলয়ে ঘন বারি ॥

মাধব, হামারি বিদায় পায় তোয় ।
তোহারি প্রেম সঞ্চে পুন চলি আয়ব

অব দরশন নাহি মোয় ॥
কাতরনয়নে নেহারিতে ছুই দোহী

উৎকল প্রেম-তরঙ্গ ।
মূরছল রাই মূরছি পড় মাধব

কব হব তাকর সঙ্গ ॥

ললিতা স্মৃতি স্মৃতি করি হুকরত
রাইক কোরে আগোর ।

সহচরী কান্ধ কান্ধ করি হুকরত
চরকত লোচন-লোর ॥

কথি গেও অরুণ- কিরণ-ভয় দারুণ
কথি গেও লোকক ভীত ।

মাধব-বোষ অবহ নাহি সমুখল
উদভট মুগধ-চরিত ॥

১০ ॥ [৩৭-৩৮] ॥

গোবিন্দ-বোষ

হেদে রে নদিয়াবাসী কার মুখ চাও ।
বাহু পশারিয়া গোরাচাঁদে রে ফিরাও ॥
তো সভারে কে আর করিবে নিজ কোরে ।
কে যাচিয়া দিবে প্রেম দেখিয়া কাতরে ॥
কি শেল হিয়ায় হায় কি শেল হিয়ায় ।
পরাণ পুতলী নবদীপ ছাড়ি যায় ॥
আর না যাইব মোরা গৌরাজের পাশ ।
আর না করিব মোরা কৌতূহল-বিলাস ॥
কাঁদয়ে ভকতগণ বুক বিদরিয়া ।
পাষণ গোবিন্দ-বোষ না যায় মিলিয়া ॥

১১ ॥ [৩৯] ॥

স্বামীন্দ-বসু

মলয়জ-মিলিত ষমুনা-জল-শীতল
বংশীবট নিরমাণ ।
নিকটহি নীপ- কদম্ব তরু কুসুমিত
কোকিল ভ্রমর কর গান ॥
তার ভলে তিরিভঙ্গ ভরণতমাল-তনু
বামে রসবতী রাই ।
এক নব জলধর কোরে বিজুরী ধির
কাঞ্চন রতন মিশাই ॥

দুই তনু একমন নিষিড় আলিঙ্গন
দুই জন একই পরাণ ।

বসু রামানন্দ ভণে তুলনা না হয় মনে
রূপের নিছনি পাঁচবাণ ॥

১২ ॥ [৪০] ॥

বাসুদেব-দত্ত

অপরূপ গোরা নটরাজ ।
প্রকট প্রেম- বিনোদ নবনাগর
বিহরে নবদীপ-মাঝ ॥
কুটিল কুস্তল গন্ধ-পরিমল
চন্দন-তিলক ললাট ।
হেরি কুলবতী লাজমন্দির-
দ্বারে দেওই কবাট ॥
করিবর-কর-জিনি বাহুর সুবলনি
দোসরি গজমোতি-হার ।
স্বমেক-শিখরে যৈছন বাঁপিয়া
বহই স্বরধুনী-ধারা ॥
রাতুল অতুল চরণ-যুগল
নখমণি বিধু উজোর ।
ভকত-ভ্রমরা সৌরভে আকুল
বাসুদেব-দত্ত রহ ভোর ॥

১৩ ॥ [৪৬৫] ॥

বংশীবাদন

ধাতু প্রবাল-দল নব গুণ্ডাকল
ব্রজবালক সঙ্গে সাজে ।
কুটিল কুস্তল বেড়ি যণিয়ুকুতা-সুরি
কটিভটে যুগ্ম বাজে ॥
নাচত মোহন বাল গোপাল ।
বরজবধু মেলি দেঅই করতালি
বোলই ভালি রে ভাল ॥

নন্দ স্নানন্দ যশোমতী রোহিণী
আনন্দে স্ত-মুখ চায় ।

অরুণ দুর্গঞ্চল কাজরে রঞ্জিত
হাসি হাসি দশন দেখায় ॥

বংশী কহই সব ব্রজ-রমণীগণ
আনন্দ-সায়রে ভীষ ।

হেরইতে পরশিতে লালন করইতে
স্তনখীরে ভীগল বাস ॥

১৪ ॥ [৪৩] ॥

আর না হেরিব প্রসর কপালে
অলকাভিলক কাচ ।

আর না হেরিব সোনার কমলে
নয়ন-খঞ্জন নাচ ॥

আর না নাচিবে ত্রীবাস-মন্দিরে
ভকত-চাতক লৈয়া ।

আর কি নাচিবে আপনার ঘরে
আমরা দেখিব চাইয়া ॥

আর কি হু-ভাই নিমাই নিতাই
নাচিবেন এক ঠাঞি ।

নিমাই করিয়া ফুকরি সদাই
নিমাই কোথাও নাই ॥

নিদয় কেশব- ভারতী আসিয়া
মাধায় পাড়িল বাজ ।

গৌরুজ-স্বন্দর না দেখি কেমনে
রহিব নদিয়া-মাঝ ॥

কেবা হেন জন আনিবে এখন
আমার গৌর-রায় ।

শান্তডী-মধুর রোদন শুনিয়া
বংশী গড়াগড়ি যায় ॥

১৫ ॥ [৪৪] ॥

মধুর মধুর বংশী বাজে বনে ।

দরবয়ে কুলশীল বিগলিত তরুকুল
বিকশিত ব্রততীর সনে ॥

দিনকর-জালে জাল নাহি হোয়ত
কুল হরিণ অলি আলী ।

দৈবত যে বৈঠ (৭) নিজ তনু বিশ্বত
শব্দ স্বয়মুখ বিশ্বয়শালী ॥

যমুনা যজ্ঞসুতাদিক ধূলিগণ নিরখ
নিরখি গীত ভেঙে মুরলী আলাপে ।

লাজ মান গৃহ দেহ ভূলায়ল চপল
করায়ল যুবতিকলাপে ॥

পরমায়ুত-সিদ্ধিত ভেল ত্রিভুবন
গোকুলনাথ-বদন-বেণুগানে ।

বংশীবদন ভগ্নই হরি-বংশী কতই
কলারসকৌতুক জানে ॥

১৬ ॥ [২৭০-২৭১] ॥

শিবানন্দ-সেন

দয়াময় গৌরহরি নদীয়া-নীলা সাজ করি
হায় হায় কি কপাল মন্দ ।

গেলা নাথ নীলাচলে এ দাসেরে একা ফেলে
না ঘুচিল মোর ভববন্ধ ॥

আদেশ করিলা বাহা নিশ্চয় পালিব তাহা
কিন্তু একা কিরূপে রহিব ।

পুত্র-পরিবার যত লাগিবে বিয়ের মত
তোমা বিনা কিমতে গোড়াব ॥

গৌড়ীয়া ব্যতিক সনে বৎসরাস্তে দরশনে
কহিল বাইতে নীলাচলে ।

কিরূপে সহিয়া রব সংবৎসর কাটাইব
যুগশত জ্ঞান করি তিলে ॥

হও প্রভু কৃপাবান্ কর অহুযতি নান
নিতি নিতি হেরি পদকন্দ ।

যদি না আদেশ কর ওহে প্রভু বিশ্বস্তর
আত্মঘাতী হবে শিবানন্দ ॥

১৭ ॥ [৫১] ॥

চন্দ্রশেখর-দাস

কপট চাতুরীচিতে জনমন ভুলাইতে
লুইয়ে তোমার নামখানি ।

দাঁড়াইয়ে সত্যপথে অসত্য যজিব তাথে
পরিণামে কি হবে না জানি ॥

ওহে নাথ, মো বড় অধম ছরাচার ।

সাবুশাল গুরুবাচ্য না মানিলুঁ মুঞি ধিক
অন্তএ সে না দেখি উদ্ধার ॥

লোকে করে সত্যবুদ্ধি মোর নাহি নিজ-গুণ্ডি
উদার হইয়া লোকে তাঁড়ি ।

প্রেমভাব মোরে করে নিজগুণে তারা তরে
আপনি হইলুঁ ছোঁচ-হাঁড়ী ॥

চন্দ্রশেখর-দাস এই মনে অভিলাষ
আর কি এমন দশা হব ।

গোরাপরিষদ-সঙ্গে সঙ্কীর্তন রসরঞ্জে
আনন্দে দিবস গোড়াইব ॥

১৮ ॥ [৩৯৬-৩৭] ॥

আচার্য্য-চন্দ্র

নিতাই কি সাধনে পাব ।

শীতল চরণে ছায়া পাইয়া
কতদিনে কুড়াইব ॥

নিতাইচাঁদ মোর প্রেমের ভাণ্ডার
অজলি করিয়া দিল ।

সেই প্রেমখন যে না কুড়াঞা খাইল
তায় লাগি নিতাই কাঁদিল ॥

বধুর নিত্যানন্দ চরণে যকরণ
কাহিনী कहনে না যাএ

ও রস-সায়রে অবহ ডুবি রহ
তা বিনে আন নাহি তাএ ॥

নয়নে নিত্যানন্দ বয়ানে নিত্যানন্দ
হৃদয়ে নিত্যানন্দ পায় রে ।

নাচত নিত্যানন্দ গায়ত নিত্যানন্দ
চৌদিকে নিত্যানন্দ রায় রে ॥

দিবস রজনী আন নাহি জানি
ভাইয়ার প্রেমে মাতোয়ারা রে ।

মত্ত সিংহ জিনি গর্জন পুনি পুনি
সদাই ভাইয়া ভাইয়া বোলেরে ॥

জপত নিত্যানন্দ তপত নিত্যানন্দ
নিতাই ভাবভকতি রে ।

ও রাঁগাচরণে শরণ মাগই
আচার্য্য-চন্দ্র ভারতী রে ॥

১৯ ॥ [২১১]

পুরুষোত্তম

গোকুল নগরে ব্রহ্মে জন্ম বাউরী
উৎসল কুন্তলভার ।

কাঁই মধু প্রাণ-তনয় ব্রজনন্দন
কহইতে বহে জলধার ॥

মাধব, গো জননী নন্দরাণী ।

তুয়া বিরহানলে উত্তী পাগল জহ
কাহারে কি পুছয়ে রাণী ॥

অব কাহে বেগু শব্দ নাহি-তনিরে
কোন কানন-বাহা গেল ।

বুধি বলরাম সঙ্গে নাহি গেয়ল
কী পরবাদ আছু ভেল ॥

ঐছে বিলাপ শুনই পুরসহচরী
 রোই আওত তছু পাশ ।
 বহ পরবোধ- বচনে গৃহে আনত
 কহ পুরুষোত্তম-দাস ॥

২০ ॥ [৬০] ॥

রতনে জড়িত মণিমাণিক্যোতি ।
 ডগমগ দুহু-তম্বু বলকত জ্যোতি ॥
 নন্দনন্দন বৃষভাম্বুকিশোরী ।
 পরমানন্দ পহু যাঈ বলিহারি ॥

২২ ॥ [৬২] ॥

গোকুল ছাড়ি ববহু তুহুঁ আয়লি
 তব বিহি প্রতিকূল ভেল ।
 বরজবাসী কিয়ে ধাবর জঙ্গম
 বিরহদহনে দহি গেল ॥
 তুয়া প্রিয় যতহুঁ সুরভিকূল আকুল
 তৃণকবল করি মুখে ।
 হেরি মথুরাপুর লোচন ঝরঝর
 পাণি না পীবত দুখে ॥
 কোকিল ভ্রমর সারী শুকবর
 রোয়ত তরু পর বৈঠি ।
 তোহারি ময়ূর- মৃগীকূল লুঠয়ে
 শকতি নাহি বনে পৈঠি ॥
 তরুকুলপল্লব সবহুঁ শুখায়ল
 তেজল কুসুমবিকাশে ।
 এতহুঁ বিপদে তোহে কতয়ে নিবেদব
 দুখী পুরুষোত্তম-দাসে ॥

২১ ॥ [৬০-৬১] ॥

শ্রীশচীনন্দন নদীয়া-অবতারী ।
 উজ্জলবরণ গৌররূপধারী ॥
 আগে নাম জগত পরচারি ।
 সকরুণ ঐছে পতিতজন তারি ॥
 সঙ্কীৰ্ত্তনরসমৃত্যুবিহারী ।
 অবিরলপুলক ডকতহিতকারী ॥
 নাচত গাওত ত্রিভুবন ভরি ।
 ত্রিজগতজন বোলত বালহারি ॥
 বামে গদাধর রাজত রঙ্গী ।
 চৌদিশে উপনীত শোভিত সঙ্গী ॥
 অবিরত নয়নে বহত প্রেমধারা ।
 মোহত ভাগত কলি-আধিয়ারা ॥
 করই আলিঙ্গন নাহি বিচার ।
 নিরুপম গুণগণ ভাব অপার ॥
 নীলাচলে বসত শচীনন্দন ।
 দরশন করু নিতি দেব যজ্ঞনন্দন ॥
 অঙ্গে বিলেপিত স্নগন্ধি চন্দন ।
 রূপক সবহি করত অভিনন্দন ॥
 করুণাময় প্রভু প্রেমহি যাবত ।
 পরমানন্দক ভয় দূরহি ভাগত ॥

২৩ ॥ [৬২-৬৩] ॥

পরমানন্দ

*আরতি যুগলকিশোর-কৌ কৌজে ।
 তম্বু মন ধনহু নিছাওরি দীজে ॥
 পহিরণ নীলপীতাম্বর সারি ।
 কুঞ্জবিহারিণী কুঞ্জবিহারী ॥
 রবিশশিকোট বদন অছু শোভা ।
 যো নিরখতি মন ভেঙ অতি লোভা ॥

নন্দনানন্দ

ও রূপ সুল্লর গৌরকিশোর ।
 হেরইতে নয়নে আরতি নাহি ওর ॥

কর পদ স্তম্ভর অধর স্তরাগ ।
 নব-অমুরাগিণী-নব-অমুরাগ ॥
 লোলবিলোচনলোলিত লোর ।
 রসবতীহৃদয়ে বাঁধল প্রেমডোর ॥
 পরতেক প্রেম কিয়ে মনমথরাজ ।
 কাঞ্চনগিরি কিয়ে কুমুমসমাজ ॥
 অছু প্রেমলম্পট শ্রীগোরাজ রায় ।
 শিব শুক অনন্ত খেয়ানে নাহি পায় ॥
 পুলকপটলবলয়িত সব অঙ্গ !
 প্রেমবতী-আলিঙ্গনে লহরীতরঙ্গ ॥
 তছু পদপঙ্কজ-অলি সহকার ।
 কহ নয়নানন্দ চাঁত বিহার ॥
 ২৪ ॥ [৪৫-৪৬] ॥

গোরা মোর গুণের সাগর ।
 প্রেমের তরঙ্গ তায় উঠে নিরন্তর ॥
 গোরা মোর অকলঙ্ক শশী ।
 হরিনামসুধা তাহে করে দিবানিশি ॥
 গোরা মোর হিমাদ্রিশিখর ।
 তাহা হৈতে প্রেমগঙ্গা বহে নিরন্তর ॥
 গোরা মোর প্রেমকরুণর ।
 যায় পদছায়ে জীব স্তখে বাস কর ॥
 গোরা মোর নবজলধর ।
 বরষি শীতল যাহে করে নারীনর ॥
 গোরা মোর আনন্দের খনি ।
 নয়নানন্দের প্রাণ বাহার নিছনি ॥
 ২৫ ॥ [৪৬]

স্বন্দাবন-দাস

কৈছে চরণে কর- পল্লব ঠেলি
 মীলি মানভুজঙ্গে ।
 কবলে কবলে জীউ অরি যব যায়ব
 ডবহি দেখব ইহ রঙ্গে ॥

মাগো, কিয়ে ইহ জিহ্বা অপার ।
 কো অছু বীর বীর মহাবল
 পাওরি উভারব পার ॥
 শ্রামর ঝামর মলিন নলিনমুখ
 ঝরঝর নয়নক নীর ।
 পীতাম্বর গলে “ পদহি লোটারল
 হিয়া কৈছে বাঁধলি বীর ॥
 সাধি সাধি ছরমে ঘরমে মহাবিকল
 ঘন ঘন দীঘনিশাস ।
 মনমথদাহ- দহনে মন ধসি গেও
 রোথে চলল নিজ বাস ॥
 অবিরোধি প্রেম- পছ তুহুঁ রোধলি
 দোষলেশ নাহি নাহ ।
 বৃন্দাবন কহ নিবেধ না মানলি
 হামারি ওরে নাহি চাহ ॥
 ২৬ ॥ [৪৭-৪৮]

দেবকীন্দন

বিপরীতরতি- অবসানে কমলমুখী
 ঘামহি ভীগল চীর ।
 সহচরী দাসী চামর করে বীজই
 কোই যোগায়ত নীর ॥
 বৈঠল রাধা নাগর কান
 হুঁ জন চির-অভি- লাব পরিপূরল
 পরিজন মদল গান ॥
 কালিন্দীতীর- নিকুঞ্জ মনোহর
 বহতহি বলরসবীর ।
 কত পরিহাস রতনরসকৌতুহ
 হুঁ পর হুঁ জন গীর ॥

বুন্দাদেবী সময় বুঝি কুঞ্জহি
সেবই কত পরকার ।

ও রসসায়রে ওর না পাওল
দেবকীনন্দন আর ॥

২৭ ॥ [৪৮-৪৯]

১

শিবানন্দ-চন্দ্রবর্তী

হোলী খেলত গৌরকিশোর ।

রসবতীনারীগদাধরকোর ॥

ষেদবিন্দুস্থ পুলকশরীর ।

ভাব ভরে গলতহি লোচননীর ॥

ব্রজরস গায়ত নরহরি-সঙ্গে ।

মুকুন্দ য়ারি বাসু নাচত রঙ্গে ॥

থেনে থেনে মুরুছই পণ্ডিতকোর ।

হেরইতে সহচর স্থখে ভেল ভোর ॥

নিকুঞ্জমন্দির প্রভু কয়ল বিহার ।

ভূমে পড়ি কহে কাঁহা মুরলী হামার ॥

কাঁহা গোবর্দ্ধন যমুনাকো কুল ।

কাঁহা মালতী যুথী চম্পক ফুল ॥

শিবানন্দ কহে পছঁ শুনি রসবাণী ।

বাহা পছঁ গদাধর তাঁহা রসখানি ॥

২৮ ॥ [৫০] ॥

বদুশন্দ-চন্দ্রবর্তী

গৌর গদাধর ছহঁ-তমু স্তনর

অপরূপ প্রেম বিধার ।

ছহঁ ছহঁ হয়বে পরশে সব বিলসরে

অমিয়া বরিখে অনিবার ॥

দেখ দেখে অপরূপ ছহঁ জন-নেহ ।

কে অছু ভাব প্রেমময় চাতুরী

নিমজিয়া পাওব ধোহ ॥

করে করে নয়নে নয়নে যোই মাধুরী

সো সব বুঝব কি হাম ।

অপরূপ রূপ হেরি তমু চমকিত

অখিল ভুবনে অল্পপাম ॥

অমিয়াপুতলী কিয়ে রসময়মুরতি

কিয়ে ছহঁ প্রেম-আকার ।

হেরইতে জগজন- তমুন ভুলয়ে

যহু কিয়ে পাওব পার ॥

২৯ ॥ [৫৩] ॥

মাধব-দাস

শারদ শশধর কিয়ে মুখশোভা ।

কুঙ্কমকাঞ্চন- বিজুরীগোরোচন-

চম্পকবরণহরণ মনলোভা ॥

দেখ দেখে রাধারূপ অপারা ।

মদনমোহন বাহিতে অল্পখন

লাবণিপ্রেম-অমিয়ারসাধারা ॥

শির পর কুহুমখচিত বরবেণী ।

লম্বিত হৃদি পর মোতিমাল বর

সুমেরু ভেদিয়া জহু বহত ত্রিবেণী ॥

কনককরভকর ভূজবর সাজে ।

কেশরিখিনকটি মণিকিঙ্কণী তটা

গতি গজরাজমনোহর রাজে ॥

ধলপঙ্কজ পদশোভা ।

নখরমুকুরমণি- যজ্ঞীররণরণি

মাধবনয়নভ্রমরচিতকোভা ॥

৩০ ॥ [৫৪-৫৫] ॥

জয় নাগরবরমানসহংসী ।

অখিলরমণীকৃদিসদবিশ্বংসী ॥

জয় জয় জয় বুধভাসুকুমারী ।

মদনমোহনমনপঙ্কজশারী ॥

জয় যুবরাজহৃদয়বনহরিণী ।
 শ্রীবৃন্দাবনকুঞ্জরকরিণী ॥
 কুঞ্জভবনসিংহাসনরাণী ।
 রচয়তি মাধব কাতরবাণী ॥

৩১ ॥ [৫৫] ॥

পুন সবজন মেলি করয়ে বিনোদকেলি
 পিচকারি করি নিজ হাতে ।
 দ্বিজ হরিদাস আবীর বোগায়ত
 সকল সখাগণ সাথে ॥

৩৩ ॥ [৫৭] ॥

দ্বিজ হরিদাস

দৃতীযুখে শুনহৈতে ঐছন রীত ।
 সব অঙ্গ পুলকিত চমকিত চীত ॥
 কহহৈতে গদগদ কণ্ঠহি বোল ।
 সখীযুথ নিরখই অন্তর দোল ॥
 ইঙ্গিত জানি বনায়ল বেশ ।
 সিন্দূর দেয়ল বাঁধল কেশ ॥
 সব সখীগণ মেলি করল পয়ান ।
 নিশবদে চললিহে কোই না জান ॥
 চলহৈতে পদ দুই ধরথরি কাঁপ ।
 হেরহৈতে পঙ্খ নয়নযুগ বাঁপ ॥
 ঐছনে মৌলল নাগর-পাশ ।
 পহিল মিলন কহে দ্বিজ হরিদাস ॥

৩২ ॥ [৫৬] ॥

এ ধনি মানিনি মান নিষারো ।
 আবীরে অরুণ শ্রাম- অঙ্গযুকুর পর
 নিজ প্রতিবিম্ব নেহারো ॥
 তুহঁ এক রমণী- শিরোমণি রসবতী
 কোউন ঐছে জগ-মাহ ।
 তোহারি সমুখে শ্রাম সঞে বিলসব
 কৈছনে রসনিরবাহ ॥
 ঐছন সহচরী- বচন শ্রবণে ধরি
 সরমে ভরমে মুখ ফেরি ।
 ঈষত হাসি মনে মান তেয়াগল
 উলসিত দোহেঁ দোহাঁ হেরি ॥

মাধবী-দাস

রাধা মাধব বিলসই কুঞ্জক মাঝ ।
 তনুতনুসরস- পরশরস পীবই
 কমলিনীমধুকররাজ ॥
 সচকিতে নাগর কাঁপই ধরথর
 শিথিল হোয়ল সব অঙ্গ ।
 গদগদ কহয়ে রাই ভেল অদরশ
 কব হোয়ব তছু সঙ্গ ॥
 সো ধনীচাঁদ- বদন কিয়ে হেরব
 শুনব অমিয়াময় বোল ।
 ইহ মনু হৃদয়- তাপ কিয়ে মেটব
 সোই করব কিয়ে কোল ॥
 ঐছন কতহঁ বিলপই মাধব
 সহচরী দুরহি হাস ।
 অপরূপ প্রেমে বিষাদিত-অন্তর
 কহতহি মাধবী-দাস ॥

৩৪ ॥ [৫৯] ॥

শোচন

গুঞ্জ-অলিপুঞ্জ বহু কুঞ্জে রহ মাতিয়া ।
 মত্তপিকদন্তরবে ফাটে মনু ছাতিয়া ॥
 বল্লীযুত্তমল্লীকুলগন্ধসহ মারুতা ।
 কুন্দকলিশৃঙ্গ অলিবৃন্দ কাঁহ নৃত্যতা ॥
 সখি, মনু মনু ভাগিয়া ।
 কান্ত বিনা কান্ত প্রাণ কাহে রহ বাঁচিয়া ॥

ভয়তনু পুষ্পধনু সঙ্গে রস পুরিয়া ।

অঙ্গ যবু ভঙ্গ করু প্রাণ যাকু ফাটিয়া ॥

পশু যবু হুংখ হেরি রোরে পশু পাখী রে ॥

বল্লীনবকুঞ্জ ভেল তুঙ্গভয়ভাজী রে ।

গচ্ছ সখি পুচ্ছ কিবা আনি দেহ নাহ রে ।

স্পর্শসুখ দর্শ লাগি লোচনক আশ রে ॥

৩৫ ৬৪-৬৫

নিরমলশারদশশধরবদনী ।

বিদলিতকাঞ্চননিন্দিতবরণী ॥

পিকরুতগঞ্জিতসুমধুরবচনা ।

মোহনকৃত করি শত শত মদনা ॥

দেবি, শৃণু বচনং মম সারম্ ।

কিল গুণধাম মিলিতমম্ববারম্ ॥

চিরদিনবাস্তিত যদিহ মদিষ্টম্ ।

তব কুপয়াপি ফলিত মনোহভীষ্টম্ ॥

ইদমনু কিং মম যাচিতমস্তি ।

নিখিলচরাচরে প্রিয়মপি নাস্তি ॥

প্রণয়তু রসিকজদয়সুখমমিতম্ ।

লোচনমোহনমাধবচরিতম্ ॥

৩৬ ৬৫

আর শুভ্রাছ আলো সই গোরাভাবের কথা ।

কোনের ভিতর কুলবধু কান্দ্যা আকুল তথা ॥

হলদি ঝাঁ- টিতে গৌরী বসিল ব- তনে ।

হলদিবরণ গোরাচাঁদ পড়্যা গেল মনে ॥

কিসের ঝাঁধন কিসের বাড়ন কিসের হলদি ঝাঁটা ।

আঁখির জলে বুক ভিজিল ভাত্তা গেল পাটা ॥

উঠিল গৌ- রাজভাব সধরিতে নারে ।

লোহেতে ভি- জিল বাটন গেল ছায়ে- খারে ॥

লোচন বলে আলো সই কি বলিব আর ।

হয় নাই হবার নয় গোরা-অব- তার ॥

৩৭ ৬৬-৬৭ ॥

জ্ঞানদাস

লহলহ মুচকি হাসি চলি আওলি

পুন পুন হেরসি ফেরি ।

জহু রতিপতি সঞে মিলনরঙ্গভূমে

ঐছন কয়ল পুছেরি ॥

ধনি হে, বৃন্দলু এসব বাত ।

এতদিন তুহঁক মনোরথ পুরল

ভেটলি কানুক সাধ ॥

যব তোহে সখীগণ নিরজনে পুছল

তব তুহঁ ছাপলি কায় ।

অব বিহি সোসব বেকত কয়ল সখি

কৈছনে গোপবি তায় ॥

চোরিক বচন কহত সব গুরুজন

সো সব পাষলু সাধি ।

দশদিন হরজন একদিন স্নজনক

আজু দেখলু পরতেখি ॥

হাম সব নিজজন কহসি রাতিদিন

সো সব বৃন্দলু আজ কাজে ।

জ্ঞানদাস কহ সখি তুহঁ বিরমহ

রাই পায়ল বহ লাজে ॥

৩৮ ৬৮ ॥

হেমবরণ বর- স্ননরবিগ্রহ

স্বরতরুবরণপরকাশ ।

পুলক পত্র নব প্রেম পক ফল

কুসুম মন্দমুগ্ধ হাস ॥

নাচত গৌর মনোহর অদভুত

রাজিত সুরধুনীধার ।

ত্রিজগতলোক ওক ভরি পাওল

ভকতিরতনমণিহার ॥

ভাববিভবময় রসরূপ অমৃতভব
 স্রবলিত স্রুখময় অঙ্গ ।
 দ্বিরদমন্তগতি অতি স্রমনোহর
 মুরছিত লাখ অনঙ্গ ॥
 ধনি খিতিমণ্ডল ধনি নদীয়াপুর
 ধনি ধনি ইহ কলিকাল ।
 ধনি অবতার ধনি রে ধনি কীৰ্ত্তন
 জ্ঞানদাস নহ পার ॥

৩৯ ॥ [৬৯] ॥

অস্তর বাহির সম নহ রীত ।
 পানি তৈল নহ গাঢ় পিরীত ॥
 হিয়া সম কুলিশ বচন মধুধার ।
 বিষঘট-উপরে ছধ-উপহার ॥
 চাতুরি বেচহ গাহক-ঠাম ।
 গোপতপ্রেমসুখ ইহ পরিণাম ॥
 তুহুঁ কিরে শঠি নিকপটে কহ মোয় ।
 জ্ঞানদাস কহ সমুচিত হোয় ॥

৪১ ॥ [৭১]

আলো মুঞি কেন গেলুঁ কালিন্দীর কূলে ।
 চিত হরি কালিয়া নাগর নিল ছলে ॥
 রূপের পাধারে আঁখি ডুবি সে রহিল ।
 বৌবনের বনে মন হারাইয়া গেল ॥
 ঘরে বাইতে পথ মোর হৈল অফুরাণ ।
 অন্তরে বিদরে হিয়া ফুকরে পরাণ ॥
 চন্দনচাঁদের মাঝে মৃগমদ ধাঁধা ॥
 তার মাঝে হিয়ার পুতলী রৈল বাঁধা ॥
 কটি পীতবসন রশন তাহে জড়া ।
 বিধি নিরমিল কুলকলঙ্কের কোঁড়া ॥
 জাতি কুল শীল সব হেন বুঝি গেল ।
 ভুবন ভরিয়া মোর কলঙ্ক রহিল ॥
 কুলবতী সতী হৈয়া ছকুলে দিলুঁ ছুখ ।
 জ্ঞানদাস কহে দড় করি বাঁধ বুক ॥

৪০ ॥ [৭০] ॥

রূপ দেখি আঁখি নাহি নেউটই
 মন অমুগত নিজ লাভে ।
 অপরশে দেই পরশরসসম্পদ
 শ্রামর সহজ স্বভাবে ॥
 সখি হে, মুরতি পিরিতিসুখদাতা ।
 প্রতি অঙ্গ অখিল- অনঙ্গসুখসায়র
 নায়র নিরমিল ধাতা ॥
 লীলা লাবনি অবনী অলঙ্কার
 কি মধুর মধুরগমনে ।
 লছ-অবলোকনে কত কুলকামিনী
 শূতল মনসিজশয়নে ॥
 অলখিতে হৃদয়ক অস্তর অপহর
 বিছুরণ না হয় স্বপনে ।
 জ্ঞানদাস কহে ভব কৈছন হয়ে
 তহু তহু বব হব মিগনে ॥

৪২ ॥ [৭২]

পহিলিহি চাঁদ করে দিল আনি ।
 ঝাঁপল শৈলশিখরে একপাণি ॥
 অব বিপরীত ভেল সো সব কাল ।
 বাসি কুসুমেরে কিয় গাঁথই মাল ॥
 না বোলহ সজনি না বোলহ আন ।
 কী ফল আছয়ে ভেটব কান ॥

রূপ লাগি আঁখি বুঝে শুণে মন ভোর ।
 প্রতি অঙ্গ লাগি কাঁদে প্রতি অঙ্গ মোর ॥
 হিয়ার পরশ লাগি হিয়া মোর কাঁদে ।
 পরাণ পিরীতি লাগি থির নাহি বাঁধে ॥

সই, কি আর বলিব ।

যে পুনি কর্যাছি মনে সেই সে করিব ॥

দেখিতে যে সুখ উঠে কি বলিব তা ।

দরশপরশ লাগি আউলাইছে গা ॥

হাসিতে খসিয়া পড়ে কত মধুধার ।

লহলহ হাসে পহ পিরীতি সার ॥

গুরুগরবিত-মাঝে রহি সখীরঙ্গে ।

পুলকে প্রয়ে তহু শ্রামপরসঙ্গে ॥

পুলক ঢাকিতে করি কত পরকার ।

নয়নের ধারা মোর বহে অনিবার ॥

ঘরের যতেক সতে করে কানাকানি ।

জ্ঞান কহে লাজঘরে ভেজাইলুঁ আগুনি ॥

৪৩ ॥ [৭২-৭৩] ॥

অনন্ত-দাস

বিকচসরোজ- ভান মুখমণ্ডল

দিঠিভঙ্গিম নটখঞ্জনজোর ।

কিয়ে মুহুমাধুরি- হাস উগারই

পী পী আনন্দে আঁখি পড়লহি ভোর ॥

বরনি না হয় রূপ বরণটিকণিয়া ।

কিয়ে ঘনপুঞ্জ কিয়ে কুবলয়দল

কিয়ে কাজর কিয়ে ইজ্ঞানীলমণিয়া ॥

অঙ্গদ বলয় হার মণিকুণ্ডল

চরণে নুপুর কটি কিঙ্কণীকলনা ।

অস্তরণবরণ- কিরণে অঙ্গ চরচর

ঝালিন্দীজলে বৈছে চাঁদ-কি চলনা ॥

কুঙ্কিত কেশ বেশ কুম্ভমাবলি

শির পর শোভে শিখি চাঁদ-কি ছাঁদে ।

অনন্তদাস-পহঁ অপরূপ লাবণি

সকলবুঝিমন পড়ি গেও ফাঁদে ॥

৪৪ ॥ [৭৪] ॥

বলরাম-দাস (১)

কলিযুগমন্ত-

মন্তজমরধনে

কুমডিকরিনী দূর গেল ।

পামর ছরগত

নামমোতিশত-

দাম কঠভরি নেল ॥

অপরূপ গৌর বিরাজ ।

শ্রীনবদীপ-

নগরগিরিকন্দরে

উয়ল কেশরিরাজ ॥

সংকীর্তনরণ-

হরুতি শুনইতে

হরিতদ্বীপিগণ ভাগি ।

ভয়ে আকুল অধি-

মাদি মুগীকুল

পুণবত গরব তেয়াগি ॥

ত্যাগবাগধম-

তিরিখিবরতশম-

শশজঙ্ঘকী জরি যাতি ।

বলরাম-দাস কহ

অভয়ে সে জগ-মহ

হরিধ্বনি শব্দ খেয়াতি ॥

৪৫ ॥ [৭৬] ॥

বিরহবেয়াধি-

বেয়াকুল সো পহঁ

বরজল খৈরজ লাজ ।

বাসরবামিনী

বিলপি গোণায়ই

বসি বসি বিপিনক মাঝ ॥

বিধুমুখীবেদন কি কহব আজ ।

বিবম বিশিখ শর'

বরিখণে জরজর

বিকল বরজযুবরাজ ॥

বহ বৈদগধি

বিবিধ গুণ চাতুরি

বিচুরল সবহঁ মুরারি ।

বরিখক ঠামে

বোল ভোহে পাবই

বাউর ভেল বনমালী ॥

১ 'বিবম কুম্বমণ' ?

বেশবিলাস-

বিশেষহি বিরমল

বিরমল ভোজনপান ।

বোলহৈতে বদনে বচন নাহি নিকসই

বলরাম কি কহব জান ॥

৪৬ ॥ [৭৭]

কিশোরবয়স কত বৈদগধি ঠাম ।

মুরতিমরকত অভিনবকাম ॥

প্রতি অঙ্গকোন বিধি নিরমিল কিসে ।

দেখিতে দেখিতে কত অমিয়া বরিষে ॥

মল্লু মল্লু কিবা রূপ দেখিলু স্বপনে ।

খাইতে শুইতে মোর লাগিয়াছে মনে ॥

অরুণ অধর মুহু মন্দ মন্দ হাসে ।

চঞ্চলনয়নকোণে জাতিকুল নাশে ॥

দেখিয়া বিদরে বুক হুটি ভুরুভঙ্গী ।

আই আই কোথা ছিল সে নাগর রঙ্গী ॥

মহুরচলনখানি আধ আধ যায় ।

পরাণ যেমন করে কি কহিব কায় ॥

পাষণ মিলায়ে যায় গায়ের বাতাসে ।

বলরাম-দাসে কয় অবশ পরশে ॥

৪৭ ॥ [৭৮] ॥

মধুর সময় রজনিশেষ

শোহই মধুর কাননদেশ

গগনে উয়ল মধুর মধুর

বিধু নিরমলকীতিয়া ।

মধুর মাধবীকেলিনিকুঞ্জ

ফুটল মধুর কুসুমপুঞ্জ

গাবই মধুর ভ্রমরা ভ্রমরী

মধুর মধুহি মাতিয়া ॥

আজু খেলত আনন্দে ভোর

মধুরযুগতি নবকিশোর ।

করত মধুর রভসকেলি ॥

মধুর পবন বহই মন্দ

কুজয়ে কোকিল মধুরহন্দ

মধুররসহি শব্দমুভগ

লদই বিহগপাঁতিয়া ।

রবই মধুর শারি কীর

পড়ই ঐছন অমিয়া গীর

নটই মধুর মউর মউরী

রটই মধুরভাতিয়া ॥

মধুর মিলন খেলন হাস

মধুর মধুর রসবিলাস

মদন হেরই ধরগী লুঠই

বেদন ফুটই ছাতিয়া

মধুরমধুর চরিতরীত

বলরাম-চিত্তে ফুরউ নীত

হুহু ক মধুরচরণসেবন-

ভাবনে জনম যাতিয়া ॥

৪৮ ॥ [৭৮-৭৯] ॥

শ্রীদাম সুদাম দাম

শুন ওরে বলরাম

মিনতি করিয়ে তো সভারে ।

বন কত অতিদূর

নবভৃগুশাকুর

গোপাল লৈয়া না যাইহ দূরে ॥

সখাগণ আগে পাছে

গোপাল করিয়া মাঝে

ধীরে ধীরে করিহ গমন ।

নবভৃগাকুর আগে

রাক্ষা পায়ে জানি লাগে

প্রবোধ না যানে মোর মন ॥

নিকটে গোধন রাখ্য

বা বল্যা শিকার ডাক্য

ধরে থাকি শুনি যেন রব ।

বিহি কৈলে গোপজাতি

গোধন পালন বৃত্তি

তেঞি বনে পাঠাই যাদব ॥

বলরাম-দাসের বাণী জন ওণো নন্দরাগী
 বনে কিছু না ভাবিহ ভয় ।
 চরণের বাধা লইয়া দিব মোরা যোগাইয়া
 তোমার আগে कहिल निन्द्य ॥

৪৯ [৮০] ॥

জগন্নাথ-দাস

কান্তনপূর্ণিমা তিথি স্নভগ সকলি ।
 জনম লভিবে গোরা পড়ে ছলাছলি ॥
 অবরে অমর সতে ভেল উনমুখ ।
 লভিবে জনম গোরা বাবে সব দুখ ॥
 শম্ব দুন্দুভি বাজে পরম হরিষে ।
 জয়ধ্বনি সুরকুল-কুসুম বরিষে ॥
 জগ ভরি হরিধ্বনি উঠে ধনবন ।
 আবালবনিতা আদি নরনারীগণ ॥
 শুভক্ষণ জানি গোরা জনম লভিল ।
 পূর্ণিমার চন্দ্র যেন উদয় করিল ॥
 সেই কালে চন্দ্রে রাহ করিল গ্রহণ ।
 হরিহরিধ্বনি উঠে ভরিয়া ভুবন ॥
 দীমহীন উদ্ধার হইবে ভেল আশ ।
 দেখিয়া আনন্দে ভাসে জগন্নাথ-দাস ॥

৫০ [৮১-৮২] ॥

গৌরকিশোর পুরবরসে গরগর
 মনে ভেল গোষ্ঠবিহার ।
 দাস শ্রীদাস সুবল বলি ডাকই
 নয়নে গলরে জলধার ॥
 বেজ বিয়াণ বেণু লেই সাজহ
 বারব ভাতী-সমীপ ।
 গৌরীদাস সাজ করি তৈখনে
 গৌর নিকটে উপনীত ॥

৫৫

ভাইয়া অভিরাম বদন ঘন বাজই
 নুপুর চরণছি মেল ।
 নিত্যানন্দ- চন্দ্র পহ আভাসরি
 ধবলী ধবলী ধ্বনি কেল ॥

নদিয়ানগর- লোক সব ধাবত
 হেরইতে গৌরক রঙ্গ ।
 দাস জগন্নাথ ছান্দ দোহনি লেই
 বারব সব-অমুখক ॥

৫১ [৮২] ॥

যমুনাক তীরে ধীরে চল মাধব
 মন্দমধুর বেণু বাজই রে ।
 ইন্দীবরনয়নী বরজবধু কামিনী

সদন তেজিয়া বনে ধাবই রে ॥
 অসিভ-অধ্বর-অসিতসরসিদ্ধ-
 অতসীকুসুম-অহিমকরজতানীর-
 ইন্দ্রনীলমণি-উদারমরকত-
 ত্রিনিমিত্ত বপু-আভা রে ।

শিরে শিখণ্ডল নবগুঞ্জাকল
 নিরমলমুকুতালম্বি নাসাতল
 নবকিশলয়-অবতংস গোবোচন-
 অলকভিলক মুখশোভা রে ॥

শ্রোণিপীতাম্বর খেত্রবাকর
 কঙ্করুণে বনমালা মনোহর
 ধাতুরাগবৈচিত্র্যকলেবর
 চরণে চরণ পরি শোভা রে ।

গোমুখিধূসরবিশালবক্ষল
 রক্তভূমি জিনি বিলাসনটবর
 গোছাঁদনরজুবিনিহিতকঙ্কর
 রূপে ভুবনমন লোভা রে ॥

ব্রজ পুরন্দর দিনমণি শঙ্কর
যো চরণাখুজ সেবে নিরন্তর
সো হরি কৌতুক ব্রজবালক-সাথে
গোপনাগরী-অভিলাষা রে ।

সো পহঁ-পদতলপরাগধুসর
যানস মম করু আশ নিরন্তর
অভিনবসংকরি দাস-জগন্নাথ-
জননীজঠরভয়নাশা রে ॥

৫২ ॥ [৮৩-৮৪] ।

কাশুন্নাথ-দাস

নদীয়াগরে গেলা নিত্যানন্দ রায় ।
দণ্ডবৎ হৈয়া পড়ে শচীমাতার পায় ॥
তারে কোলে করি শচী কঁাদয়ে করুণে ।
নয়নের জলে ভিজি অরুণ বসনে ॥
ফুকরি, ফুকরি কঁাদে কাতর হিয়ায় ।
গৌরাজের কথা কহি প্রবোধে তার ॥
নিত্যানন্দ বলে যাতা থির কর মন ।
কুশলে আছেয়ে স্থখে তোমার নন্দন ॥
তোমারে দেখিতে মোরে পাঠাইয়া দিল ।
তোরে পদযুগে কত প্রণতি করিল ॥
কাশুদাস কহে যাতা কহি তোমার ঠাঞি ।
তোমার প্রেমে বন্দী আছে গৌরাজ

গোসাঞি ॥

৫৩ ॥ [৮৫] ॥

বিজ্ঞানগরাধীপ অশেষসম্পদশালী
রাব-রায় পুরুষপ্রধান ।
গৃহে পাইয়া শ্রীগৌরাজ আপনার মনোভুজ
তার পদে করিলেক দান ॥

ধন্ত ধন্ত রায় রামানন্দ ।
বাহার পাইয়া সজ প্রভু মোর শ্রীগৌরাজ
ভূজিলেক অসীম আনন্দ ॥

দৌহে প্রমোত্তরছলে বাধ্যায় নির্ণয় কৈলে
জানে জীব সাধনসন্ধান ।
বাহার রসের পদ যেন ফুল কোকনদ
রসিকজনের সে পরাণ ॥

রামানন্দপদরজ শিরে ধরি সদা ভজ
ভজনের সারাৎসার ধন ।
কাশুদাস যতিহীন মধুররসেতে দীন
রামরায় দেহ শ্রীচরণ ॥

৫৪ [৮৬] ॥

মন্দির তেজি কানন-মাহা পৈঠলুঁ
কাশুঝিলন-পতিআশে ।
আভরণ বসন অঙ্গে সব সাজল
তাম্বল কর্পূরবাসে ॥

সজনি, সো মুখে বিপরীত ভেল ।
কাশু রহল দূরে মনমথ আসি ফুরে
সো নাহি দরশন দেল ॥

ফুলশরে অরুজর সকল কলেবর
কাতরে মহি গড়ি বাই ।
কোকিলবোলে ভোলে ঘন জীবন
উঠি বসি রজনী গোড়াই ॥

শ্রীতল ভবন গরল সমান ভেল
হিমাচলবানু হতাশ ।
গোচননীর থির নাহি বাধয়ে
কঁাদয়ে কাশুদাস-দাস ॥

৫৫ ॥ [৮৭] ॥

উদ্ধব-দাস (১)

চারি বোজন বৃন্দাবনের মণ্ডলী ॥
 তার মধ্যে নামচিন্তামণি রম্যস্থলী ॥
 মধ্য বোগপীঠ পর নাগরাময়ন (৭) ॥
 প্রধানপ্রকৃতি সঙ্গে রমণীরতন ॥
 সমুখে ললিতা সখী*অতিরূপরাশি ।
 ধার্ম উরে (৭) শ্রানা সখী মন্দমুহু হাসি ॥
 রসের কলিকা সখী সেই সে উত্তরে ।
 অগ্নিকোণে হরিপ্রিয়া ফুলধনুশরে ॥
 পূর্বভাগে বিশাখা সঙ্কেত সূজ্ঞান ।
 ঐশানে বস্ত্রা সখী শ্রামের পরাণ ॥
 কনকগৌর পদ্ম 'সেই সে নইরিতে ।
 অষ্টসখী মেলি সেবা করে এই রীতে ॥
 দিগবিদ্বিগ চন্দ্রাবলী আদি করি ।
 কুঞ্জে কুঞ্জে বিহরই পরমসুন্দরী ॥
 কিশোরবয়স বেশ সমান রমণী ।
 গোকুলে গোলোক শুক (৭) উদ্ধব বরপি
 ৫৬ ॥ [৮৮]

মধু-ঋতু বিহরই গৌরকিশোর ।
 গদাধরমুখ হেরি আনন্দে নরহরি
 পুরুষপ্রেমে ভেল ভোর ॥
 নবীনলতা নব- পল্লব তরুকুল
 নওল নবদীপধাম ।
 ফুলকুসুমচর স্বকৃতমধুকর
 সুখদ এ ঋতুপতিনাম ॥
 মুকুলিতচুত- গহনে অতি সুললিত
 কোকিলকাকলিরাব ।
 স্নমধুনীতীর সখীরসুগন্ধিত
 ঘরে ঘরে মজল গাব ॥

* 'কনকগৌরী পদ্মা' ?

মনমথরাজ

সাজ দেই কীররে

বনফুলফল অতি শোভা ।
 সময় বসন্ত নদীয়াপুর সুন্দর
 উদ্ধবদাস-মন লোভা ॥
 ৫৭ ॥ [৮৯] ॥

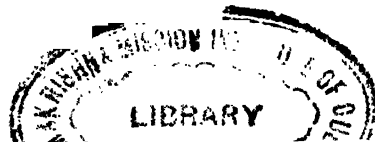
চৈতন্য-দাস

এ ধনি এ ধনি বচন শুন ।
 মাধব মিলয়ে বহুত পুণ ॥
 এত পরিহার করয়ে যে ।
 তাঁহারে সুন্দরি বঞ্চয়ে কে ॥
 দোষ নাহি কিছু নয়নে চাহ ।
 আপন সরসপরশ দেহ ॥
 হাসিয়া সুন্দরী চাহল ফিরি ।
 ও করকমল ধরল হরি ॥
 হুহুঁক পূরল মনের আশ ।
 বীজন বীজই চৈতন্য-দাস ॥
 ৫৮ ॥ [৯০] ॥

পদ্মসেখর-দাস

আর কি শ্রামের বাঁশী কুলের ধরম ধোবে ।
 নাম ধরি ডাকে বাঁশী বেকত হবে কবে ॥
 নিষেধ না মানে বাঁশী সদা করে ধ্বনি ।
 বাহিরদ্বারে কান পাতে ননদিনী ॥
 ননদী জঞ্জাল বড় অন্তর বিয়াইল ।
 আসিঞা ঘরের মাঝে পাতিবে জঞ্জাল ॥
 যে দেশের বাঁশিরা বটে সে দেশে মাছুষ নাই ।
 রাধারে বধিতে বাঁশী এনেছে কানাই ॥
 শ্রীপরমেশ্বর-দাস কহে শুন রসবতি ।
 বাঁশীর কোন দোষ নাই কালিয়ার যুগতি ॥

৫৯ ॥ [৯১] ॥



লক্ষ্মীকান্ত-দাস

কি খেনে দেখিলুঁ গোরা নবীনকামের কৌড়া
সেই হৈতে রৈতে নারি ঘরে ।
কত না করিব হল কত না ভরিব জল
কত বাব সুরধুনীতীরে ॥

বিধি, তো বিহু বলিতে কেহ নাই ।

বত গুরুগরবিভ- বচনচনশত
হুকরি কাঁদিতে নাহি ঠাই ॥

অরুণনয়নের কোণে চাঁকাছিল আশা-পানে
পরাণে বঁড়ী দিয়া টানে ।

কুলের ধরম ঘোর রাখিতে নারিলুঁ গো
কি জামি কি হবে পরিণামে ॥

আপনা আপনি খাইলুঁ ঘরের বাহির হৈলুঁ
ওমি খোলকরতালের নাদ ।

লক্ষীকান্ত-দাস কর বরনে-বার লাগয়
কি করিবে কুলপরিবাদ ॥

৩০ ॥ [৩৯৯-৪০০] ॥

গুণ্ডদাস

ঠাকুর অশ্রিতরাম কেবল প্রেমের ধাম
অবনি বিহারে নিজামন্দে ।

গৌরাঙ্গচন্দ্রের রত্নী নিতাইচাঁদের সঙ্গী
অখিলস্বীকের মন বান্ধে ॥

ঐরাধিকার অগ্রজ ঐক্ককের সখাবর্ষা
পূর্ববে ঐদাম বার নাম ।

এবে সেই ভাষে মন্ত নাহি জানে দিবা-রাত্র
তেঞি নাম ঠাকুর অশ্রিতরাম ॥

গৌরাঙ্গের প্রেমরসে সঙ্গ প্রেমামন্দে ভালে
দিবা নিশি কিছুই না জানে ।

সকলভক্ত-সঙ্গে বিহারে পরমরসে
গান নৃত্য করে হর্বনে ॥

দীন দীন অকিঞ্চনে তারে কৈল প্রেমদান
পুরাইল মন-অভিসার ॥

পতিভের অবশেষে রহি গেল গুণ্ডদাসে
কেনে প্রভু না কৈল তলাস ॥

৩১ ॥ [৪০২] ॥

গোপীকান্ত-বসু

বিহানে বশোদারাগী কোলে লৈয়া নীলমণি
আজিনাতে বসিল কৌতুকে ।

গোপালের মুখ অঙ্গ কর পদতল রঙ্গ
নিরীক্ষণ করে অনিমিখে ॥

ধ্বজ বজ্রাঙ্কুশ যব যুগাঙ্কুশ কুশ লব
শব্দ চক্র শুদ্ধ সকল ।

ত্রিকোণ গোপাল জহু উর্দ্ধরেখা শব্দ জহু
মৎস্ত জহু [জহু] জহুফল ॥

এ সব দেখিয়া রাণী অদভুত মনে গণি
বিস্মরণ করয়ে ভাবন ।

ওনেছি পুরাণবেদে এই চিহ্ন বার পদে
তি'হ হরেন ব্রহ্ম সনাতন ॥

বিধি ভব বোঙ্গী ধার চরণ করিয়া সার
ভাবন করয়ে চিরকাল ।

একমুখে গুণ সখ ভবাচ না পায় তত্ব
তি'হ কেনে আমার ছাওয়াল ॥

হেন কালে বিশ্বাস- আচ্ছন্ন নন্দের জায়া
মোহিত হইয়া বলে শিশু ।

তুলিয়া আপন বুক চুম্বন করয়ে মুখে
নিবেদয়ে গোপীকান্ত-বসু ॥

৩২ ॥ [৪০১] ॥

অনন্ত বসু চণ্ডীদাস

কে না বাঁশী বাএ বড়ারি কালিনী নই কুলে ।

কে না বাঁশী বাএ বড়ারি এ'গোঠ গোবুলে ॥

আকুল শরীর মোর বেরাকুল বন ।
 বাশীর শব্দে মো আউলাইলো রাক
 কে না বাশী বাএ বড়ারি সে না কোন জন ।
 দাসী হইয়া তার পাএ নিশিবে আপনা ॥
 কে না বাশী বাএ বড়ারি চিত্তের হরিবে ।
 তার পাএ বড়ারি যৌ কৈলো কান হোবে ॥
 আকুল স্বরএ মোর নয়নের পাণি ।
 বাশীর শব্দে বড়ারি হারারিলো পরাণী ॥
 আকুল করিতে কিবা আশ্রয় মন ।
 বাজাএ সুসর বাশী নানের নন্দন ॥
 পাখি নহৌ তার ঠাই উড়ী পড়ি জাও ।
 যেদনী বিদার দেউ পসিআ লুকাও ॥
 বন পোড়ে আগ বড়ারি জগজনে জাগী ।
 মোর বন পোড়ে বেল কুস্তারের পতী ॥
 আস্তর সুখএ মোর কাহ-আভিলাসে ।
 বাসলী শিরে বসী গাইল চতুর্দাসে ॥
 ৬৩ ॥ [৩৯৩] ॥

বদনবর্ষণ ও না চুড়ায় ঠালনি গো
 উহা না শিখিয়া আইল কোথা ।
 এ বুক ভরিয়া মুক্তি উহা না দেখিলু গো
 এ বড়ি করমে মোর বেধা ॥
 নাসিকার আগে দোলে এ গজমুকুতা গো
 সোনার বড়িত তার পাশে ।
 বিছুরীজড়িত যেন চাঁদের কণিকা গো
 যেবের আড়ালে থাকি হাসে ॥
 করভের কর জিনি বাহুর বলনি গো
 হিম্মল বড়িত তার আগে ।
 বোঁবনবনের পাখী পিয়াসে মরয়ে গো
 উহারি পরশরস মাগে ।
 নাটুয়াঠমকে বায় রহিয়া রহিয়া চায়
 চলে যেন গজরাজ মাতা ।
 ঐনিবাস-দাস কর লখিলে লখিল নয়
 রূপসিদ্ধ গড়ল বিধাতা ॥
 ৬৪ ॥ [২৪-২৫] ॥

ঐনিবাস-আচাৰ্য্য

বদনচাঁদ কোন কুঁদারে কুঁদিল গো
 কে না কুঁদিলে হই আখি ।
 দেখিতে দেখিতে মোর পরাণ যেমন করে
 সেই সে পরাণ তার সাখী ॥
 রতন কাড়িয়া অতি-বতন করিয়া গো
 কে না গড়িয়া দিল কানে ।
 বনের গহিতে মোর এ পাঁচ পরাণি গো
 বোঁগী হবে উহারি ধোয়ানে ॥
 অবিরামধূর বোল হুবা খানিখানি গো
 হাতের উপরে নাছি পাও ।
 এবতি করিয়া বদি বিদ্যাতা গড়িত গো
 ভাবিয়া ভাবিয়া উহা খাও ॥

নরোত্তম-দাস

গৌরাদ বলিতে হবে গুলকশরীর ।
 হরি হরি বলিতে নয়নে বহে নীর ॥
 আর কবে নিতাইচাঁদ করুণা করিবে ।
 সংসারবাগনা মোর কবে তুচ্ছ হবে ॥
 বিষয় ছাড়িয়া কবে শুদ্ধ হবে মন ।
 কবে হাম হেয়ব ঐক্যদান ॥
 রূপ রত্নাধ বলি হইবে আকুতি ।
 কবে হাম বুঝব সে যুগলশিরীতি ॥
 রূপরত্নাধপথে রহ মোর আশ ।
 প্রার্থনা করয়ে সদা নরোত্তম-দাস ॥

হে গোবিন্দ গোপীনাথ, কৃপা করি রাখ
নিজ সাথে ।

কাম ক্রোধ ছয়জনে লৈয়া ফিবে নানাস্থানে
বিষয় ভুঞ্জায় নানামতে ॥

হইয়া যারার দাস করি নানা অভিলাষ
তোমার স্মরণ গেল দূরে ।

অর্থলাভ এই আশে কপটবৈষ্ণববেশে
ভ্রমিয়া বুলিয়ে ঘরে ঘরে ॥

অনেক দুঃখের পরে লৈয়াছিলা ব্রজপুরে
কৃপাভোর গলায় বাধিয়া ।

দৈবমায়া বলাৎকারে খসাইয়া সেই ভোরে
ডবকূপে দিলেক ডারিয়া ॥

পুন যদি কৃপা করি এ জনার কেশে ধরি
টানিয়া তোলাহ ব্রজভূমে ।

তবে সে দেখিয়ে ভাল নহে বোল ফুরাইল
কহে দীন দাস নরোত্তমে ॥

৬৬ ॥ [৯৮] ॥

নাথ হে

কোপীন খুলিয়া লেহ কপালে সিঙ্গুর দেহ
পরিবার দেহ নীলসাড়ী ।

কঙ্কণ কেয়ুর দিয়া নিজদাসী বানাইয়া
হাতে দেহ স্ববর্ণের চুড়ী ॥

হস্তেতে চন্দন লৈয়া তব অঙ্গে ছিটাইয়া
ফুলমালা দিব তব গলে ।

তোমার নিকটে রৈয়া তাম্বুল বদনে দিয়া
তোমাতে ধরিব নিজকোলে ॥

দাস নাম খুচাইয়া দাসী নাম ধরাইয়া
রাখহ আমার নিজপাশে ।

কহিয়া রসের কথা খুচাহ মনের বেধা
মাথে দেহ স্টাচর কেশে ॥

দাসী করি রাখ বামে শুনাহ বাঁশীর গানে
প্রাহ আমার মন-আশ ।

দূর করি কুটিনাটি মাথে দেহ সীঁ থিপাটী
খজ কর নরোত্তম-দাস ॥

৬৭ ॥ [৯৯] ॥

হুঁ হুঁ দোহাঁ দরশনে পুলকিত-অঙ্গে ।

দূরে গেও রজনীক বিরহতরঙ্গ ॥

যেছে বিরহজরে লুঠল রাই ।

তৈছন অমিয়াসাগরে অবগাই ॥

হুঁ মুখ চুষই হুঁ মুখ হেরি ।

আনন্দে হুঁ জন কহ নানা কেলি ॥

সুখময় বামিনী চাঁদ উজোর ।

কুহরত কোকিল আনন্দবিভোর ॥

বিকশিত সুকুসুম মলয়সমীর ।

ঝলমল ঝলমল কুঞ্জকুটার ॥

বিহরয়ে রাধা মাধব রঙ্গে ।

নরোত্তম-দাস হেরি পুলকিত-অঙ্গে ॥

৬৮ ॥ [১০০] ॥

রাই হেরল যব সো মুখ-ইন্দু ।

উছলল মন-মাহা আনন্দসিদ্ধ ॥

ভাঙ্গল মান রোদনহি ভোর ।

কান্ন কমলকরে মোছই লোর ॥

মানজনিত হুঁ সব দূরে গেল ।

হুঁ মুখ দরশনে আনন্দ ভেল ॥

ললিতা বিশাখা আদি যত সখীগণ ।

আনন্দে মগন ভেল দেখি হুঁজন ॥

নিকুঞ্জের মাথে হুঁ কেলিবিলাস ।

দূরহি দূরে রহ নরোত্তম-দাস ॥

৬৯ ॥ [১০০] ॥

‘কৃষ্ণদাস’

সোঙরো নব গৌরচন্দ্র
নাগর বনগারি ।
নববীণ-ইন্দু করুণাসিদ্ধ
ভকতবৎসলকারী ॥

বদন চন্দ্র অধর রঙ্গ
নয়নে গলত প্রেমতরঙ্গ
চক্রে কোটিভাষুকোট-
শোভা নিছগারি ।

কুসুমশোভিত চাঁচরচিকুর
লগাটে তিলক নাগিকা উজোর
দশন মোতিম অমিয়া হাস
দামিনী ঘনগারি ॥

মকরকুণ্ডল ঝলকে গণ্ড
মণিকোস্তভদীপ্ত কর্ত্ত
অরুণ বসন করুণ বচন
শোভা অতি স্ফারী ।

মলয়চন্দনচর্চিত অঙ্গ
লাজে লজ্জিত কোটি অনঙ্গ
অঙ্গদবলয়ারতননুপুর-
বজ্রহুতধারী ॥

ছত্র ধরত ধরণীধরেন্দ্র
গাওত যশ ভকতবৃন্দ
কমলাসেবিতপাদবৃন্দ,
বলিয়ে বলিহারি ।

কহত দীন কৃষ্ণদাস
গৌরচরণে করত আশ
পতিতপাবন নিতাইচান্দ
প্রেমদানকারী ॥

৭০ ॥ [১০১-১০২] ॥

জয় রাধে ত্রী- রাধে কৃষ্ণ
ত্রীরাধে জয় রাধে ।

নন্দনন্দন বৃষভানুহুতারী
সকলগুণ-অগাধে ॥

নবঘনসুন্দর নওলকিশোরী
নিজগুণ হীতম সাধে ।

চাঁচর কেশে মউরশিখণ্ডক
কুঙ্কিতকেশিনী জাদে ॥

পীতাম্বরধর ওঢ়ে নীলশাড়ী
ঘনসৌদামিনী রাজে ।

কাহ্নগলে বন- মালা বিরাজিত
রাইগলে মোতি সাজে ॥

অরুণিতচরণে মঞ্জীররঞ্জিত
খঞ্জনগঞ্জন লাজে ।

কৃষ্ণদাস ভণে ত্রীবৃন্দাবনে
বৃগলকিশোর বিরাজে ॥

৭১ ॥ [১০৩] ॥

গোবিন্দদাস কবিরাজ

হেমহিমগিরি ছুইতমুহুরি
আধনর আধনারী ।

আধ-উজর আধকাজর
তিনই-লোচনধারী ॥

দেখ দেখ, ছহঁ মিলিত একগাত ।
ভকত [-পূজিত] ভুবনবন্দিত

ভুবন মারতি তাত (?) ॥

আধ ফণিময় আধ মণিময়
হৃদয়ে উজোর হার ।

আধ বাঘাঘর আধ পট্টাঘর
শিঙ্গন ছহঁ উজ্জয়ার ॥

ନା ଦେବ କାବିନୀ [ନା] ଦେବ କାୟକ
କେବଳ ଶ୍ରେୟଶ୍ରବଣ ।

ଗୌରୀଶଙ୍କର- ଚରଣକିନ୍ନର
କହଇ ଗୋବିନ୍ଦଦାସ ॥

୧୨ ॥ [୩୧୨] ॥

ଅବନିତଚରଣେ ରମିତ ନିମିତ୍ତୀର
ଆଦ୍ୟ-ଆଦ୍ୟ ପଦଚଳନି ସ୍ଥଳ ।

କାନ୍ଦନବନ୍ଧନ ବସନ ମନୋରମ
ଅନିକୁଳବିଗିତ ଲଳିତସମୟାଳ ॥

ଥାଲେ ବନି ଆଠତ ଯଦନସୋହନିୟା ।

ଅଜାହି ଅଜ ଅମଳ ତରଞ୍ଜିୟ
ରଞ୍ଜିତଞ୍ଜିୟ ନୟନନାଟିନିଆ ॥

ନାଥାହି ଶୃଙ୍ଗ ଶୂନ-ଉର ଅବର
ଫାତର-ଅବଶକିରଣସି ରାଜ ।

କୁଞ୍ଜରକରଡ଼- କରାହି କରବନ୍ଧନ
ସ୍ଥଳରଜକରଣବଳର ବିରାଜ ॥

ଅବରମୁଖାବର ମୁରଲୀତରଞ୍ଜିଣୀ
ବିଗଳିତରଞ୍ଜିଣୀ ହୃଦୟହୁଳ ।

ନାଥଲନୟନ ଭ୍ରମର ଅଳ୍ପ ଭ୍ରମି ଭ୍ରମି
ଓଢ଼ି ପଢ଼ତ ଶ୍ରୀତି-ଓତଳନକୁଳ ॥

ରୋଚନ ଡିଲକ ଚୁଢ଼େ ବନି ଚକ୍ରକ
ବେଢ଼ଳ ରଞ୍ଜିତନୟନଧୁକରମାଳ ।

ଗୋବିନ୍ଦଦାସ-ଚିତ୍ତେ ନିତିନିତି ବିହରଇ
ଈହ ନାଥବସନ ଡ଼ରୁଣମାଳ ॥

୧୩ ॥ [୧୦୨-୧୧୦] ॥

ନନ୍ଦନନନ୍ଦନ- ଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ଚନ୍ଦନ-
ମନ୍ଦାନିନ୍ଦିତ-ଅବ ।

କବୁକବୁକ

ସିନ୍ଧି ସିନ୍ଧୁର ଡ଼ଳ ।

ଶ୍ରେୟ-ଆକୁଳ- ଗୋପ ଗୋବିନ୍ଦ-
କୁଞ୍ଜକାବିନୀକାନ୍ତ ।

କୁଞ୍ଜବନ୍ଧନ- ବନ୍ଧୁବନ୍ଧନ-
କୁଞ୍ଜବନ୍ଧିର ସନ୍ତ ॥

ମଞ୍ଜୁଶଳ- ବଳିତକୁଞ୍ଜଳ
ଓଢ଼େ ଚୁଢ଼େ ଶିଖଣ୍ଡ ।

କେଳିତାଣବ- ଡାଳଗଞ୍ଜିତ
ବାହନଞ୍ଜିତଦଣ୍ଡ ॥

କଞ୍ଜଲୋଚନ- କଳ୍ପସୋଚନ
ଅବଶରୋଚନତାୟ ।

ଅମଳକମଳ- ଚରଣକିଶଳର-
ନିଳୟ ଗୋବିନ୍ଦଦାସ ॥

୧୪ ॥ [୧୧୦-୧୧୧]

ମରମୁଖାବର- ସଂଗଳମଂଗଳ-
ଧନ୍ୟ ବନ୍ଧନବିକାଶ ।

ଅବଶେ ମିଳାରତ ଶ୍ରୀମନୋହର-
ଚୀତଚୋରାୟନି ହାସ ॥

ଆହୁ ନଥ ଶ୍ରୀବିନୋଦିନୀ ରାହି ।

ତହୁତହୁ ଅତରୁ- ବୃକ୍ଷବିଶେଷ-
ଶାବନି ବରଣି ନା ବାହି ॥

କବରୀବକୁଳକୁଳେ ଆକୁଳ-ଅନିକୁଳ
ସଧୁ ମିଶି ମିଶି ଉତ୍ତରୋଳ ।

ସକଳ-ଅଳଞ୍ଜିତ- କଞ୍ଜବନ୍ଧିତ
କିନ୍ତୁ ରମଣି ବୋଲ ॥

ମଦମଦ ମଦ ମନିମର ମୁଖର
ରମଣ୍ୟ ଧନ୍ୟତାୟ ।

ବନ୍ଧନବନ୍ଧନ ଅଳ୍ପ ବନ୍ଧନବନ୍ଧନ
ନୀହନି ଗୋବିନ୍ଦଦାସ ॥

୧୫ ॥ [୧୧୧]

লোচনে শ্রাবর বচনহি শ্রাবর
 শ্রাবর চাকনিচোল ।
 শ্রাবর হার হৃদয়ে বশি শ্রাবর
 শ্রাবরসখী কর কোর ॥
 মাধব, ইথে যদি বোলবি আন ।
 অচপলকুলবতী- মতি উমতায়লি
 কিয়ে তুহঁ মোহিনী জান ॥
 মরমহি শ্রাবর পরিজন পামর
 ঝামর মুখ-অরবিন্দ ।
 ঝরঝর লোরহি লোলিত কাজর
 বিগলিত লোচননিন্দ ॥
 মনমথ সাগর রজনী উজাগর
 নাগর তুহঁ কিয়ে ভোর ।
 গোবিন্দদাস কতহঁ আশোয়াসব
 মিলবহু নন্দকিশোর ॥
 ৭৬ ॥ [১১২] ॥

ঢলঢল সজল- জলদত্তু শোহন
 মোহন-অভরণসাজ ।
 অরুণনয়নগতি বিজুরিচমক জিতি
 দগধল কুলবতীলাজ ॥
 সজনি, যাইতে পেখলুঁ কান ।
 ভব ধরি জগ ভরি ভরল কুসুমধর
 নয়নে না হেরিয়ে আন ॥
 মধু মুখ দরশি বিহসি তম্বু মোড়ই
 বিগলিত মোহনবংশ ।
 না জানিয়ে কোন মনোরথে আকুল
 কিশলয়দলে কর দংশ ॥
 অতরে সে মধু মন জলতহি অধুখন
 দোলত চপলপরাণ ।
 গোবিন্দদাস মিছই আশোয়াসল
 অবহঁ না বীলল কান ॥
 ৭৭ ॥ [১১৩] ॥

মধুলবধুল নিকুঞ্জমন্দিরে
 সোড়রি সো গুণগাম ।
 মরম-অন্তরে জপয়ে মন্তরে
 একলি তোহারি নাম ॥
 রামা হে, তেজহ কপটছন্দ ।
 মদনহিলোলে তো বিম্ব দোলত
 নন্দনন্দনচন্দ ॥
 হিমহিমকর সলিলশীকর
 নিন্দই কালিন্দীতীর ।
 সরসচন্দন- পরশে মূর্ছই
 সজল জলত চীর ॥
 কবহঁ উঠত কবহঁ বৈঠত
 পহু হেরত তোর ।
 অমলকমল- নয়নযুগল
 সঘনে গলয়ে লোর ॥
 এতহঁ যতনে পুরুষরতনে
 চিতে নাহি বিশোয়াস ।
 গহনবিরহ- দহনে দহই
 কহই গোবিন্দদাস ॥
 ৭৮ ॥ [১১৪]
 চৌদিকে চকিত- নয়নে ঘন হেরসি
 ঝাঁপসি ঝাঁপল-অজ ।
 বচনক ভাঁতি বুঝই নাহি পারিয়ে
 কাঁহা শিখলি ইহ রঙ্গ ॥
 স্নানরি, কী ফল পরিজন বাঁচি ।
 শ্রামসুনাগর- গুপতপ্রেমধন
 জানলুঁ হির-মাহা সাঁচি ॥
 এ তুআ হাস মরম প্রকাশই
 প্রতি অজভঙ্গিম সাখী ।
 গাঁঠিক হেম বদন-মাহা ঝলকই
 এতদিনে পেখলুঁ আঁখি ॥

গহনমনোরথে পঙ্খ না হেরসি
জীতলি মনমথরাজ ।
গোবিন্দদাস কহই ধনি বিরমহ
মৌনহি সমুখল কাজ ॥

৭৯ ॥ [১১৫] ॥

আশাপাশ লেই গলে বইঠলি
প্রেমকলপতরুণল ।
কীরে অমিয়া কীরে ধরব গরলফল
গোবিন্দদাস কহ কুর ॥

৮১ ॥ [১১৬] ॥

ধরি সখী-আচরে ভই উপচক ।
বইঠে না বইঠয়ে হরিপরিষক ॥
চলইতে আলি, চলই পুন চাহ ।
রস-অভিলাষে আশ্বোরল নাহ ॥
লুব্ধল মাধব মুগধিনী নারী ।
ও অতি বিদগধ এ অতি গোঙারী ॥
পরশিতে তরসি করহি কর ঠেলই ।
হেরইতে বয়ন নয়নজল খলই ॥
হঠপরিবৃত্তে ধরথরি কাঁপ ।
চুধনে বদন পটাঞ্চলে কাঁপ ॥
শুতলী ভীতপুতলী সম গোবরী ।
চীতনলিনী অলি রহই আগোরি ॥
গোবিন্দদাস কহই পরিণাম ।
রূপ-কে কূপে মগন ভেল কাম ॥

৮০ ॥ [১১৫-১১৬]

পৌখলী রজনী পবন বহে মন্দ ।
চৌদিশে হিম হিমকর কর বন্ধ ॥
মন্দিরে রহত সবহঁ তমু কাঁপ ।
জগজ্ঞান শয়নে নয়ন রহ কাঁপ ॥
এ সখি হেরি চমক মোহে লাই ।
ঐছে সময়ে অভিসারল রাই ॥
পরিহরি তৈছন সুখময় শেজ ।
উচকুচকুচকু ভরমহি তেজ ॥
ধবলিম এক বসনে তমু গোই ।
চললিহ কুঞ্জে লখই নাহি কোই ॥
কমলচরণ তুহিনে নাহি দলই ।
কণ্টক বাটে কতিহঁ নাহি টলই ॥
গোবিন্দদাস কহ ইথে কি সন্দেহ ।
কিরে বিধিনি ধাঁহা নুতন নেহ ॥

৮২ ॥ [১১৭] ॥

মাধব, মনমথ ফিরত অহেরা ।
একলী নিকুঞ্জে ধনী ফুলশরে জরজর
পঙ্খ নেহারত তেরা ॥
উজর শশধর দীপ পজারল
অলিকুল ষাধর রোল ।
হনইতে হরিণী- নয়নী দরশায়ই
ওহি ওহি পিকু বোল ॥
তুহঁ অতি-মহুয় গমন ছরঙ্গর
মধুযামিনী অতি ছোট ।
সো ঘরবাহির করত নিরন্তর
নিমিখ মানরে যুগকোট ॥

হিমঝড়-যামিনী বায়ুনতীর ।
তরললতাকুলকুঞ্জকুটীর ॥
তহিঁ তমু ধির নহে তুহিন সখীর ।
কৈছে বঞ্চন শুন শ্রামশরীর ॥
ধনি তুহঁ মাধব ধনি তুআ নেহ ।
ধনি ধনি সো ধনী পরিহর গেহ ॥
কুলবতীগোরব কর্তনকপাট ।
শুক্লজননয়ন সক্রটকবাট ॥
কো জানে এতহঁ বিধিনি অবগাই ।
ঐছন সময়ে মিলব তোহে রাই ॥

ইথে যো পূৰব ছহঁ-মনকাম ।
তাকৰ চরণে হামারি পরণাম ॥
গোবিন্দদাস তবহঁ ধরি জাগ ।
তুহঁ জনি তেজহ নব-অমুরাগ ।

৮৩ । [১১৮]

৪০৬

কুলবতী কোই নয়নে জনি হেরই
হেরত পুন জনি কান ।
কামু হেরি জনি প্রেম বাঢ়ায়ই
প্রেম করই জনি মান ॥

সজনি, অতয়ে মানয়ে নিজ দোখ ।
মানদগধ-জীউ অব নাহি নিকসয়ে
কামু সঞে কি করব রোখ ॥

যো যকু চরণ- পরশরসলালসে
লাখ মিনতি মুখে কেল ।
তাকৰ দৰশন বিনে তমু জরজর
দৰশ পরশ সম ভেল ॥

সহচরী মোহে লাখ সমুঝায়ল
তাহে না রোপলুঁ কাণ ।
গোবিন্দদাস সরসবচনামৃত
পুন বাহুড়ায়ব কান ॥
৮৪ ॥ [১১৮-১১৯]

শুনইতে কামু- মুরলীরবমাধুরী
শ্রবণে নিবারলুঁ তোর ।
হেরইতে রূপ নয়নযুগ ঝাঁপলু
ভব মোহে রোখলি ভোর ॥

সুন্দরি, তৈথনে কহল মো তোর ।
ভরমহি তা সঞে নেহ বাঢ়ায়বি
জনম গোঙায়বি রোর ॥

বিহু গুণ পরখি পরক রূপলালসে
কাহে ধোপলি নিজ দেহা ।
দিনে দিনে খোয়সি ইহ রূপলাবণি
জীবইতে ভেল সন্দেহা ॥

যো তুহঁ হৃদয়ে প্রেমতরু রোপলি
শ্রামজলদরস-আশে ।
সো অব নয়ন- নীর দেই সৌচহ
কহতহি গোবিন্দদাসে ॥
৮৫ ॥ [১১৯-১২০]

মদন কিরাত- কুসুমশর দারুণ
বৃন্দাবনবন-মাঝ ।
তেঞি আকুল হরি তোহারি শরণ করি
পরিহরি পৌকষলাজ ॥

সুন্দরি, তুআ দিঠি অধিরসন্ধান ।
মনমথ য়ারিতে জোড়ি নয়নশর
হানল হামারি পরাণ ॥

হুহঁ-শরে জরজর জীবন-অন্তর
কিয়ে করব নাহি জান ।
নিজযশ চাই রাই অব দেয়বি
অধরসুধারসপান ॥

মণিময় হার- তরঙ্গিণীতোরহি
কুচকনকাচলছায় ।

ঐছে তপতজনে গোপতে রাখবি তব
গোবিন্দদাস যশ গায় ॥
৮৬ ॥ [১২০-১২১]

নবনবগুণ শ্রবণরসায়ন
নয়নরসায়ন অঙ্গ ।
রত্নসম্ভাষণ হৃদয়রসায়ন
পরশরসায়ন সঙ্গ ॥

এ সখি, রসময় অন্তর যায় ।
 শ্রাম স্নানাগর গুণগণসাগর
 কো ধনী বিছুরই পার ।
 গুরুজনগঞ্জন গৃহপতিভরজন
 কুলবতীকুবচনভাষ ।
 যত পরমাদ সবহ পুন মেটেই
 মধুরমুরলী-আশোয়াস ॥
 কীরে করব কুল দিবসদীপভুল
 প্রেমপরনে ঘন ডোল ।
 গোবিন্দদাস বতন করি রাখত
 লাজক জালে আগোর ॥

৮৭ ॥ [১২১-১২২] ॥

মন্দিরবাহির কঠিন কপাট ।
 চলইতে শঙ্কিল পঙ্কিলবাট ॥
 তাহি অতি হ্রতর বাদলদোল !
 বারি কি বারই নীলনিচোল ॥
 সুন্দরী কৈছে করবি অভিসার ।
 হরি রহ মানস সুরধুনী-পার ॥
 ঘনঘন ঝনঝন বজরনিপাত ।
 শুনইতে শ্রবণমরম জরি বাত ॥
 দশদিশ দামিনীদহন বিধার ।
 হেরইতে উচকই লোচনভার ॥
 ইথে যদি সুন্দরী তেজবি গেহ ।
 প্রেমক লাগি উপেশবি দেহ ॥
 গোবিন্দদাস কহ ইথে কি বিচার ।
 ছুটল বাণ কিরে যতনে নিবার ॥

৮৮ ॥ [১২২]

কুলময়িরাদ- কপাট উদঘাটলু
 তাহে কি কাঠ-কি বাধা ।
 নিজময়িরাদ- সিদ্ধ সকে পত্তরলু
 তাহে কি তটিনী অগাধা ॥

সহচরি, মরু পরিখন কর কুর ।
 বৈছে হৃদয় করি পহ হেরত হরি
 সোঙরি সোঙরি মন সুর ॥
 কোটি কুসুমশর বরিখরে বহু পর
 তাহে কি জলদজল লাগি ।
 প্রেমদহনদহ বাক হৃদয় সহ
 তাহে কি বজরক আগি ॥
 বহু পদতলে নিজ জীবন সোঁপলু
 তাহে কি তনু-অঙ্গরোধ ।
 গোবিন্দদাস কহই ধনি অভিসর
 সহচরী পাওল বোধ ॥

৮৯ ॥ [১২৩] ॥

শরদচন্দ পবন মন্দ
 বিশিনে ভরল কুসুমগন্ধ
 ফুল মল্লিকা মালতী যুধী
 মত্তমধুকরভোরণি ।
 হেরত রাতি ঐহন ভাতি
 শ্রাম মোহনমদনে মাতি
 মুরলী গান পঞ্চমতান
 কুলবতীচিতচোরণি ॥
 শুনত গোপী প্রেম রোপি
 মনহি মনহি আপন সোপি
 তাঁহি চলত বাঁহি বোলত
 সুরলীক কললোলনি

বিসরি গেহ নিজহঁ দেহ
 একনয়নে কাজরয়েহ
 বাহে রঞ্জিত কঙ্কণ এক
 একু কুণ্ডল দোজননি ॥

শিখিলছন্দ নীলিক বন্ধ
বেগে ধাপ্ত যুবতিবন্দ
ধসত বসন রশন চোলি
গলিত বেণী লোলনি ।

ততহি বেলি সখিনী মেলি
কেহ কাহক পথ না হেরি
ঐছে মিলল গোবিন্দচন্দ

গোবিন্দদাস গায়নি ॥

২০ ॥ [১২৪-১২৫] ॥

স্বরপতিধরু কি শিখণ্ডক চূড়ে ।
মালতীঝুরি কি বলাকিনী উড়ে ॥
ভাল কি ঝাঁপল বিধু-আধখণ্ড ।
কবিরকর কিয়ে ও ভুজদণ্ড ॥
ও কিয়ে শ্রাম নটরাজ ।
জলদকলপতরু তরুণীসমাজ ॥
করকিশলয় কিয়ে অরুণবিকাশ ।
মুরলীধুরলী কিয়ে চাতকভাষ ॥
হাস কি ঝরয়ে অমিয়া মকরন্দ ।
হার কি তারকতোতিক ছন্দ ॥
পদন্তল কি ধলকমল বনরাগ ।
তাহে কলহংস কি নৃপ জাগ ॥
গোবিন্দদাস কহয়ে মতিমত্ত ।
ভুলল যাহে বিজ রায় বসন্ত ॥

২১ ॥ [১২৫-১২৬] ॥

ঝাঁপল উতপত্তলোরে নয়ান ।
কৈছে করত হিয়া কহই না জান ॥
তুহঁ পুন কি কয়বি গোপতহঁরাধি ।
তহু বন ছহঁ মুখে দেয়ত সাধি ॥
তব কাহে গোপসি কি কহব তোয় ।
বজরক বারণ করতলে হোয় ॥

জানলুঁ রে সখি মৌনক গুর ।
পিয়া পরদেশ চলব মোহে ছোড় ॥
গমনক সময়ে বিরোধ জনি কোই ।
শিয়াক অমজল যৈছে না হোই ॥
সময়সমাপন কী ফল আর ।
প্রেমক সমুচিত অবহঁ নিবার ॥
গোবিন্দদাস অতঃ অমুমান ।
পিয়া পরদেশী কাহে রহ প্রাণ ॥
২২ ॥ [১২৬-১২৭] ॥

গুনলহঁ মাথুর চলব মুরারি ।
চলতহঁ পেখলুঁ নয়ন পসারি ॥
পালটি নেহারিতে হাম রহ হেরি ।
শুনহি মন্দিরে আয়লুঁ ফেরি ॥
দেখ সখি নীলজ জীবন মোই ।
পিরীতি জানায়ত অব ঘন যোই ॥
সো কুন্তমিতবন কুঞ্জকুটীর ।
সো যমুনাঙ্গল মলয়সমীর ॥
সো হিমকর হেরি লাগয়ে চক ।
কাহু বিনে জীবন কেবল কলঙ্ক ॥
এতদিনে বুঝল বচনক অন্ত ।
চপল প্রেম ধির জীবন হরন্ত ॥
তাহে অতি হরজন আশ-কি পাশ ।
সখাদি না আওত গোবিন্দদাস ॥
২৩ ॥ [১২৭] ॥

ঝাঁহা পহঁ অরুণচরণে চলি বাত ।
তাঁহা তাঁহা ধরণী হইয়ে মনু গাত ॥
বো সরোবরে পহঁ নিতি নিতি নাহ ।
হাম ভরি সলিল হোই তথি-মাহ ॥
এ সখি বিরহমরণ নিরবধ ।
ঐছে মিলই যব শ্রাবরচন্দ ॥

যো দরপণে পহঁ নিজমুখ চাহ ।
 মঝু অঙ্গজ্যোতি হোই তধি-মাহ ॥
 যো বীজনে পহঁ বীজই গাত ।
 মঝু অঙ্গ তাহে হোই মৃদুবাৎ ॥
 যাহাঁ পহঁ ভরমই জলধরশ্রাম ।
 মঝু অঙ্গ গগন হোই তছু ঠাম ॥
 গোবিন্দদাস কহ কাঞ্চনগোরি ।
 সো মরকততমু তোহে কিয়ে ছোড়ি ॥
 ৯৪ ॥ [১২৮-১২৯] ॥

চম্পকসোন- কুসুম কনকাচল
 জিতল গৌরতম্বলাবণি রে ।
 উন্নতগীম- সীম নাহি অমুভব
 জগমনমোহিনি ভাঙনৌ রে ॥
 জয় শচীনন্দন রে ।
 ত্রিভুবনমণ্ডন কলিযুগকাল-
 ভুজগভয়খণ্ডন রে ॥
 বিপুলপুলককুল- আকুলকলেবর
 গরগর-অস্তর প্রেমভরে ।
 লহলহ হাসনৌ গদগদ ভাষণী
 কত মনাকিনী নয়নে ঝরে ॥
 নিজরসে নাচত নয়ন চুলায়ত
 গায়ত কত কত ভকতহি মেলি ।
 যো রসে ভাসি অবশ মহীমণ্ডল
 গোবিন্দদাস তহি পরশ না ভেলি ॥
 ৯৫ ॥ [১৩০] ॥

দেখত বেকত গৌরচন্দ্র
 বেড়ল ভকতনখতবন্দ
 ন-উজোরকারী
 কুলকনককাঁতিয়া ।

অগতিপতিভকুমুদবন্ধ
 হেরি উছল রসক সিদ্ধ
 স্বদয়কুহরতিমিরহারী
 উদিত দিনহিঁ রাতিয়া ॥
 সহজে সুন্দর মধুর দেহ
 আনন্দে আনন্দে না বাঁধে ধেহ
 চুলি চুলি চুলি চলত খলত
 মন্তকরিবরভাতিয়া ।

নটনঘটন ভই গেল ভোর
 মুকুল মাধব গোবিন্দ বোল
 রোয়ত হসত ধরণী খসত
 শোহত পুলকপাতিয়া ॥

অসীমমহিমা কো কহঁ ওর
 নিজ পর ধরি করই কোর
 প্রেম-অমিয়া হরখি বরখি
 তরখিতমহী মাতিয়া ।

যো রসে উত্তম-অধম ভাস
 বঞ্চিত একলি গোবিন্দদাস
 কো জানে কি খনে কোন গঢ়ল
 কাঠকঠিনছাতিয়া ॥

৯৬ ॥ [১৩০-১৩১] ॥

বিত্তাপতিপদ- যুগলসরোরুহ-
 নিশ্চলিতমকরন্দে ।
 তছু মঝু মানস- মাতলমধুকর
 পিবইতে কর অমুভবে ।
 হরি হরি, আর কিয়ে মজল হোয়
 রসিকশিরোমণি- নাগরনাগরী-
 লীলা স্মরব কি মোয় ॥

জহু বাউন করে ধরব সুধাকর
পঙ্খ চড়ব কিয়ে শিখরে ।

অন্ধ ধাই কিয়ে দশদিশ ধোঁজব
মিলব কল্লতরুনিকরে ॥

সো নহ অন্ধ করত অমুবন্ধি
ভকতনখরমণি-ইজু ।

কিরণঘটায় উদিত ভেল দশদিশ
হাম কি না পায়ব বিন্দু ॥

সোই বিন্দু হাম যৈখনে পায়ব
তৈখনে উদিত নয়ান ।

গোবিন্দদাস অতয়ে অবধারল
ভকতরূপা বলবান ॥

৯৭ ॥ [১৩২] ॥

কাননে কামিনী কোই না যায় ।

কালিন্দীকুলকলপতরুছায় ॥

কুঞ্জকুটীর-মাহা কাঁদই কোই ।

করে শির হানই কুস্তল ফোই ॥

নলিনীনারীগণ নাশল নেহ ।

নবীননিদাষে না জীবই কেহ ॥

নবনীনিমিত্তা নবনববালা ।

নাগল বিরহহতাশনজালা ॥

গলত গাত গীরত মহী-মাহ ।

গুরুতর গিরিব অধিক ভেল দাহ ॥

গোকুলে গোপরমণী অহু ভেল ।

গরলগরাসনে গোবিন্দ গেল ॥

৯৮ ॥ [১৩৩] ॥

গোবিন্দদাস-চক্রবর্তী

উলসিত মখু হিয়া আজি আওব পিয়া

দৈবে কহল শুভবাণী ।

শুভহৃৎক যত প্রতি অঙ্গে বেকত

অন্তএ নিচয় করি মানি ॥

সজনি, সবহি বিপদ দূরে গেল ।

সুখ সম্পদ বিহি আনি মিলায়ব

ঐছন মতিগতি ভেল ॥

মঙ্গলকলস পর দেই নবপল্লব

রোপহ ঠামহি ঠাম ।

এহগণক আনি করহ বিভূষিত

তুরিতে মিলয়ে জহু শ্রাম ॥

হারিদ দাড়িম কাজর দরপণ

দধি ঘৃত রতনপ্রদীপে ।

সুবরণভাজন লাজহি ভরি ভরি

রাখহ নয়নসমীপে ॥

নবনব রঙ্গিণী দেই হলহলি

বসনভূষণ করু শোভা ।

প্রাণপ্রাণ হরি নিজ ঘরে আওব

গোবিন্দদাস-মন লোভা ॥

৯৯ ॥ [১৩৫-১৩৬]

রসিয়া রমণী যে ।

মদনমোহন গৌরান্ধবদন

দেখিয়া জীয়ে কি সে ॥

যে ধনী রঙ্গিণী হয় ।

ভাঙধনুয়া মদনবাণে

তার কি পরাণ রয় ॥

যে জানে পিরীতিবেধা ।

সেহ কি ধৈরজ ধরিতে পারে

শুনিয়া মুখের কণা ॥

বিলাসিনীর মনে হুখ ।

আজামুলখিত বাহ হেরি কাঁদে

পরিসর গোরাবুক ॥

(কত) কামিনী কামনা করে ।

শুরুমানিতথ- বিলাসবসন-

পরশ পাবার ভরে ॥

গোবিন্দদাসের চিতে ।
গৌরাঙ্গচাঁদের চরণনখর
তাহার মাথুরী পীতে ॥
১০০ ॥ [১৩৬-১৩৭] ॥

পিয়ার কুলের বনে পিয়ালী ভ্রমরা ।
পিয়া বিনে মধু না খায় উড়ে বেড়ায় তারা ।
যো বদি জানিতাম পিয়া বাবে রে ছাড়িয়া ।
পরানে পরাণ দিয়া রাখিতাম বাঁধিয়া ॥
কোন নিদাক্ষণ বিধি মোর পিয়া নিল ।
এ ছার পরাণ কেনে অবহঁ রহিল ॥
মরম-ভিতর মোর রহি গেল দুখ ।
নিচয় মরিব পিয়ার না দেখিয়া মুখ ॥
এইখানে করিত কেলি নাগররাজ ।
কেবা নিল কিবা হৈল কে পাড়িল বাজ ॥
সে পিয়ার প্রেয়সী আমি আছি একাকিনী ।
এ ছার শরীরে রহে নিলাজ পরাগী ॥
চরণে ধরিয়া কঁাদে গোবিন্দদাসিয়া ।
মুক্তি অভাগিয়া আগে বাইব মরিয়া ॥
১০১ ॥ [১৩৭-১৩৮] ॥

নারায়ণ বসন্ত

কি ছেরিলুঁ নাগর নবীনকিশোর ।
শায়দশশব্দর- বয়ন মনোহর
রঙ্গিনীনয়নহি লুবধচকোর ॥
নীলেন্দীবর- সুনন্দর লোচন
অঙ্গন অরুণ তরুণচিতচোর ।
মাগিক-অধর মনোহর বংশী
রসের উরজিম মোহিতমোর ॥
অমিয়াবচন প্রবণ-অমুরঞ্জন
গঞ্জন নীরদভাব ।
এক আর অহুশম অগমনমোহন
হাসি বেন বিজুপ্রকাশ ॥

নাগা ভিলকুল রঙ্গিনমুকুতা
বলকত কুণ্ডল গণ্ডহি লোল ।
টাচরকেশ- পাশ নববাগী
তহিঁ পর শিখিবরটান উজোর ॥

কুসুমবিরচিত ভিলকবিরাজিত
রাজিত জঁমু বিজরাজ-কি রাজ ।
ও তমু-অভরণ তড়িদিব নবঘন
উর পর বনি বনমাল বিরাজ ॥
লীলালাবণি অবনি ভরল রূপ
নখমণিদরপণি তিমির বিনাশে ॥
রায় বসন্ত-মন সেবই অহুখন
ঐছন চরণকমলমধু-আশে ॥
১০২ ॥ [১৪০-১৪১] ॥

সখি হে, তন শুন বংশী কিবা বোলে ।
আনন্দ-আধার কিরে সে নাগর
আইলা কদম্ব-তলে ॥

বাঁশরীনিসান শুনিতে পরাণ
নিকাশ হইতে চায় ।
শিখিল সকল ভেল কলেবর
মন মুকুছই তার ॥

নাম বেঢ়াজাল খেয়াতি অগতে
সহজে বিষম বাঁশী ।
কান্ন-উপদেশে কেবল কঠিন
কামিনী মোহন কাঁসি ॥

কি মোব কি শুণ একই না গণে
না বুঝে সবার কাজ ।
রায় বসন্তের পছ বিনোদিয়া
তাহে কি লোকের লাজ ॥

১০৩ ॥ [১৪২] ॥

দ্বিজ গজান্নাম

নিমিখ বারব সুদীঠে পেখব

গৌরবদন স্থঠাম রে ।

নিজহ কেতন হরব চেতন

করব অমিঞাসিনান রে ॥

গৌরবর দ্বিজরাজ রে ।

আপ ঘর পর নগর-মাঝহি

দূরে সুখচয় ভাজ(ব) রে ॥

হব কি শুভদিন বাস পহিরণ

ভূষণগণ করি সাজ রে ।

দেবদুলহ সফলমাহুব

আনন্দসাগর-মাঝ রে ॥

খান ভেজব গান তান সৌ

গাঅব কবহ সুমেলি রে ।

সঘনে ঘনঘন হেরব পুনপুন

গৌরসুন্দর-সুকেলি রে ॥

ছুটব সঙ্কট এ শুভ-নিকট

ত্রাণ পায়ব ভব-মাঝ রে ।

গজান্নাম দ্বিজ কবহ হেরব

গৌর-লীলারস রে ॥

১০৪ ॥ [১৪৩] ।

কবিরাজ

উদসল কুন্তলভারা ।

সুরতি শিকারলখিনী অবতারা ॥

অতিশয় প্রেমবিকারা ।

কামিনী করত পুরুষবিহারা ॥

ভোলত মোতিবহারা ।

বায়ুনজলে বৈছে দূষক ধারা ॥

কুচকুন্ত পালটলবরনা ।

রস-অমিয়া জহু চারল নয়না ॥

৫৪

প্রিয়তম কর তহিঁ দেবা ।

সরসিজ-মাছে জহু রহল চকেবা ॥

কঙ্কণ কিঙ্কণী বাজে ।

জয় জয় ডিণ্ডিম মদন সমাজে ॥

রসিকশিরোমণি কান ।

কবিরঞ্জন রস ভাণ ॥

১০৫ ॥ [১৪৫] ॥

কান্না শেখর

নিরুপম কাঞ্চন- রচিতরকলেবর-

লাবণি বরণি না হোই ।

নিরমল বদন বচন অমিয়াসার

লাজে সুধাকর যোই ॥

হেরলুঁ রে সখি, রসময় গৌর ॥

বেশবিলাসে মদন ভেল ভোর ॥

লোল অলককুল তিলক সুরঞ্জিত

নাসা খগপতি-উন ।

ভাঙ কামান বাণ দৃগঞ্চল

চন্দনরেখ তাহে গুণ ॥

কঙ্কণে মণি- হার বিরাজিত

কামকলকিতশোভা ।

চরণ-অলঙ্কৃত- মঞ্জীর-বস্ত্রত

রায় শেখর-মন লোভা ॥

১০৬ ॥ [১৪৭]

কুন্দনকনক- কমলকচিনিন্দিত

সুরধুনীতীরবিহারী ।

কুঞ্চিতকণ্ঠ- কলিতকুসুমাকুল

কুলকামিনীমনোহারী ॥

জয় জয় জগজীবন যশোধীর ।

জাহ্নবী যমুনা যেন জলধর বরিতখন

ঐছে নয়নে বহে নীর ॥

পহ্মিনীপূর্ব- পিরীতে পূলকায়িত
 পরিজনপ্রেমপসারী ।
 পহিরণ পীত- পতনি পতিতাকুল
 পদপঙ্কজপরচারী ॥
 রসবতীরমণী- রঞ্জনরুচিরানন
 রতিপতি রঞ্জিত তায় ।
 রসিক-রসায়ন রসময়-ভাষণ
 রচয়তি শেখর-রায় ॥

১০৭ ॥ [১৪৮]

বচন কহসি আনভাতি ।
 কা সঙ্গে বকলি রাতি ॥
 হৃদয়নয়নগতিরীত ।
 হেরইতে পায়লু ভীত ॥
 ইহ রসকাহিনী কহই ।
 উচিতবচন গুহি রচই ॥
 রায় শেখর অমুখানে ।
 রাইক অমিয়াসিনানে ॥

১০৯ ॥ [১৫০] ॥

কাজরকুচিহর রয়নী বিশালা ।
 তছু পর অভিসার কর ব্রজবালা ॥
 স্বর সঙ্গে নিকসয়ে বৈছন চোর ।
 নিশবদপদগতি চললিহ ধোর ॥
 উনমতচিত অতি আরতিবিধার ।
 গুরুয়া নিতম্ব নবযৌবনভার ॥
 কমলিনী মাথা খিনি উচ কুচজোর ।
 ধাধসে চলু কত ভাবে বিভোর ॥
 রঙ্গিণী সঙ্গিনী নব নব জোরা ।
 নব-অমুখাগিণী নবরসে ভোরা ॥
 অঙ্গক অভরণ বাসয়ে ভার ।
 নৃপুর কিঙ্কিণী তেজল হার ॥
 লীলাকমল উপেখলি রামা ।
 মধুরগতি চলু ধরি সখী শ্রামা ॥
 যতনহি নিঃসরু নগর দুরন্তা ।
 শেখর অভরণ ভেল বহস্তা ॥

১০৮ ॥ [১৪৯]

ও মোর বাছনো ধনী সতীকুলশিরোমণি
 খনেক বিশ্রাম কর সুখে ।
 না হয় উছর বেলা সখী সঙ্গে কর খেলা
 কপুরতাবুল দেহ সুখে ॥
 রূপ গুণ কাজ তোর পরাণ নিছনি মোর
 ভুতিয়া স্বপনে দেখেঁ সদা ।
 তোমা হেন গুণনিধি আমারে না দিল বিধি
 হৃদয়ে রহিয়া গেল সাধা ॥
 ধাতার মাধায় বাজ যেন হেন করে কাজ
 আমারে ভাঙিল কোন দোষে ।
 বাছার বিবাহ তরে হেন নারী নাহি পূরে
 চাহিয়া না পাই কোন দেশে ॥
 যশোদাবিষাদ কথা শুনি বুঝভানুহুতা
 বদনে বসন দিয়া হাসে ।
 পূলকে পুরল গা মুখে না নিঃসরে রা
 ভাসিল রাগীর মেহরসে ॥

শেখর সরস করি কহে শুন ব্রজেশ্বরী
 রাধিকা তোমার হেন আনি ।
 সখা সব পূরে বেণু খিড়িকে ডাকিছে ধেমু
 সাজাও গা রাখালশিরোমণি ॥

১১০ ॥ [১৫০-১৫১] ॥

তুআ অঙ্গে পীতিমচীরে ।
 কুচযুগ দংশল কীরে ॥
 অধর বিষুকল তোরি ।
 কো রস নেল নিচোরি ॥

ভূপতি

মদনকুঞ্জ তেজি চলি চতুর দূতী
পবনক গতি সম গেল ।

ক্ষিতি নখে লেখি দেখি মুখ ঝাঁপল
রাই উত্তর নাহি দেল ॥

চতুরী দূতী তব • মনহি বিচারল
কহত ললিতা সঞে বাত ।

কাহে বিমুখ ভই বৈঠলি দুবরী
কি ভেল আজুক রাত ॥

হেরি ললিতা সখী মুহু মুহু বোলত
হামারি করম মতি ভেলি ।

নাগরকিশোর কুঞ্জে নিশি বঞ্চল
চন্দ্রাবলী সঞে কেলি ॥

হাসি হাসি নিয়ড়ে যাই দূতী বইঠল
কহতহি মধুরিমবাণী ।

ইহ লখুদোখে রোখ যব মানসি
কো কহে তোহে সিয়ানী ॥

উঠ উঠ স্কন্দরি মান দূর করি
বাহ পসারি করু কোর ।

ফটকি হাত বাত নাহি শুনল
কোপে ভরল তহু জোর ॥

রাইক নিঠুর- বচন শুনি সহচরী
কোপে ভরল সব গাত ।

ভূপতিনাথ রোখে তব বোলত
যবহু ফটকল হাত ॥

১১১ ॥ [১৫৩-১৫৪]

চম্পতি

সো সবশঠগুণ- গুরুবর গুরুতর
অছু গুণ জলনিধিসার ।

হাম অবলা অভি তাহে হুখিতমতি
কৈছনে পাইয়ে পার ॥

সজনি, আর কত কর পরলাপ

সো মুখে যৈছন করলহি অপমান
সো বড় হৃদয়ক তাপ ॥

বো বরনারী সার করি লেয়ল
সো পদ সেবউ আনন্দে ।

তাকর লাগি জাগি নিশি রোয়উ
পীবউ সো মকরন্দে ॥

তাহে লাগি অন্ন পাণী সব তেজউ
জপ করু তাকর নাম ।

চম্পতিপতি-কর সোই যুবতীবর
গাওত তছু গুণগাম ॥

১১২ ॥ [১৫৪] ॥

মোহন-দাস

বন সঞে আওত নন্দহুলাল ।

গোধূলিধূসর- শ্রামকলেবর
আজাহুলখিতবনমাল ॥

ঘনঘনশৃঙ্গ- বেণুরব শুনইতে
বরজবাসিগণ ধায় ।

মঙ্গল ধারি দীপ করে বধুগণ
মন্দিরদ্বারে দাঁড়ায় ॥

পীতাম্বরধর মুখ জিনি বিধুবর
নবমঞ্জরী-অবতংস ।

চুড়া ময়ূর- শিখণ্ডকমণ্ডিত
বায়ই মোহনবংশ ॥

বরজবাসিগণ বালবুদ্ধজন
অনিমিখে মুখশলী হেরি ।

ভূখিল চকোর চাঁদ জন্ত পাওল
মন্দিরে না চলয়ে ফেরি ॥

A HISTORY OF BRAJABULI

গোগণ সবহঁ গোষ্ঠে পরবেশল
 মন্দিরে চলু নন্দলাল ।
 আকুল পছে বশোমতী আওল
 মোহন-ভণিত রসাল ॥

১১৩ ॥ [১৫৬] ॥

কহইতে রাইক গরগর অন্তর
 লোচন বরবর বারি ।
 সব সহচরীগণ কাতর-অন্তর
 মোহন সহই না পারি ॥

১১৫ ॥ [১৫৮] ॥

৬

দধি দ্বুত গোরসে সাজাইরা পসার ।
 চীরহি ঝাঁপন দেওল তার ॥
 কিঙ্করীগণ সব শির পর নেল ।
 মুখরা সঙ্গে ধনী তহিঁ চলি গেল ॥
 সহচরীসজ্জি বিনোদিনী রাই ।
 দুরহি কান্থক দরশন পাই ॥
 গুলকে গুল তম্বু গদগদ বোল ।
 ঘামহি ভীগল নীলনিচোল ॥
 কো ইহ কেলিকদম্বক মূল ।
 নবমেঘে বিকুরীজড়িত সমতুল ॥
 বাহ তুলিরা উহ ডাকয়ে কার্য ।
 মুখরা কহয়ে ইহ নবরসরায় ॥
 পছহি মাগয়ে গোরসদান ।
 মোহন কহে মোহে ঐছন ভান ॥

১১৪ ॥ [১৫৭] ॥

বল্লভ-দাস

গোরাগুণে আছিল ঠাকুর শ্রীনিবাস ।
 নরোত্তম রামচন্দ্র গোবিন্দদাস ॥
 একুকালে কোথা গেল দেখিতে না পাই ।
 থাকুক দেখিবার কাজ শুনিতে না পাই ॥
 যে করিল জগজনে করুণা প্রচুর ।
 হেন প্রভু কোথা গেল আচার্য্যঠাকুর ॥
 রাধাকৃষ্ণলীলাগুণ যে কৈল প্রচার ।
 কোথা গেল শ্রীআচার্য্যঠাকুর আমার ॥
 হৃদয়মাঝারে মোর রহি গেল শেল ।
 জীতে আর প্রভু সঙ্গে দরশ না ভেল ॥
 এ ছার জীবনে মোর নাহি আর আশ ।
 সঙ্গে করি লেহ প্রভু এ বল্লভ-দাস ॥

১১৬ ॥ [১৫৯-১৬০] ॥

সময় বসন্ত সবহঁ মন তোষই
 কাননে কুসুমবিকাশ ।
 মলয়াচলহিঁ ভুজগভয়ে মাক্ত
 চলত হিমাচল-পাশ ॥
 এ সখি, ঐছন স্নহদয় মাহ ।
 কা সঞে কান্ত কাম পরিপূরয়ে
 মধু উদবেগ বাঢ়াহ ॥
 অভিষয় চপল-চরিত অতি লম্পট
 হামারি মরম নাহি জান ।
 ইহ স্নহসময়ে আন সঞে বিলসয়ে
 এতহঁ কি সহয়ে পরাণ ॥

স্বন্দরি, তুহঁ বড়ি হৃদয়পাষণ ।
 কান্তক নবমী-দশা হেরি সহচরী
 ধরই না পার পরাণ ॥
 কতরে কীণতম্বু কহই না পারিয়ে
 তেজত তাহে বনবাসে ।
 ভেজত পরাণ ঐছে অহুমানিয়ে
 রহত তোহারি আশোয়াসে ॥
 কি জানিয়ে কি খনে নেহারল তুরা রূপ
 তব বরি আকুল ভেলি ।
 খনে খনে চমকি চমকি অব মুকুহয়ে
 হেরি রোরত সখী বেলি ॥

কোই বব ভোহারি নাম কহে শ্রবণহিঁ
তবহিঁ নয়ন পরকাশ ।

এতহঁ নিদেশ কহল তোহে সুল্লরি
পায়রি বল্লভ-দাস ॥

১১৭ ॥ [১৬১] ॥

ও মুখ শরদ- স্রধাকরসুল্লর
ইহ নলিনীদল গঞ্জে ।

ও তম্ব নবঘন- সুল্লর রঞ্জিত
ইহ ধিরদামিনীপুঞ্জে ॥

দেখ রাধামাধব জোরি ।

ছহঁ ক পরশরসে ছহঁ পুলকায়িত
ছহঁ দোহাঁ রহল আগোরি ॥

ও নবনাগর সবগুণে আগোর
ইহ সে কলাবতীসীম ।

ও অতি চতুর- শিরোমণি বিদগধ
এ সব গুণহি গরীম ॥

মধুরবন্দাবনে শ্রামগোরীতম্ব
ছহঁ নবকিশোরীকিশোর ।

নরোত্তম-দাস আশ চরণে রহ
ত্রীবল্লভ-মন ভোর ॥

১১৮ ॥ [১৬০] ॥

নরে নরোত্তম ধন্ত গ্রন্থকার-অগ্রগণ্য
অগণ্যপুণ্যের একাধার ।

সায়নে সাধকপ্রের্ত দয়াতে অতি গরিষ্ঠ
ইষ্ট প্রীতি ভক্তি চমৎকার ॥

‘চক্রিকা’ পঞ্চম সার তিন ‘মণি’ সারাৎসার
‘শুষ্ক শিষ্য সংবাদ পটল’ ।

জিহুবনে অমুপার ‘প্রার্থনা’ গ্রন্থের নাম
‘হাটপত্তন’ মধুর কেবল ॥

রচিলা অসংখ্যপদ হৈয়া ভাবে গদগদ
কবিত্বের সম্পদ সে সব ।

যেবা শুনে যেবা পড়ে যেবা তাহা গান করে
সেই জানে পদের গৌরব ॥

সদা সাধুসুখে শুনি ত্রীচৈতন্ত আসি পুনি
নরোত্তমরূপে জনমিলা ।

নরোত্তম গুণাধার বল্লভে করহ পার
জলেতে ভাসাও পুনি শিলা ॥

১১৯ ॥ [১৬২] ॥

কবিরাজভ

সখি হে, কি পুছসি অমুভব মোয় ।

সোই পিরীতি-অম্ব- রাগ বাধানিয়ে
অম্বখন নৌতুন হোয় ॥

জনম অবধি হৈতে ও রূপ নেহারলুঁ
নয়ন না তিরপিত ভেলা ।

লাখ লাখ যুগ হাম হিয়ে হিয়ে মুখে মুখে
হৃদয় জুড়ন নাহি গেলা ।

বচন-অমিয়ারস অম্বখন শুনলুঁ
শ্রুতিপথে পরশ না ভেলি ।

কত মধুযামিনী রতসে গোয়াঁয়লুঁ
না বুঝলুঁ কৈছন কেলি ॥

কত বিদগধজন রস অম্বমোদই
অম্বভব কাহ না শেখি ।

কহ কবিরাজভ হৃদয় জুড়াইতে
মীলয়ে কোটি-মে একি ॥

১২০ ॥ [১৬৩] ॥

বিদ্যাবল্লভ

কণে কণে নয়ন কোণ অম্বসরই ।

কণে [কণে] বসন ধুলি ডর ডরই ॥

কণে কণে দশনক খটাখটি হাস ।
 কণে কণে (এক) অধর-আগে গহে বাস ॥
 বালা শৈশব তরুণিম ভেট ।
 লখই না পারিয়ে জেঠ কনেঠ ॥
 হৃদয়জ মুকুলিত হেরি থোরি থোরি ।
 কণে অঞ্চল দেই কণে ভয়ে ভোরি ॥
 চঙকি চলয়ে কণে কণে চলে মন্দ ।
 মনমথপাঠ-কে করে অনুবন্ধ ॥
 দূতি সঞানি করহ সোই ঠাট ।
 পণ্ডিত হামহি পুঢ়ায়ব পাঠ ॥
 চেতন যবু ঝবকেতন মন্দ ।
 অবগাহি লেই শিখাও রসমন্ড ॥
 আপন তনকাঞ্চলি হামে দেয়ই ।
 বতনহি প্রেমরতন ভরি লেয়ই ॥
 বিদ্যাবল্লভ ইহ আজীব ।
 ইহা বিম্বু হুঁক জীউ না জীব ॥

১২১ ॥ [১৬৫] ॥

রাধাবল্লভদাস

সজনি, অপক্লপ পেখলুঁ বালা ।
 হিমকরমদন- মিলিত মুখমণ্ডল
 তা পর জলধরমালা ॥
 চঞ্চলনয়নে হেরি মুখে সুন্দরী
 মুচকাছাই ফিরি গেল ।
 তৈতনে মরনে মদনজ্বর উপজল
 জীবইতে সংশয় ভেল ॥
 অহনিশি শয়নে সপনে আন না হেরিয়ে
 অনুখন সোই ধোয়ান ।
 তাকর পিরীতি-কি রীতি নাহি সমুঝিয়ে
 আকুল অধির পরাণ ॥
 মরমক বেদন তোহে পরকাশল
 তুহঁ অতি চতুরী সজান ।
 সোপুন মধুর মুরতি দরশায়বি
 রাধাবল্লভ গান ॥

১২৩ ॥ [১৬৭] ।

বিদ্যাপতি

খেনে খেনে নয়ন কোণ অনুসরই ।
 খেনে খেনে বসন ধূলি তম্বু ভরই ॥
 খেনে খেনে দশনছটাছটা হাস ।
 খেনে খেনে অধর-আগে কক বাস ॥
 চউকি চলয়ে খেনে খেনে চলু মন্দ ।
 মনমথপাঠ পহিল অনুবন্ধ ॥
 হৃদয়জ মুকুলিত হেরি হেরি ধোর ।
 খেনে আঁচর দেই খেনে হয়ে ভোর ॥
 বালা শৈশবে তাকরণ ভেট ।
 লখই না পারিয়ে জেঠ কনেঠ ॥
 বিদ্যাপতি কহে স্তন বর কান ।
 তরুণিম শৈশব চিহ্নই না জান ॥

১২২ ॥ [১৬৬] ॥

সুন্দরি সুবদনি, তুহঁ অগেয়ান ।
 গিরিধর পুরুথ তরুণ নবকৈশোর
 অনুখন তোহারি ধোয়ান ॥
 যছু মুখ কোটি- শরদশশিলাবণি
 সো তুয়া দরশন আশে ।
 যছু রূপ ললিত মদন মুরছায়ই
 সো তুয়া পরশ অভিলাষে ॥
 যছু গুণ অখিল- ভুবন কক কীর্তন
 তুয়া গুণে তছু মন ভোর ।
 কো বিহি অপক্লপ তোহে নিরমায়ল
 শ্রামহৃদয়বগিচোর ॥
 সুপুরুষপিরীতি- অমিয়াসুখসাগর
 অতয়ে করবি অবগাহ ।
 তাকর বচনে জীউ নিরমহুহ
 লাজ ধরম গেহ নাহ ॥

সো স্বকুমার- হৃদয় ভেল আকুল
 মীলহ তাহে অতি সাধে ।
 কহ রাধাবল্লভ যবহঁ না মীলহ
 প্রেম করব পরমাদে ॥

১২৪ ॥ [১৬৮] ॥

মনমোহনিয়া গোরা ভুবনমোহনিয়া ।
 হাসির ছটা চাঁদের ঘটা বরিখে অমিয়া ॥
 রূপের ছটা যুবতিঘটা বুক ভরিতে চায় ।
 মনগরবের মানঘর ভাঁগিল মদনরায় ॥
 রঙ্গীন পাটের ডোর ছইদিকে সোনার নুপুর পায় ।
 বুহুর বুহুর বেজ্যা যায় কাম চমকে তায় ॥
 মালতী ফুলে ভ্রমর বুলে নব লোটনের দাম ।
 কলকামিনীর মান মজিল গীমদোলনীর ঠাম ॥
 আঁখির ঠারে প্রাণে মারে কৈতে সৈতে নারি ।
 রাধাবল্লভ-দাসে কয় মন করিলে চুরি ॥

১২৫ ॥ [১৬৯] ॥

সাধনভজন-কো ভেদ বাতায়
 ভবাবুধি-কো ভেলা ।
 বৈসা গুরু হরিদাস জীউ
 তৈসা রঘুনাথ চেলা ॥

ধন দৌলত কোঠা এয়ারত
 সবহ সম্পদ ছাড়ি ।

ভরা যৌবন-মে রঘুনাথ-দাস
 ভৈ গেল ভিখারী ॥

দেশ দেশান্তর ঘুমি ঘুমি •
 বৃন্দাবন চলে শেষ ।

কঠোর সাধন কয়ল কত
 অস্থিচর্ম শেষ ॥

রাধাকৃষ্ণ ভজি ভজি
 দেহ কয়ল পাত ।

রাধাবল্লভ সো পদপল্লব
 সদাই ধরত মাথ ॥

১২৬ ॥ [১৭০/১]

‘রাধা-দাস’

ধনি ধনি গোবর্দ্ধন-দাস
 ধনি চাঁদপুর গ্রাম ।

ধনি গোবর্দ্ধন-কো পুরোহিত
 আচার্য্য বলরাম ॥

• যছু গৃহ কয়ল ধনি
 সাধু ত হরিদাস ।

• সাধন ভজন কয়ল বহ
 রঘু যছুক পাশ ॥

গোবর্দ্ধন-কো নন্দন রঘুনাথ
 অতিহঁ মহৎ ।

.....হরিদাস নিয়ড়ে
 পড়ল ভাগবত ॥

গুনিয়া কামর কটু কাতর কাগিনী ।
 হেটমুখ হৈয়া সব লেখএ ধরণী ॥
 পুন পুন নয়ানে বয়ন ধরি ধরি ।
 পরাণ হরিল আগে ও রূপমাদুরী ॥
 পুন্ম মুরলীর স্বরে আনিল টানিয়া ।
 এ[বে সে] ধরমপদ দেহ বুঝাইয়া ॥
 পতিকুলসত্তী জাতি জীবন যৌবনে ।
 ব্রজবধু ঈপিয়াছে ও রাঙ্গাচরণে ॥
 জীবধপাতকে হে তোমার নাহি ভয় ।
 পূতনা আবালকালে বধ মহাশয় ॥
 গোপিকা বধিলে এবে পুরিবেক সাধ
 বিব মিথাইয়া পুর মুরলীর নাদ ॥

বে হোক সে হোক গোপী তোমার চরণে ।
রাধাদাস কহে নিল অভয়শরণে ॥
১২৭ ॥ [১৭২] ॥

সুখময় বৃন্দাবিনি সুখ[য]য়-
রাসরভসরঙ্গিয়া ।
বিহরে মাধব মধুর কামিনী
বৃন্দা-রোহিণী সঙ্গিয়া ॥
চারু..... গণ্ড চূষন
উরজখণ্ডনভাতিয়া ।
বন্ধ নীবির মুগ্ধত অঞ্চল
মালতোড়ল ছাড়িয়া ॥
কুজিত কণ্ঠ- নিনাদ (স্ব)মধুর
বলয়া নুপুর কাঞ্চিয়া ।
তোষি রতিপতি- অঙ্গের বসতি
বৃন্দা নিশিরসরঙ্গিয়া ॥
বেশভূষণ- কেশ বিগলিত
.....অঙ্গুরী ভাতিয়া ।
প্রবীণ কামিনী কাহ্ন নিজকরে
কত ভূষণকাঁতিয়া ॥
অধিকগৌরব- গর্বে গরবতী
গৌরীমণ্ডলছাতিয়া ।
গুপতকাননে কাহ্ন গোপিনী
রাধাদাস অনাধিয়া ॥
১২৮ ॥ [১৭৩]

প্রসাদ-দাস

সবহঁ মিলিত যমুনাতীর
অঞ্জলি পুরি পিয়ত নীর
বৈঠল তহিঁ তরুর ছায়
বীচ নন্দনন্দনা !

নবীননীরদবরণজোতি
নাসায়ে ললকে ঝলকে মোতি
উরে বিলম্বিত কদম্বমাল
ভালে ভিলকচন্দনা ॥

কুন্দকলিকাকুলিতচূড়ে
মন্দপবনে বরিহা উড়ে
কটিতটে কিয়ে পীত বসন
বাহে শোভিত কঙ্কণ

হসিতললিত বদন-ইন্দু
অলপে উপজে ঘরমবিন্দু
লোভ নয়নকমলযুগল
তাহে ললিত অঞ্জনা ॥

নখর উজ্জোর বৈছন চন্দ
চকোরনিকর লাগল ধন্দ
লুবধ হেরি চরণে ঘেরি
সঘনে করত চূষনা ।

অরুণ অধরে পুরত বেণু
ঘনাইয়া ঘেরত সবহঁ ধেমু
সহজে স্তম্ভরী বিয়হে ভোর
দূরে বরজ-অঞ্জনা ॥

শুনি শুনি গোপী হরল বোল
ভাবে অবশ চিত বিভোল
রহি রহি রহি চমকি উঠত
ধরহি ধরহি কম্পনা ॥

অনেক যতনে চেতন পাই
চলি বাঁহা স্তম্ভরী রাই
ফেরি হেরত বেরি বেরি
ঐছন মনরঞ্জন

১ হলে 'বিভোর' ।

দাস প্রসাদ করত আশ
অমিয়া-অধিক মধুরভাব
তুনি ভিরপিত শ্রবণ সুখ

তাপনিকরভঙ্গনা ॥

১২৯ ॥ [১৭৭-১৭৫] ॥

পহিল সমাগম লাগি এত দুখ ।
পুন মীলনে কত পারবি সুখ ॥
এঁহে বচন শুনি কহে যুঁহু হাসি ।
শিবরাম-দাস ইহ রস পরকাশি ॥

১৩১ ॥ [১৭৭]

ব্রজানন্দ

•নাগরনিকট সঞে দোতী আওল
রাই সুনাগরী-ঠাম ।
শ্রামক কত দুখ দেখই না পারিয়ে
কহইতে আরলুঁ হাম ॥
কো জানে কখন দেখল তোহে শ্রামর
তুয়া রূপ করত ধোয়ান ।
রাধানামে দ্বিগুণ তনু মোড়ই
ধৈরজ না ধরি পরাণ ॥
শুন কহি সুল্লরি তোয় ।
সো হেন সুনাগর সবগুণসাগর
তোহে সে পুরুষবধ হোয় ॥
তুঁহঁ রমণীধনী- মুকুটশিরোমণি
মোহে না কর আন ছন্দ ।
কহ ব্রজানন্দ বিলম্ব না কর ধনি
হেরহ শ্রামর চন্দ ॥

১৩০ ॥ [১৭৩]

শ্রাম রাসরসরঙ্গিয়া ।
নব যুবরাজ যুবতিসঙ্গিয়া ॥

চঞ্চলগতি- চরণে চলত
সঙ্গীতস্বরঙ্গিয়া ।
নাচে মনোহর গতি
..... অঙ্গভঙ্গিয়া ॥
বীণ-অধিক বিবিধ যন্ত্র
বাওয়ে উপাঙ্গিয়া ।
মধুর তাল ধই ধই ধই
বোলত সুদঙ্গিয়া ॥

কাছ লপত সুরমোহন
লাল মঞ্জীর মান রি ।
কচির তা তা ধৈয়া ধৈয়া ধৈয়া
গাওত সুরতান রি ॥
বৃষভানন্দিনী কিশোরী গৌরী
গাওত অমুপাম রি ।
শিবরাম আনন্দে নাহিক গুর
হেরত রসধাম রি ॥

১৩২ ॥ [১৭৭-১৭৮] ॥

শিবরাম-দাস

এঁহন শুনইতে সুগন্ধিনী রমণী ।
সখীগণ-ইঙ্গিতে অবনতবয়নী ॥
লাজে বচন নাহি করে পরকাশ ।
সখীগণ কহতহি প্রিয়ত্তর ভাব ॥
কহইতে না কহলি রজনীক কাজ ।
হানারি শপতি তোহে, যদি কর লাজ ।

শ্রীমদাস

রাখে প্যারি আয়ে বাওয়ে রবাব ।
একহি লোচন যন্ত্রতরঙ্গি
ঔর কাছসুখ-নাথ ॥

ঈষত্তনাচনি গীষদোলনি
অলকভিলক সাজ ।

হেরি মুরছিত শ্রামসুন্দর
অথরে মুরলী বাজ ॥

ক্রম আবেশিত পুলকচর্চিত
মোর নাচে ছুঁ-পাশ ।

রাই রঙ্গিণী চৌদিকে বেঢ়ল
শ্রামদাস তছু আশ ॥

১৩৩ ॥ [১৭৯] ॥

অদুনন্দন-দাস

পরিজনসুধারসবাণী ।
না শুনসি কাছে অগেয়ানী ॥
বাঢ়ায়সি কাছে অতি রোষ ।
না গুণসি হরিগুণদোষ ॥
মিছাই যানে দহ রাই ।
কাহে তছু সূতাপসি তাই ॥
তোহে লাগি সূতাপিত কান ।
অতরে তেজহ তুহঁ যান ॥
হৃদয়ে করুণা উপজাই ।
দিষ্টিকোণে নিরখি কানাঞি ॥
অতিকাতর রসরাজ ।
এ যখনন্দন কহে কাজ ॥

১৩৪ ॥ [১৮১]

সো বরনাগররাজ ।

তপনতনয়াভটে নীপতরু-নিকটে
হিলন নটবরসাজ ॥

মরকতরতন-মুরুর জিনি লাবণি
প্রতিতমু পিরৌতিপসার ।

শারদচাঁদ-কুণ্ডল শ্রবণে বিহার ॥

নাচত ভাঙ-মদনবহুভঙ্গিম
দিটি খঞ্জননটজোর ।

বাঙ্গুলি-অথরে মুরলীরবধাধুরী
উমতায়ল মন মোর ॥

উড়ত চুড়ে চারুশিখিচন্দ্রক
মন্দপবন সঙ্গে মেল ।

কহে যখনন্দন শ্রবণরসায়ন
তছু মন সব হরি নেল ॥

১৩৫ ॥ [১৮১] ॥

কদম্বের বন হৈতে কিবা শব্দ আচর্ষিতে
আসিঞা পশিল মোর কানে ।

অমৃত নিছিয়া পেলি সুরমাধুর্য্যপদাবলী
কি জানি কেমন করে মনে ॥

সখি হে, নিশ্চয় করিয়া কহি তোহে ।

হা হা কুলরমণীর গ্রহণ করিতে ধীর
যাতে কোন দশা কৈল মোহে ॥

শুনিয়া মলিতা কহে অজ্ঞ কোন শব্দ নহে
মোহনমুরলীধ্বনি এহ ।

সে শব্দ শুনিয়া কেনে হৈলে তুমি বিমোহনে
রহ তুমি চিন্তে ধরি ধেহ ॥

রাই কহে কেবা হেন মুরলী বাজায় বেন
বিবামৃতে মিশাল করিঞা ।

হিম নহে ততু তছু কাঁপাইছে হিমে জম্ব
প্রতি তছু গীতল করিঞা ॥

অজ্ঞ নহে মনে ফুটে কাটারিতে বেন কাটে,
ছেদন না করে হিয়া মোর ।

তাপ নহে উষ্ণ অতি পোড়ায়ে আমার মতি
বিচারিতে না পাইয়ে গুর ॥

এতক কহিয়া ধনী উবেগ বাড়িল জনি
নারে চিত্ত প্রবোধ করিতে ।

কহে শুন আরে সখি তুমি মিথ্যা কৈলে দেখি
মুরলীর নহে হেন রীতে ॥

কোন স্নানাগর এই মোহময় পড়ে যেই
হরিতে আমার ধৈর্য যত ।

দেখিয়া এ সব রীত চমক লাগিল চিত
দাস যখনন্দনের মত ॥

১৩৬ ॥ [১৮২-১৮৩, ২২২-২২৩] ১

•

সৌন্দর্য অমৃতসিন্ধু তাহার তরঙ্গবিন্দু
তরুণীর চিত্তাঙ্গি ডুবায় ।

কৃষ্ণরম্যানন্দকথা শুধু শুধাময় গাথা
তরুণীর কর্ণানন্দময় ॥

সখি হে, কহ এবে কি করি উপায় ।
কৃষ্ণাঙ্গমাদুরীছান্দে সর্বেন্দ্রিয়গণ বান্ধে
বলে পঞ্চেন্দ্রিয় আকর্ষয় ॥

কোটচন্দ্রসুশীতল- অঙ্গ ক্রিতিতাপহর
গন্ধসুধা জগৎ প্রাবিত ।

অধর-অমৃতসার কি কহিব সখি আর
বিচারিতে সব বিপরীত ॥

নবীনজলদহ্যতি বসন বিজুলিভাঁতি
ত্রিভঙ্গিম বস্ত্রবেশ ভায় ।

মুখপদ্ম জিনি চান্দ নয়ন কমলফান্দ
মোর নেত্র সেই আকর্ষয় ॥

মেঘ জিনি কণ্ঠধ্বনি নুপুরকিঙ্গিণীমণি
মুরলীমধুরধ্বনি ভায় ।

সনপ্তবচনভাঁতি রমাদির মোহে মতি
কর্ণস্পৃহা তাহাতে বাঢ়ায় ॥

কৃষ্ণের অঙ্গের গন্ধ মৃগমদ করে অন্ধ
কুসুম চন্দন দিল তায় ।

অশ্রু কপ্পুর ভাতে বাহাতে যুবতী মাতে
মোর নাসা সেই আকর্ষয় ॥

বকঃস্থল পরিসর ইন্দ্রনীলমণিবর
কপাট জিনিয়া তার শোভা ।

সুবাহ অর্গলছন্দ কোটীন্দুশীতল অঙ্গ
আকর্ষয়ে সেই বকলোভা ॥

কৃষ্ণাধর অমৃতময় যার হয় ভাগ্যোদয়
তার লব সেই জন পায় ।

কৃষ্ণচর্য্যাপানশেষ জিনিয়া অমৃতদেশ
জিহ্বা মোর সেই আকর্ষয় ॥

রাধার উৎকণ্ঠাবাগী বিশাখিকা তাহা শুনি
কৃষ্ণসঙ্গ-উপায় চিন্তিতে ।

হেন কালে শুন কথা তুলসী আইলা তথা
গন্ধগুপ্প গুঞ্জার সহিতে ॥

কৃষ্ণমাল্যগুপ্প লঞা তুলসী আনন্দ পাঞা
আইলা অতি বরিতগমনে ।

তারে প্রহুস্তিত দেখি রাই মনে হৈলা স্থখী
কহে দাস এ যখনন্দনে ॥

১৩৭ ॥ [২২৫-২২৬] ১

ইন্দীবরবর- উদরসহোদর-
মেহুরমদহরদেহ ।

জাষুন্দবর- বৃন্দবিমোহিত
অশ্বরবরপরিধেয় ॥

সজনি, কে নবনাগররাজ ।

মোহনমুরলী- খুরলিকিরানন
দাহন কুলবতী লাজ ॥

১ এই পদটি দুইবার উদ্ধৃত হইয়াছে, ১৮২-১৮৩ পৃষ্ঠায়
এবং ২২২-২২৩ পৃষ্ঠায়। পেরের পাঠটিই সঙ্গততর বলিয়া
এখানে প্রকৃত হইল।

যোতিষসার হার উর-অধর
নখতরদামক ভান ।

করিকরগরব- কবলকর স্তম্বর
স্বলন বাহ স্তম্বর ॥

মদগজরাজ- রাজ গতি বহুর
অগ ভরি ভরই অনঙ্গ ।

বহনন্দন ভণ সো নন্দনন্দন
চন্দনশীতল-অঙ্গ ॥

১৩৮ ॥ [২২৭] ॥

অন্তরকুসুমশরে অন্তর অরজর
দূরে গেও লোকপরিবাদ ।

গৌররূপসায়রে জীবন (বোবন) ভারব
ইহামর মনে সাধ ॥

যত গুরুগরবিত সব হাম তেজব
না করব ফুলের বিচার ।

গোকুলানন্দের হিরা রূপের সায়র-মাঝে
ভুল না জানে সীতার ॥

১৪০ ॥ [১৮৫] ॥

দিব্যসিংহ

যব ধরি পেখলুঁ কালিন্দীভীর ।
নয়নে ঝরয়ে কত বারি অধির ॥
কাহে কহব সখি মরমক খেদ ।
চিতহি না ভায়ে কুসুমিত শেজ ॥
নবজলধর জিতি বরণ উজোর ।
হেরইতে হৃদি-মাহা শৈঠল মোর ॥
তব ধরি মনসিজ হানয়ে বাণ ।
নয়নে কাহু বিহু না হেরিয়ে আন ॥
দিব্যসিংহ কহে শুন ব্রজরামা ।
রাই কাহু একতমু হুই একঠামা ॥

১৩৯ ॥ [১৮৪]

দেখ না শ্রী অপরূপ নিকুঞ্জের মাঝে ।
রাধা শ্রাম অহুপাম কিবা সে বিরাজে ॥
চাহিতে ঝামরে আধি রূপ গোরা কাল ।
বিনোদবিনোদিনীরূপে নিধুবন আলা ॥
সমানবয়সবেশ কিশোরী কিশোর ।
হুইঁকার রূপ দেখি সবহঁ বিভোর ॥
কুঞ্জে না গুঞ্জরে অলি মউরী না নাচে ।
পিকু বিসরল ধ্বনি মুখ হেরি আছে ॥
রূপ দেখি সারী শুক বিসরল গান ।
অনিমিখে দেখে রূপ ঝরয়ে নরান ॥
আহা মরি মরি মৃগী তুল মুখে করি ।
মৃগশিশু দেখে রূপ তন মুখে করি ॥
গোকুলানন্দেতে কহে কি বলিব তাহা ।
মরি মরি বলিহারি আহা আহা আহা ॥

১৪১ ॥ [১৮৬]

১১. সুলাচন্দ

সঙ্গে পরিকর গৌরবর স্তম্বর
বাওত সুরধুনীভীর ।

ও রূপ নেহারি চিত উমতাওল
সরমভরম গেও হইলু অধীর ॥

সজনি, গৌরারূপের কভই মাধুরী ।

সতী কুলধতী হাম ঐছন বেয়াকুল
নিমিখেতে হইল বাউরী ॥

১২. শ্রীদাস

জয় রে জয় রে মোর গৌরাজরায় ।

জয় নিত্যানন্দচন্দ্র জয় গৌরভক্তবৃন্দ

সীতানাথ দেহ পদছায় ।

জয় জয় মোর

আচার্যঠাকুর

অগতি পতিত অতি ।

কল্পনা করিয়া স্বচরণে রাখ
এ মোর পাশিষ্ট মতি ॥
ভোমার চরণ ভরসা কেবল
না দেখি আর উপায় ।
মোর ছুটমনে রাখ শ্রীচরণে
এই মাগো তুয়া পায় ॥
সদা মনোরথ যে কিছু আমার
সকল জানহ তুমি ।
কহে বংশীদাস পূর সব আশ
কি আর কহিব আমি ॥
১৪২ ॥ [১৮৮]

আরে মনমথ, নাহি তুয়া ধরমবিচার ।
কো করু দেখে রোখ করু কা সঞে
বড় তুহুঁ মুকুখ গোঙার ॥
শুনহিতে রূপ- কলাগুণমাধুরী
তেঞি দিগ্ঠি হেরল কান ।
সোই বোধপতি তাহে নাহি পারলি
হৃদয়ে হানলি পাঁচবাণ ॥
কিরে শুণে রতি তোহে পতি করি মানল
নাম কে রাখল কাম ।
নাশসি কাম কুলটাপদ দেওসি
অব তোহে চীনলুঁ হাম ॥
দেবীপতি শিব জীব তুয়া রাখল
ছিরে ছিরে এ বড় দুখে ।
তা সঞে বাদ সাধি যৈছে ধাওলি
তৈছে অনল দিল মুখে ॥
অব হাম শঙ্কু আরাধব তুয়া লাগি
পুন তোহে করব বিনাশ ।
বিরহিণীগণ বেন কিরে বর কিরে বন
বাহাঁ তাহাঁ স্তখে করু বাস ॥

ধরণীক বাণী মান তুহুঁ স্তন্দরি
শঙ্কু আরাধবি কায় ।
মনমথকোট মথন করু যো জন
সো তুয়া চরণ ধোয়ার ॥
১৪৩ ॥ [১৮৯-১৯০] ॥

রসিক-দাস

না কহ রে সখি উহার কথা ।
ধিগুণ হৃদয়ে না দেহ ব্যথা ॥
যৈছন চতুরশঠের পহঁ ।
তৈছন তাহার দূতী সে তুহুঁ ॥
নিকুঞ্জে হৃদয়ে ধরল যে ।
তাহারে না কহ সেবউ সে ॥
সোই কুলবতী নিবসে যাই ।
তুরিতে গমন করহ তাই ॥
এমতি তাহারে সাধহ যাই ।
যে স্তখ পাওবি অবধি নাই ॥
পুন না আসিহ আমার পাশ ।
শুনিয়া চলল রসিক-দাস ॥
১৪৪ ॥ ১৯১ ॥

‘কুলসীদাস’

রাধা কাহ্ন নিকুঞ্জান্দির-মাথ ।
চৌদিকে ব্রজবধু মঙ্গল গাওত
তেজি কুলভয়লাজ ॥
শরদামিনী ও কুলকামিনী
তেরছনয়নে চায় ।
মদনভূজকনে রাইরে দংশল
হেলি পড়য়ে শ্রামগায় ॥
কাহ্ন-ধনুভরি রাই কোলে করি
ঔষধচূষন দান ।
নাগর নাগরী ও রসে আগরী
রাই কাহ্ন একই পরাণ ॥

সারী শুক পিক মঙ্গল গাওত
অতি সে সুললিত তান ।

বৃন্দাবন ভরি রসের বাদর
তুলসীদাস রস গান ॥

১৪৫ ॥ [১৯২] ॥

জয়কৃষ্ণ-দাস

খেয় চরায়ত বেণু বাজায়ত
যমুনাভীরপুলিনবনে ।

(প্রিয়) স্তন্যাম শ্রীদাম- সুবল মহাবল
এসব গোপসখা সগণে ॥

(নট) বেশ স্নকেশ চূড়া শিখি সাজনি
মালতীমাল প্রসন্ন গলে ।

(শ্রুতি-) পাশবিলাস- মণিমকরাকৃতি-
কুণ্ডল মণ্ডিত গণ্ডে দোলে ॥

কটি ষটি পীত বলায়নি কাছনি
কিঙ্কিণী কাঞ্চনদাম ঘনে ।

চরণকমল- দলে শশিমণ্ডিত
খণ্ডিত তাপ ভজন্ত জনে ॥

জয়কৃষ্ণদাস- পহ গোবর্দ্ধন-
ধারণধীর দেবেজ্রমণি ।

অখিল ব্রহ্মাণ্ড ভাণ্ড করি মণ্ডিত
তাকর আগে কাহাকো গণি ।

১৪৬ ॥ [১৯৬] ॥

প্রভাসে রাধার বাণী শুনিয়া গোকুলমণি
কহে তাহে করিয়া পিরীতি ।

দারুণ বিধাতা মোরে আনাইয়া এত দূরে
রাখে লয়া দূর ষারাবতী ॥

তোমার বিরহানলে সদা মোর হিয়া জলে
ভুবি ভাসি ভাবনা সাগরে ।

কি করিতে কি না করি ধৈরজ ধরিতে নারি
সদা ধ্যান করিতে তোমারে ॥

আছে ছই চারি হুজ নারায়ণশক্তিহেতু
নষ্ট কৈলে যাব বৃন্দাবনে ।

তুমি মোর ছনয়ন আমার অমূল্যধন
তোমা বিহু কে আছে ভুবনে ॥

করণনয়নে নীর ভিজিল হিয়ার চীর
পুন কহে গম্ভগদভাষা ।

জয়কৃষ্ণ-দাস ভণে করুণা করিয়ে মনে
দীনবন্ধুচরণ ভরসা ॥

১৪৭ ॥ [১৯৮] ॥

জানকীবল্লভ

কি কহব নিষ্ঠুর মুরারি ।

অব কি জিবই বরনারী ॥

তুয়া তনুনেহুজজে ।

দংশল কোমল অঙ্গে ॥

অমুখন গদ নাহি মানে ।

তাগা তুহারি ধৈয়ানে ॥

শ্রাম হু-আঁখর মন্ত ।

তে ধনী ধৈরজ অন্ত ॥

এক আছয়ে প্রতিকারে ।

তুহারি পাণি পানিসারে ॥

তুয়া দিঠি সারক আশে ।

অবহি বহই মৃদু ঝাসে ॥

শুনইতে মুরহিত কান ।

জানকীবল্লভ অগেয়ান ॥১

১৪৮ ॥ [১৯৭] ॥

গৌরুকিশোর-দাস

ফাগুয়া খেলত রঙ্গে নদীয়াবিহারী ।

গদাধর দামোদর সঙ্গে নরহরি ॥

শ্রীবাস মুকুন্দ বাহু আর শ্রীমুকুন্দ ।

গোরা-অঙ্গে ফাগু দেই নেহারে আনন্দ ॥

চৌদিকে ভক্ত সব গাওয়ে বাওয়ে তাল ।

আনন্দে নাচত পহঁ শতীর ছলল ॥

ত্ৰিযুগলকৃষ্ণ পহঁ দেই করতালি ।

গৌরকিশোর-দাস বাওয়ে বলিহারি ॥

১৪৯ ॥ [১৯৯] ॥

কিশোর-দাস?

জয় জয় জয় বিজই কুঞ্জে

কুঞ্জরবরগামিনী ।

প্রেমতরঙ্গে ভরল অঙ্গে

সঙ্গে বরজরমণী ॥

গগনমণ্ডল অতি নিরমল

শরদ সুখদ ষামিনী ।

নীল বসন হাটকবরণ

ঝলকত ঘন দামিনী ॥

জিমিকি জিমিকি রবাবপাখাজ-

ঠাম ঠামকি চলনী ।

কহু কহু কহু বুহু বুহু বুহু

বাজত নৃপুত্র কিঙ্কণী ॥

যজ্ঞ ভজ্ঞ তান যান

ধনি ধনি নবযৌবনী ।

তানা নানা নানা সুললিত বীণা

বায়ত সুবড় রমণী ॥

মিলল শ্রাম কুঞ্জধাম

অমুপামসুখশোহিনী ।

দাস কিশোর সুখের নাহি ওর

হেরি শ্রামবনমোহিনী ॥

১৫০ ॥ [২০০] ॥

কিশোরদাস

কি হেরিলাম কালিন্দীর ঘাটে

সে রূপে কোটি মদন না আটে ॥

জলদবরণ সেই যুবা ।

যুবতীর জাতিকুলডুবা ॥

হিয়া জরজর অমুরাগে ।

তা বিনে ঝগড় সব লাগে ॥

দিয়া জাতিকুলের বিদায় ।

শরণ লইলাম তছু পায় ॥

কিশোরীদাসের চিতে আগে ।

সে রূপ দেখিব চল আগে ॥

১৫১ ॥ [২০১] ॥

রামচন্দ্র-গোস্বামী

হাহা যোর কি ছার অদৃষ্ট ।

যবে গৌর প্রকটল আমার জনম নৈল

তেঞি মুঞি অধম পাপিষ্ঠ ॥

না হেরিহু গৌরচন্দ্র না হেরিহু নিত্যানন্দ

না হেরিহু অধৈত গোসাঞি ।

ঠাকুর ত্রীসরকার না হেরিহু পদ তাঁর

না হেরিহু শ্রীবাস গদাই ॥

কি মোর কশের লেখা সে সব নহিল দেখা

একা আমি কেন জনমিহু ।

সব-অবতারসার শ্রীগৌরাজ-অবতার

না দেখিহু কেন না মরিহু ॥

প্রভুর প্রিয় স্বগণ ঠাকুর বংশীবদন

সুতসুত হওঁ মুঞি তার ।

অহে গৌর নিত্যানন্দ তবে কেন মতিমন্দ

রামচন্দ্র-অতি দুরাচার ॥

১৫২ ॥ [২০২-২০৩] ॥

‘রামচন্দ্র’

কাহারে কহিব মনের কথা
কেবা যায় পরভীত ।
হিরার মাঝারে মরমবেদন
সদাই চমকে চিত ॥

গুরুজন-আগে বসিতে না পাই
সদা ছলছল আঁখি ।
পুণকে আকুল দিগ নেহারিতে
সব শ্রামময়-দেখি ॥

সখী^১ সঙ্গে যদি জলেতে বাই
সে কথা কহিল নয় ।
যমুনার জল মুকত^২ করবী
ইথে কি পরাণ রয় ॥

কুলের ধরম রাখিতে নারিলুঁ
কহিল সভার আগে ।

রামচন্দ্র কহে শ্রাম নাগর
সদাই মরমে জাগে ॥

১৫৩ ॥ [২০৩-২০৪] ॥

‘রামচন্দ্র কবিরাজ’

দেখ দেখে আরে ভাই গৌরাক্ষচাঁদ পরকাশ ।
পূর্ণিবার চান্দ যেন উদ্ভিত আকাশ ।
সিংহরাশি পৌর্ণমাসী গোরা অবতার ।
ছাড়ল যুগের ভার ধরণী নিস্তার ॥
মহীতলে আছেন যতেক জীবতাপ ।
হরল সকল পহঁ নিজহি প্রেতাপ ॥
কলিযুগে তপ যজ্ঞ নাহি কোন তত্ত্ব ।
প্রকাশিল মহাপ্রভু ‘হরে কৃষ্ণ’ মন্ত্র ॥

১. যুগ ‘সখীর’ ২. ‘আকুল’ পাঠান্তর ।

প্রেমের বাদর করি ভরিল সংসার ।
পাতকী নারকী সব পাইল নিস্তার ॥
অন্ধ অবধি বৃত করে পরকাশ ।
বিলু না পড়ল মুখে রামচন্দ্র-দাস ॥
১৫৪ ॥ [২০৫] ॥

‘বিকটহান্ন’

বিরহব্যাকুল বকুলতরুতলে
পেখলুঁ নন্দকুমার রে ।

নীলনীরজ- নয়ান-সৌ সখি
ঝরই নীর অপার রে ॥

দেখি মলয়জ- পঙ্ক যুগমদ
তামরস ঘনসার রে ।

(নিজ) পাণিপল্লবে মুদি লোচন
ধরণী পড়ু অসম্ভার রে ॥

বহয়ে মন্দ সুগন্ধ শীতল
মঞ্জু মলয়সমীর রে ।

(জহু) প্রলয়কাল-কো প্রবল পাবক
পরশে দহই শরীর রে ॥

অধিক বেপথু টুটি পড়ু ক্ষিতি
মস্তকমুকুতামাল রে ।

অনিলভরল তমালতরু জহু
মুগ্ধ স্মনসজ্জাল রে ॥

মানমণি ত্যজি স্মৃতি চলু যহি
রায় রসিক স্মজান রে ।

সুখদশ্ৰুতি অতি সরস দণ্ডক
সুখবি ভণ কণ্ঠহার রে ॥

১৫৫ ॥ [২০৭] ॥

সই প্রেম অপরাধ ।

কিশোর কিশোরী পসরা পসারি
বতসরসের কূপ ॥

নলিনীকিরণে মলিন হৈন্দু
কুমুদ মুদিত লাজে ।

চাঁদের ভরমে চকোর মাতল
হৈন্দীঘর হাসে মাখে ॥

যমুনাতরঙ্গে অরুণ উদিত
তারার পসার তথা ।

চপলা বাঁপিয়া তিমির উয়ল
কী অদভুত কথা ॥

কনকলতায় মুকুতা ফলিল
কে না পরতীত যায় ।

অম্লভবিজ্ঞন ভাবে মনে মন
কবিকণ্ঠহারে গায় ॥

১৫৬ ॥ [২০৮-২০৯] ॥

নৃপ বৈষ্ণনাথ

হাম নবনারী মাধাই ।

বলে জানি পরশহ মদন দোহাই ॥

হঠ যদি করহ হামায় ।

আরতিপরমধন কবহি না পায় ॥

অতিরসে না হইহ ভোরা ।

হাম কমলিনী তুহঁ ভুখিল ভঙরা ॥

ভঙরা নাগর ছুঁ তুলে ।

মুকুলিত কুস্মে সেহ নাহি তুলে ॥

শুন শুন বিনতি হামারা ।

সুহজে তুঁ জব রতি হাম নারী অবরা ।

লহঁ লহঁ পরশিহ মোরে ।

ভাগে না মীলয়ে ছলহ পিয়ারে ॥

এবে নব উয়ল যৌবনে ।

কাঁচ কনয়া ফল বদরীসমানে ॥

মিনতি করহঁ তুম্বা পায় ।

অবলাএ বল করিতে না জুয়ায় ॥

তুহঁ বিদগধশিরোমণি ।

মিনতি করিয়ে বোলোঁ হাম সে নবিনী ॥

নৃপ বৈষ্ণনাথ কহ ভাবি ।

বালা রমণী বহুত পুণ্য পাবি ॥

১৫৭ ॥ [২০৯-২১০] ॥

গতিগোবিন্দ

নাচে নিত্যানন্দ ভুবন-আনন্দ

বৃন্দাবনগুণ গুনিয়া ।

বাহুগু ভুলি ঘনে বলে হরি

চলত মোহনভাতিয়া ॥

কিবা সে মাদুরী বচনচাতুরী

রহ গদাধর হেরিয়া ।

মাধব গৌরীদাস মুকুন্দ শ্রীনিবাস

গাওত সময় বুঝিয়া ॥

নাচে নিত্যানন্দচাঁদ রে ।

প্রেমে গদগদ চলে আধপদ

ধরি গদাধর-হাত রে ॥

ও চাঁদবদনে হাস ঘনে ঘনে

অরুণলোচনভঙ্গিয়া ।

কুসুমহার হৃদি দোলত

সুঘড়সহচররঙ্গিয়া ॥

রাতুলচরণে মঞ্জীর বাজত

রঙ্গের নাহিক ওর ।

মনের আনন্দে শ্রীনিবাসহুত

এ গতিগোবিন্দ ভোর ॥

১৫৮ ॥ [২১০-২১৪] ॥

মনশ্যামদাস কবিরাজ

পেখলুঁ গোকুল- বসতি বেগাকুল

গোপরমণীগণ রোই ।

ভীগল বসন লাগি রহল ভঙ্গ

তোহারি গমনপথ জোই ॥

হরি হে, দূর নগরে যবু গেহ ।

কহ তুহঁ আওলি সজহি গোপ সব

তব হাম গোঁকুল ধোহ ॥

তহিঁ এক রমণী ধোরিবয়স ধনী

চিত্রপুতলী সম ঠারি ।

যব লোচনপথ- দূরহিঁ গেল রথ

তবহিঁ পড়ল তহু চারি ॥

ঘেরল সকল সখীগণ চৌদিশে

রোয়ত সখী অগেয়ান ।

কহে ঘনশ্রাম ভবহিঁ চলি আওলুঁ

পুন কিয়ে ভেল নাহি জান ॥

১৫৯ ॥ [২১৩-২১৪] ॥

কো ইহ পুন পুন করত হকার ।

হরি হাম জানি না কর পরচার ॥

পরিহরি সো গিরিকন্দরমাঝ ।

মন্দিরে কাহে আওব মুগরাজ ॥

সো হরি নহৌ মধুসূদন নাম ।

চলু কমলালয় মধুকরী-ঠাম ॥

এঁধনি সো নহ হাম ঘনশ্রাম ।

তহু বিহু গুণ কিয়ে কহে নিজ নাম ॥

শ্রামমুরতি হাম তুহঁ কি না জান ।

ভারাপতিভয়ে বৃথি অহুমান ॥

ঘর-মাহা রতনদীপ উজ্জিয়ার ।

কৈছনে পৈঠব ঘন-আঁধিয়ার ॥

রাধারমণ হাম কহি পরচার ।

রাকারজনি নহে ঘন-আঁধিয়ার ॥

পরিচয়পদ যব সব ভেল আন ।

তবহিঁ পরাভব যানল কান ॥

তৈখনে উপজল মনমধস্বর ।

অব ঘনশ্রাম-মনোরথ পুর ॥

১৬০ ॥ [২১৭-২১৮] ॥

গৌরদাস

হাম মরইতে তুহঁ মরইতে চাহ ।

অহুখন মবু হিয়া তুষদহদাহ ॥

এ সখি কীরে করব পরকার ।

সোঙরিতে নিকসয়ে জীবন হামার ॥

হামার বচনদড়কটকে জারি ।

বিদগধ নাহ গেও মুখে ছাড়ি ॥

মুঞি অতি পাণিনী কলহে বিরাজ ।

জানি মোহে তেজল নাগররাজ ॥

দারুণ প্রাণ রহ কঠিহি লাগি ।

বৃথলুঁ এই মবু করম অভাগি ॥

গৌরদাস কহ না কর সন্দেহ ।

তুয়া প্রেমে মীলব রসময়দেহ ॥

১৬১ ॥ [২৩১] ॥

সুবলচন্দ্র

দেখ নটবর নাচে শচীর কোণ্ডর হেঁ ।

হেমবরগোরাভহু প্রেমভরে ভোরা জহু

মধুরহসনকণজগমনোহর হেঁ ॥

অরুণবরণঘর- নয়নহি নীর ঢর

ভরুণ করুণ মধু মতিলর যর হেঁ ।

দেখি প্রিয় গদাধর বিপুলপুলকভর

এ ছোটে ঢে (৭) ভাঙ-ধর কামধহু ভর হেঁ ॥

হেরি ফেরি নিত্যানন্দ লাজে হেট বয়নচন্দ

ইহ রসগন্ধ পাওয়ে সুবল সুবড় হেঁ ১

১৬২ ॥ [২৩৩] ॥

সুন্দরদাস

গলিতরজভগিরি জিনি তহু সুন্দর

জাহ্নলধিত বনমাল ।

নীলবসন বনি অপরুণ শোভনি

মরকতে হীর বিশাল ॥

১ এই পদটিতে অন্ততঃ একটি কবির অর্থাৎ আছে ।

ধাওত ধবলী-পাছে বলরাম ।
চঞ্চল নয়ন ঢুলয়ে জহু পঞ্চজ
হেরি সুগন্ধ ভেল কাম ॥

উভ করে ধবলী শাওলী বলি ডাকই
কোমল বৎস লেই কান্ধে ।
সঘনে খসয়ে শিখি- পিঙ্ক মনোহর
হান্দনডুরি লেই বান্ধে ॥

বয়ান চান্দ অধর জহু বাঙ্কলী
তাহে মধুর মুহু হাস ।
বরিথয়ে অমিয়া প্রবণ ভরি পীবই
সহচর সুল্লরদাস ॥ ১৬৩ ॥

[২৩৪]

জগদানন্দ-দাস

যামিনীদিনপতি গগনে উদয় কর
কুমুদ কমল খিতি-মাখ ।
অপরশে ছুহঁ ক পরশরসকৌতুক
নিতি নিতি জগতে বিরাজ ॥
বর রায়া হে, বুঝবি তুহঁ সূচতুর ।
আপন পরাণ যাক করে সৌপিয়ে
সো পুন কভু নহে দূর ॥

জীবন অবধি হাম আপনা বেচলুঁ
তন মন এক করি তোএ ।
কিয়ে তুয়া বলবত প্রেমপদাভিক
* ভিল-আখ না দেহ যোএ ॥

কাঞ্চন বদন- কমল লাগি লোচন-
মধুকর মরত পিয়াসে ।
লিখনক আদি আখর মেলি সমুঝবি
কহে জগদানন্দ-দাসে ॥ ১৬৪ ॥

[২৩৫-২৩৬] ॥

মধু বিকচকুম্মপুঞ্জ
মধুপশবদ গুঞ্জগুঞ্জ
কুঞ্জরগতিগঞ্জিগমন
মঞ্জল কুলনারী ।
ঘনগঞ্জন চিকুরপুঞ্জ
মালতীফুলমালা রঞ্জ
অঞ্জনযুক্তকঞ্জনয়নী
খঞ্জনগতি হারি ॥
কাঞ্চনরুচিরুচির অঙ্ক
অঞ্জে অঞ্জে ভরু অনঙ্ক
কিকিণী করকঙ্কণ মুহু
বঙ্কত মনোহারী ।

নাচত যুগভুরুভুজঙ্গ
কালিদমনদমনরঙ্গ
সঙ্গিনী সব রঞ্জে পহিরে
রঙ্গিলনীলশারী ॥
দশন কুলকুম্মমনিম্বু
বদন জিতল শরদ-ইন্দু
বিন্দু বিন্দু ছরমে ঘরমে
প্রেমসিদ্ধু প্যারী ।

ললিতাধরে মিলিতহাস
দেহদীপতি তিমির নাশ
নিরখি রূপ রসিক ভূপ
ভুলল গিরিধারী ॥

অমরাবতীযুবতিবৃন্দ
হেরি হেরি রূপ পড়ল ধন্দ
মন্দমন্দহসনা নন্দ-
নন্দনসুখকারি ।

মণিমাণিক নখ বিরাজ
কনকনুপুর মধুর বাজ
জগদানন্দ ধলজলরুহ-
চরণক বলিহারি ॥

১৬৫ ॥ [২৩৭-২৩৮]

সজনি গো, কেন গেলাম যমুনার জলে ।
নন্দের হুলালচাঁদ পাতিয়া রূপের ফাঁদ
ব্যাধিহলে কদম্বের তলে ॥

দিয়া হান্তস্থখা চার অঙ্গছটা আটা তার
আঁখিপাখি তাহাতে পড়িল ।
মনযুগী সেইকালে পড়িল রূপের জালে
গুধু দেহপিঞ্জর রহিল ॥

গর্ভশালে মত্তহাতী , বাধা ছিল দিবারাতি
ক্ষিপ্ত হৈল কটাফ-অঙ্কুশে ।
দন্তের শিকল কাটি চারিদিকে গেল ছুটি
পলাইয়ে গেল কোন দেশে ॥

লজ্জা শীল হেমাগার গুরুগৌরব সিংহদ্বার
ধরমকপাট ছিল তায় ।
বংশীরববজ্রাঘাতে পড়ি গেল অকস্মাতে
সমভূমি করিল আমায় ॥

কালিয়াত্রিভঙ্গবাণে কুলমান কৈল খানে
ঘুচিল উঠিল ব্রজবাস ।
প্রাণ শেষে আছে বাকি তাহা বুঝি যায় দেখি
ভণয়ে জগদানন্দ-দাস ॥

১৬৬ ॥ [২৩৯-২৪০] ॥

বঙ্গবীকান্ত

রাইয়ের জনম- দিবস আবেশে
আনন্দে ভরল তনু ।
নদীমানগর বৃষভানুপুর
উদয় করল জহু ॥

গদাধর-মুখ হেরি পুনঃ পুনঃ
নাচে গোরা নটরায় ।
ভাব অনুভাব করি সঙ্গী সব
মহামহোৎসব গায় ॥

দখির সহিত হলদি মিলিত
কলসে কলসে ঢালি ।
প্রিয়গণ নাচে নানা কাচ কাচে
ঘন দিয়া হলাহলি ॥
গৌরাজ-নাগর রসের সাগর
ভাবের তরঙ্গ তায় ।
জগত ভাসিল এহেন আনন্দে
এ দাস বলবী গায় ॥

১৬৭ ॥ [২৪১] ॥

অশ্বমুদন-দাস

কুণ্ডে সিনান কয়ল হুঁ মেলি ।
সহচরীগণ সঞ্চে করি জলকেলি ॥
বসন বিভূষণ পহিরণ কেলি ।
নিভৃতনিকুঞ্জ-মাঝে চলি গেলি ॥
রতনপীঠ-পরি কিশোরী কিশোর ।
বৈঠল হুঁ জন আনন্দে ভোর ॥
বৃন্দাদেবী যোগায়তু তাই ।
বহুমত ফলমূল বিবিধ মিঠাই ॥
ভোজন কর হুঁ সখীগণ সঙ্গে ।
মধুমুদন কব হেরব রঙ্গে ॥

১৬৮ ॥ [২৪২] ॥

রুতিপতি-দাস

এতদিন বৃন্দলু (ভূয়া) হৃদয় নিহুঁর ।
রাই উপেশি আয়লি এতদূর ॥
অব তুহঁ একলী রহসি বনমাঝ ।
তোয়ে নাহি সম্ভবে এমন অকাজ ।
সময় উচিত করিয়ে যদি মান ।
আঁচরে বাঁপিয়ে আপন বয়ান ॥
একদিনে স্মৃতিয়ে চীত সমাধি ।
সাধিলে বাদ তহিঁ ঝাঞ্চ উপাধি ॥

APPENDIX

অম্লগত তুয়া বিহু না বোলয়ে আন ।

করে ধরি বলে দৃতী করহ পয়ান ॥

রতিপতি-নাস করয়ে পরণাম ।

দৃতী নহে ইহ ছহঁ ক পরাণ ॥

১৬৯ ॥ [২৪৩] ॥

কুঞ্জে কুসুম হেরি পঙ্খ নেহারই

সহচরী মেলি আনন্দে ॥

দিশি দিশি রতন- প্রদীপ কত জারত

ঝলমল করতহি ছন্দে ॥

সুন্দরী সেজ বিছায়ই রঞ্জে ।

আগুব মদন- বিনোদ রসগাহক

বিলসব বিনোদিনী সঙ্গে ॥

মৃগমদচন্দন- তম্বু-পরিলেপন

গন্ধমহোৎসব কুঞ্জে ।

কোকিল ভ্রমর মনোহর গাওত

হেরি হেরি নবরসপুঞ্জে ॥

বাজত ডম্বক রবাব স্বরমণ্ডল

সহচরী নাচয়ে স্নহন্দে ।

আনন্দে কোই কোই মঙ্গল গাওই

মুরছতি রতিপতি-বৃন্দে ॥

১৭০ ॥ [২৪৪]

গোপালদাস

• কি কহব রাইক হরি-অমুরাগ ।

• নিরবধি মনহি মনোভব আগ ॥

সহজে রুচির তম্বু সাজি কত ভাতি ।

অভিসরু শারদপুণমিক রাতি ॥

ধবল বসন তম্বু চন্দনপুর ।

অরুণ-অধরে ধরু বিশদ কপুর ॥

কবরী উপরে করু কুন্দ বিধার ।

কণ্ঠে বিলম্বিত মোতিমহার ॥

কৈরবে ঝাপল করতলকাঁতি ।

মলয়জচন্দনবলয়ক পাঁতি ॥

চাঁদ-কি কোমুদী তম্বু নহ চিহ্ন ।

বৈছন ক্ষীর নীর নহ ভিন্ন ॥

ছায়া বৈরী না ছাড়ল বাদ ।

চরণে শরণ করু যামিনী-আধ ॥

গোপালদাস কহ স্নচতুর গৌরী ।

নুপুরক রতন তুলে মুখ পুরি ॥

১৭১ ॥ [২৪৫-২৪৬] ।

ছল করি বাণী কতয়ে পরলাপসি

তোহারি বচন পরমাণ ।

চারিপ্রহর রাতি জাগি পোহায়লুঁ

আয়লি রাতি বিহান ॥

মাধব, আজি বড় দেয়লি দৃখ ।

আগে ইহ আরতি না রুঝিয়া অব তোহে

হেরি পায়লুঁ বড় স্নখ ॥

ভালহি সিন্দূর- কাজলে পুরল

বদনহি দশনক রেখ ।

হেরইতে তোহে লাজ মোহে হোয়ত

যাবকরাগ পরতেথ ॥

কমলিনা পাই সরস রসে ভুললি

না বুঝলি মালতীগন্ধ ।

কহই গোপাল- দাস নাহি সমুঝলি

কী ছলে কিয়ে মকরন্দ ॥

১৭২ ॥ [২৪৬-২৪৭]

নীতাম্বর-দাস (১)

ছটপট কুসুমশয়নে ।

হরি হরি করুণ স্মরণে ॥

কাহে করু অভরণবেশ ।

দরশন ভেল সন্দেশ ॥

বিহি মোরে ছরমতি দেল ।

মনমথ হানল শেল ॥

লোরে লোচন ঘন পুরে ।

পীতাম্বর-দাগ রহ দূরে ॥

১৭৩ ॥ [২৪৮]

গোপীকান্ত-দাস

ত্ৰিবিজাপতি . কবিবরশেখর

কয়ল বহুতবিধ গীত ।

ত্ৰিগোবিন্দ কবীন্দ্রশিরোমণি

ত্রিজগতে বাহার চরিত ॥

ত্ৰিজয়দেব বহুরস বর্ণল

কবিসায়র চণ্ডীদাস ।

ত্ৰিগামানন্দ নাটক প্রকাশল

শ্রমধুরপ্রেমবিলাস ॥

ত্ৰিল সনাতন কয়ল গীতাবলী

বিবিধভাবতরঙ্গী ।

ত্ৰিগামচন্দ্র কবিবরতুপতি

বলরাম-দাস তছু সঙ্গী ॥

ত্ৰিনরহরিদাস- ঠাকুর কবিশ্রবড়

গোবিন্দ-ঘোষ কবিসিদ্ধ ।

ঠাকুর বৃন্দাবন বাহুদেব-ঘোষ আর

সকলকবিগণ-ইন্দু ॥

ভাবকচক্রবর্তী বহুত প্রকাশল

জ্ঞানদাস কবি-আর্য্য ।

যত্ননাথ-দাস অভিসারে বর্ণিত

ভহি কবিবর ব্যাসাচার্য্য ॥

প্রার্থনা কয়ল ঠাকুর নরোত্তম

মাধব-ঘোষ কবিধাম ।

বংশীবদন কিরে

লোচন-দাস অল্পপাম

ঠাকুর পিতামহ স্রব্যানন্দ পহ

কয়ল কতই গুহন্দ !

ত্ৰিঘনশ্রাম কবি- রাজরাজব-

অদভুতবর্ণনবন্ধ ॥

ইছবরকবিবর- চরণসরোরুহ

শিরক্ষিধরল হাম হার ।

গোপীকান্ত-দাস কহ ভবনিধে (?) ডুবল

কবছ পায়ব হাম পার ॥

১৭৪ ॥ [২৪৯-২৫০]

তরুণীন্দ্রমণ

এ হরি মাধব কর অবধান ।

জিতল বিয়াধি ঐযথে কিবা কাম ॥

আধিয়ারা হোই উজর করে ঘোই ।

দিবসক চাঁদ পুছত নাহি কোই ॥

দরপণ লেই কি করব আক্ষে ।

শফরী পলায়ব কি করব বাক্ষে ॥

সায়রি শুখায়ব কি করব নীরে ।

হাম অবোধ তুয়া কি করব ধীরে ॥

কা করব বঙ্গুগণ বিধি ভেও বাম ।

নিশিপরভাতে আওলি শ্রাম ॥

তরুণীরমণে ভণ ঐছন রঙ্গ ।

রজনী গোড়াওলি কাকর সঙ্গ ॥

১৭৫ ॥ [২৫২] ॥

অনোহর-দাস

ত্ৰিগোপাল-ভট্ট প্রভু তুয়া ত্ৰিচরণ কহ

নিরখিব নয়ান ভরিয়া ।

ভনিয়া অশেষ গুণ পাজরে বিকিলে গুণ

যরি যাওঁ নিছনি লইয়া ॥

পিরীতে গঢ়ল তম্বু দশবাণ হেম জম্বু
চান্দমুখ অরুণ অধরে ।
ঝলকে দশনকাঁতি জিনি মুকুতার পাতি
হাসি কহে অমৃতমধুরে ॥

পরানের পরাণ যার রূপ সনাতন আর
রঘুনাথ-যুগল জীবন ।
পণ্ডিত কৃষ্ণ লোকনাথ জানে দেহভেদ মাত্র
সরবস শ্রীরাধারমণ ॥

প্রেমবিতরণরঙ্গ চৈতন্ত-চরণভঙ্গ
শ্রীনিবাসে দয়ার অবধি ।
সভে মেলি রসাস্বাদ ভাব ভরে উনমাদ
এই ব্যবসায় নিরবধি ॥

লীলাস্বাস্থ্যস্বরধুনী- রসিকমুকুটমণি
রসাবেশে গরগর হিয়া ।
হা হা অম্বরাগসিদ্ধ হা হা দীনজনবন্ধু
যশ গায় জগৎ-ভরিয়া ॥

হা হা নৃষ্টিস্বমধুর হা হা করুণার পুর
হা হা চিন্তামণিগুণখনি ।
হা হা প্রভু একবার দেখাহ মাধুরীসার
শ্রীচরণকমললাবণি ॥

অনেক জন্মের পরে অশেষ ভাগ্যের বলে
তুয়া পরিকরে পদ পাঞা ।
নিজ করমের দোষে মলিনবিষয়রসে
জনম গোড়াহু খোলি (?) থাঞা ॥

অপরাধ পড়ে মনে তথাপি তোমার গুণে
পতিতপাবন আশাবন্ধ ।
লোভেতে চকল মতি উপেখিলে নাহি গতি
কুকারয়ে মনোহর মন ॥

১৭৬ ॥ [২৫৫-২৫৭] ॥

নবীন কিশলয় ফুটল ফুলচয়
পাতি বিবিধ বিধান ।
যেছে থির সর তৈছে শেজ কর
কুসুমকুল উপাধান ॥

সখি হে, স্বরূপে কহল মো তোয় ।
ঐছে সাজহ বাসগৃহ জম্বু
নিরখি হরি-সুখ হোয় ॥
চার চম্পক- কুসুমহারক
গন্ধ মালতীমাল ।

খপুরুকপূর- পান স্নমধুর
পুরিঞা কাঞ্চনধাল ॥
করহ সব তুহঁ জাগি রহলহঁ
পিয়াক পহ নিহার ।
কহে মনোহর কুঞ্জকাননে
মিলব নন্দ-কুমার ॥

১৭৭ ॥ [২৫৭] ॥

‘হরিনবল্লভ’

এ সখি বিহি কি পুরায়ব সাধা ।
হেরব পুন কিয়ে রূপনিধি রাধা ॥
যদি মোহে না মিলব সো বরমায়া ।
তব জীউ ছার ধরব কোন কামা ॥
তুহঁ ভেলি দোতী পাশ ভেল আশা ।
জীউ বান্ধব কিয়ে করব উদাসা ॥
শুনি হরি-বচন দোতী অবিলম্বে ।
আঙুলি চলি যাহাঁ রমণীকদম্বে ॥
কহে হরিনবল্লভ শুন ব্রজবালা ।
হরি জপয়ে তুয়া গুণমণিমালা ॥

১৭৮ ॥ [২৫৯-২৬০] ॥

কহ কহ এ সখি মরম-কি বাত ।
সো তোহে কি করল শ্রায়রগাত ॥

মনমথকোটমথন তহুরেহ ।
 কৈছে উবরি তুহঁ আওলি গেহ ॥
 কুলবতীকোট হোয়ে যহঁ অঙ্ক ।
 পাওলি কছু কিয়େ সো মুখগন্ধ ॥
 যাকর মুরলী শ্রবণে যহঁ লাগে ।
 খসতহঁ বসন শাশপতি-আগে ॥
 অব নিরধারসি কোন বিচার ।
 বলন্ত সো রসসাগর পার ॥

১৭৯ ॥ [২৬০] ॥

পুন বাই গগনে করল আরোহণ
 তাহে গরাসে রাহ মন্দ ।
 দৈবে কলকিত হোয়ল মৃগ ধরি
 অসিতপক্ষে তহু-অন্ত ॥
 কাহে মিনতি করু কপটহঁ নাগর
 হেরি ধ্বিস মন হোয় ।
 প্রেম-দাস কহ চান্দবদন চাহ
 চকোরে পীযুষ দেই সোয় ॥

১৮১ ॥ [২৬৪] ॥

বলদেব-দাস

জয় জয় মঙ্গল-আরতি দুহঁ-কি ।
 গ্রামগোরীছবি উঠত বলকি ॥
 নবধনে জহু ধিরবিজুরী বিরাজে ।
 তাহে মণি-অভরণ অঙ্গহি সাজে ॥
 করে লই দীপাবলি হেমখালি ।
 আরতি করতহি ললিতা আলি ॥
 সবহঁ সখীগণ মঙ্গল গাওয়ে ।
 কোই করতালি দেই কোই বাজাওয়ে ॥
 কোই কোই সহচরী মনহি হরীখে ।
 দুহঁক অঙ্গ পর কুসুম বরীখে ॥
 ইহ রস কহতহি বলদেব-দাসে ।
 দুহঁ রূপমাধুরী হেরইতে আশে ॥

১৮০ ॥ [২৬১] ॥

সই, কাহারে করিব রোষ ।
 না জানি না দেখি সরল হই
 সে পুনি আপন দোষ ॥
 বাতাস বুঝিয়া পেলাই থু পা
 বাঢ়াই বুঝিয়া থেহ ।
 মাহুষ বুঝিয়া কথা সে কহিয়ে
 রসিক বুঝিয়া নেহ ॥
 মড়ক বুঝিয়া ধরিয়ে ডাল
 ছায়ায় বুঝিয়া মাথা ।
 গাহক বুঝিয়া ঙ্গল প্রকাশিয়ে
 বেধিত দেখিয়া বেধা ॥
 অবিচারে সই করিলুঁ পিরীতি
 কেন কৈলুঁ হেন কাজে ।
 প্রেম-দাস কহে ধীরহ স্থলরি
 কহিলে পাইবা মাজে ॥

১৮২ ॥ [২৬৫]

প্রেম-দাস

মাধব, মোহে কহসি চান্দমুখ ।
 চান্দক গুণ কহয়ে সব স্তম্ভীতল
 চান্দে জনম ভরি দুখ ॥
 জলনিধি-উদর উয়ল শশধর
 গরল সঙ্গে উপনীত ।
 সেবল শঙ্কর শিরসি রহল বব
 তাহা কণী হেরি অসম্বিত ॥

প্রেমানন্দ

এ মন, বদনে বলহ হরি হরি ।
 হেলায় জনম বিকলে গোঙালি
 দেখ না কখন মরি ॥

মদনে চকল বিকল হইয়া

সদাই কুপথে ধাইলি।

পূরব স্মরিয়া বৃথ না তুমি কি

ইহাই করিতে আইলি ॥

ব্যাপারে আসিয়া মূল হস্তাইছ

তন্মাস করি নাচাও।

ঠকের সহিতে এ তোর মিডালি

কবে বা সে বোধ পাও ॥

জান না নরকে ফেলিয়া পচাবে

অন্তক বাহায় নাম।

এখন তখন কখন আসিয়া

গলায় বাঁধিবে দাম ॥

ভারত-ভুবনে মানুষজনম

এখন আর বা কবে।

ইহাতে না হৈলে তখন হবে কি

শৃগাল কুকুর হবে ॥

বল হরি হরি শমনে রাখহ

তাহারে করহ রাজি।

কহে প্রেমানন্দ ইহাতে যে ভুলে

সে মেনে বড়ই পাঞ্জি ॥

১৮৩ ॥ [২৬৬-২৬৭] ॥

এ মন, বল রে গোবিন্দ-নাম।

আজি কালি করি কি আর ভাবিছ

কবে তোর ঘুচিবে কাম ॥

কালি সে করিবা তুমি যে বলিছ

আজি তা কর না ভাই।

আজি বা করিব তা কর এখনি

কি জানি কখন বাই ॥

এহেন কলিতে মানুষ জনম

এমন আর বা কাতে।

হরিনাম দিয়া অগত তারিলা

শ্রীকৃষ্ণচৈতন্য যাতে ॥

সে তিনমুগের

আচার বিচার

এখন সে সব রাখ।

বদন ভরিয়া

গৌর-হরি বল

যুগের ধরম দেখ ॥

রসনা বদন

বশের ভিতরে

কেবল বলিলে হয়।

আলিস করিয়া

নরকে বাইতে

কর বা এ অপচর ॥

শমনকিঙ্কর

অঙ্গুলি গণিছে

জান না কখন পাড়ে।

কহে প্রেমানন্দ

তখন কহিবে

আসিয়া চড়িলে ষাড়ে ॥

১৮৪ ॥ [২৬৭-২৬৮] ॥

ওরে মন, কি শুমান তুম্বনায়ে চড়ি।

কোন স্থখে তুলিয়াছ বিচারিয়া দেখ পিছ

অবসিদ্ধ দিতে হবে পাড়ি ॥

দেখ না মায়ার পাক নৌকা ফিরে যেন চাক

ইহা কি বৃথিতে নার ভাই।

হুর্কাসনাকুবাভাসে এ ডেউ আকাশ স্পর্শে

ধনজন বার কমা নাই ॥

কামাদি এ স্বাতোয়াল তারে কৈলি কেরোয়াল

পাকাইয়া ফিরাইছে তরী।

যে বেটা কুবুদ্ধি পাঞ্জি তারে করিয়াছ মাখি

না জানি কখন ডুবি মরি ॥

ভব তরিবারে চাও হুবুদ্ধিকাণ্ডারী লও

দশেজিয় কেরোয়াল করি।

হরি-শুগ গাঞা সারি বাইচ দিয়া দে রে পাড়ি

মধ্যে মধ্যে বল হরি হরি ॥

জীর্ণ না হইতে নাও আগুতেই পাড়ি দেও

পার হইয়া কর ঠাকুরাল।

আগে না হইলে পার পিছে কি করিবে আর

নৌকা বা থাকিবে কত কাল ॥

বহুদূর পারাবার বিলম্ব না কর আর
 পাড়ি মাঝি হইবে দুর্কল ।
 প্রেমানন্দ কহে মন তবে কিবা প্রয়োজন
 যদি নৌকা ঘাটে হয় তল ॥
 ১৮৫ ॥ [২৬৮-২৬৯] ॥

জয় জয় গোবিন্দ গোকুলভাগি ।
 ব্রজনবরমণী যাক মন লাগি ॥
 কত কোটি চাঁদ জিনিয়া বরমুখ ।
 বাকর দরশে মিটয়ে সব দুখ ॥
 নিরুপমরূপজলধি-অবতার ।
 রাধামোহন-পছ মুরতিশিখার ॥
 ১৮৭ ॥ [২৭৬] ॥

অন্নদা-দাস

পঞ্চব্রিখবয়সা- কৃতি মোহন
 ধাবমান পর অঙ্গনা ।
 পায়স পানিতলে আগর মাখন
 খায়ত মিটায়ত বয়না ॥
 দোলে দোলে মোহন গোপাল ।
 প্রথর চরণগতি মুখর কিঙ্কিণী কটি
 লোটন লোলয়ে বনমালা ॥
 সোনার বাকিল ভাল করুনখ উরে মাল
 পিঠে দোলে পাট-কি খোপ ।
 খেনে আলগছি দেই খেনে ভূমে গড়ি যাই
 খেনে পরসন্ন খেনে কোপ ॥
 নন্দ স্নান যশোমতী রোহিণী
 আনন্দে স্নতমুখ চায় ।
 অরুণ দৃগঞ্চল কাজরে রঞ্জিত
 হাসি হাসি বদন দেখায় ॥
 কুন্তলে রতনমণি ঝলমল দেখি ।
 কুণ্ডলে উজ্জল গণ্ড কাজরেখি ॥
 ঘনরাম-দাসে বোলে শুন নন্দরাণী ।
 জিজ্ঞাস্তানাথ নাচাও করে দিয়া ননী ॥
 ১৮৬ ॥ [২৭২-২৭৩] ॥

নন্দহরি-চন্দ্রবর্তী

নাচত গৌর
 নিখিলনটপণ্ডিত
 নিরুপম ভক্তি
 মদনমন হরই ।
 প্রচুরচণ্ডকর-
 দরপরিভঞ্জন-
 অঙ্গকিরণে দিক-
 বিদিক উজ্জয়ই ॥
 উনমত-অতুল-
 সিংহ জিনি গরজন
 শুনইতে বলা কলি-
 বারণ ডরই ।
 ঘন ঘন লক্ষ
 ললিতগতি চঞ্চল-
 চরণবাতে ক্ষিতি
 টলমল করই ॥
 কিল্লরগরব
 খরব কর পরিকর
 গায়ত উলসে
 অমিয়রস ঝরই ।
 বায়ত বহুবিধ
 খোল খমক ধ্বনি
 পরশত গগন
 কোন খুতি ধরই ॥

রাধামোহন-ঠাকুর

অভিনবজলধরকটির সুদেহ ।
 পীতাম্বরবর ভড়িতধিরেহ ॥

অতুল-প্রতাপ
কাঁপি ছুরজনগণ
লেঅই শরণ
চরণতলে পড়ই ।
নরহরি-পছঁক
কিরীতি রক্ষ জগ ভরি
পরমহুলহ ধন
নিরন্তর বিস্তরই ॥
১৮৮ ॥ [২৮০-২৮১] ॥

দেবরমণী- বৃন্দ বিরচি
বেশ বিবিধভাঁতি ।
রাজত ধল- মাহি অতুল
ঝলকে কনককাঁতি ॥
ভ্রমত গগন- পথ অগণন
যুথ হিয়-উৎসাহ ।
মানত দিঠি সফল নিরখি
গৌরবর-বিবাহ ॥
মিশ্র-ভবন রীত রুচির
উচরি পুলকগাত ।
নবনব-অভি- লায় করই
ধৃতি ধরই ন যাত ॥
নিরুপম পছ- প্রেমসীছবি
লোচন ভরি নেত ।
নরহরি কত ভাখব সবে
প্রাণ নিছনি দেত ॥
১৮৯ ॥ [২৮২] ॥

দেখ দেখ অপক্লপ গৌর-বিলাস ।
লাখযুবতিরতি যো গুরুলক্ষ্যট
সো অব করল সন্ন্যাস ॥
যো ব্রজবধূগণ- দৃঢ়ভূজবন্ধন
অবিরত রহত আগোস ।
সো তহু পুলকে পুরিত অব চরচর
নয়নে গলয়ে প্রেমলোর ॥
যো নটবর ঘন- শ্রামকলেবর
বৃন্দাবিনিবাহারী ।
কহয়ে নটবর সো অব অকিঞ্চন
ঘরে ঘরে প্রেমভিখারী ॥
১৯০ ॥ [২৮৩] ॥

বিন্দু

কলধৌতকলেবর গৌর-তহু ।
তহু রঙ্গভরঙ্গ নিভাই জহু ॥
কোটি কাম জিনি কিয়ে অঙ্গছটা ।
অবধূত বিরাজিত চন্দ্রবটা ॥
শচীনন্দন-কণ্ঠে সুরঙ্গমালা ।
তহিঁ রোহিণীনন্দন দীগ আলা ॥
গজরাজগতি দোন ভাই চলে ।
মকরাকৃতিকুণ্ডল গণ্ডে দোলে ॥
মুনি ধ্যান ভুলে সতীর্থ টলে ।
জগতারণকারণ বিন্দু বোলে ॥
১৯১ ॥ [২৮৫] ॥

গোবর্দ্ধন

শটবর

গোপীগণকুচ- কুহুনে রঞ্জিত
অক্লপবসন শোভেজ্জলে ।
কাঞ্চননির্মিত- কাস্তি কলেবর
রাই-পরসরসসঙ্গে ॥

বাজে দিগ্ দিগ্ থৈয়া হোরি রঙ্গে ।
কিশোর কিশোরী সখিনী মেলি
তপনতনয়াভীরে কেলি
সুখময় অতি বধু ঋতুপতি
রতিপতি তথি সঙ্গে ॥

মহাশয় চুবক চন্দন
 যজ্ঞরন্ধ্রে বরিখে সঘন
 অরুণ বসন সুলিত রশ্মন
 প্রমজল গল অঙ্গে ।

বীণ মুরজ সর উপাঙ্গ
 ত্রিমিকি ত্রিমিকি ত্রিমি মৃদঙ্গ
 চঞ্চল গতি ধ্বজন জিতি
 নৃত্যতি অতি ভঙ্গে ॥

গাওরে গমকে গোপী মেলি
 গৌরী শুভ্ররী রামকেলী
 স্তম্ভগা স্তম্ভিনী স্তম্ভই সাহানী
 সঙ্গীতরসভরঙ্গে ।

যুধে যুধে যুধতিবন্দ
 মাঝে শোহত গোবিন্দচন্দ
 গোবর্দ্ধন-ছদ্ম বর্দ্ধন
 কর বর্দ্ধন অনঙ্গে ॥
 ১১২ ॥ [২৮৬-২৮৭]

আনন্দচন্দ্রের বাণী
 শুন হে সকল প্রাণী
 ভজ গোরা দিনকণে
 শটীর কিশোরা ॥

১১৩ ॥ [২৮৮]

বৃষভানন্দিনী-কে শোভা বনী
 বরণ কিরণছবি জিনি দামিনী ॥

চরণকমল-পর নখরনিশাকর
 মঞ্জীর রঞ্জিত মধুরধ্বনি ।

কিয়ে বিধি অদভূত উরুযুগ নিরমিত
 খীনকটি নীলিমবসনকসিনী ॥

কিয়ে মুখছন্দ জিনি কোটি চন্দ
 কামকামান ভাঙ যুগনয়নী ।

শ্রামভুজঙ্গিনী বেণী-কে লাঘনি
 আনন্দ-মতিগতিদুখহরণী ॥

১১৪ ॥ [২৮৮-২৮৯]

নবকান্ত

আনন্দচন্দ্র

লাগ্যাছে নয়নে নবনাগর গোরা ।
 কুলবতী যুবতী সতীর মনচোরা ॥
 হেরি গোয়ার মুখশরী
 নাহি জানি নিশিদিশি
 সদাই আনন্দে ভাসি
 প্রেমরসে ভোরা ॥

অরুণ নয়ানের কোণে
 চাহে গোরা বার পানে
 পরাণ সহিতে টানে
 কি করিব মোরা ।

অঞ্জলি ভরি ফাণ্ড লেই সখীগণে ।

রাইকান্দ-অঙ্গে দেই ঘনে ঘনে ।

দোলা-পরি ছুই দোলত ভাল ॥

গাওত কোই সখী ধরি ভাল ॥

বাওত কতকত বস্তু সুরঙ্গ ।

বীণ রবাব সরমগুল উপাঙ্গ ॥

শোভিত তরকুল বিকশিত ফুল ।

বন্ধক মধুমদে সব অলিকুল ॥

মলয়পবন বহে বায়ুনতীর ।

নাচতানিধিকুল কুঞ্জকুটীর ॥

বিলসই ডিহি দোল-পর কান ।

ইহ নবকান্ত ছুই ক গুণ গান ।

১১৫ ॥ [২৮৯]

দীনদাস

তুই বিদগ্ধবর তনী (?) পরাণ ।
 আজ্ঞা শুনল হাম মনসিজনাথ ॥
 অঞ্চল পরশিতে অন্তর কাঁপ ।
 রমণী সহয়ে কিয়ে এতয়ে আলাপ ॥
 এ হরি এ হরি অভয়ৈ হামার ।
 হাম কিছু না বুঝিয়ে ও-রসবিচার ॥
 আরতি-অধিক নাহি কিছু লাভ ।
 দারিদ্র্যর বাচক নাহি যাব ॥
 জল বিহু জলচর না করয়ে কেলি ।
 কলিকাকমলে ভ্রমর নহে মেলি ॥
 দেখইতে শুনইতে পাণ্ডু তরাস ।
 আজি পুছব মুক্তি প্রিয়সখী-পাশ ॥
 সো যব জানয়ে এসব শ্রুতি ।
 দীনদাস কহ ভাল কহ বুধি ॥
 ১১৬ ॥ [২৯০] ॥

দীনহীনদাস

যরি যরি না লো নদীয়ার মাঝারে ওনা রূপ
 কেবল মুরতিময় পিরীতির কুপ ॥
 বদনমণ্ডল চান্দ ঝলঝল
 কনকদরপণিনিমিতে ।
 কপাল রজিম ভুরুর ভজিম
 অতমুসারজখণ্ডিতে ॥
 নয়নমণ্ডল প্রেমে ছলছল
 নাগা খগপতিনিমিতে ।
 চান্দমুখে হরি বলে কান্দিতে কান্দিতে ॥
 ডেজি সুখময় শয়ন আসন
 নামডোর মলে শোভিতে ।
 সুগন্ধি চন্দন অঙ্গে লেপন
 সর্গীর্জনধূলিভূষিতে ॥

ভাবে গরগর না চিনে নিজ পর
 পুলক-আবলিশোভিতে ।
 'রা' বলিয়া 'ধা' বোল না পারে বলিতে ॥
 বাজয়ে মাদল করহি করতাল
 কলিকলুযভয় নাশিতে ।
 ভকতগণ মেলি দেই করতালি
 ফিরয়ে চৌদিকে নাচিতে ॥
 চরণপল্লব ভকতবল্লভ
 কলপতরুপরকাশিতে ।
 দীনহীনদাসের মন রহিল তাহাতে ॥
 ১১৭ ॥ [২৯১] ॥

অনন্দ

দেখ সখি বরিষারজ ।
 কোন অপরাধে আনায়ল মনমথ
 কাটিতে বিরহিণী-অঙ্গ ॥
 চড়ি রহু কুন্ত কদম্বগজেন্দ্রহি
 বান্ধল কেতকীতুণ ।
 ধরি ধনুৱাজ সাজ করি নীরদ
 গরজল সময়ে নিপুণ ॥
 ধরি থরশাণ তড়িত-অসি চঞ্চল
 চমকই বারহি বার ।
 চাতকচর জয়-শঙ্খশব্দ কর
 দেখি সুখী শিখিপরিবার ॥
 মণ্ডুকগণ ঘন কর রণবাজন
 সারস হংস বিমাণ ।
 পবনক অঙ্গ সজ করি উড়ত
 নববকপীতিনিশান ॥
 কো কহে নীর তার জহু বরিখত
 মুরছিত বিরহিণীমূল ।
 নাসাপবনে কেমনে ধনী বারব
 অপশোসই বিজ নন্দ ॥
 ১১৮ ॥ [২৯২-২৯৩] ॥

কৃষ্ণকান্ত

কনকধরাধরমদহর দেহ ।
 মদনপরাভব সুবরণগেহ ॥
 হোর দেখে অপরূপ গৌর-কিশোর ।
 কৈছন ভাব নহত কছু ওর ॥
 ঘনগুলকাবলি দিঠি জলধার ।
 উরধ নেহারি রচই ফুতকার ॥
 নিরুপম নিরঞ্জন রাসবিলাস ।
 অচল সুসংগর গদগদভাষ ॥
 কিয়ে রবমাধুরী বাঁশীনিমান ।
 ইহা বলি সঘনে পাতে নিজ কান ॥
 সদন তেজি তব চলল একান্ত ।
 মীলব অব জনি কিয়ে কৃষ্ণকান্ত ॥

১৯৯ ॥ [২৯৪] ॥

জগমোহন-দাস

রাধা মাধব-সঙ্গ ।
 বিহরয়ে প্রেমতরঙ্গ ॥
 চৌদিকে সহচরী মেলি ।
 মণ্ডলী করি কক কেলি ॥
 করহিঁ কথহিঁ বন্ধান ।
 মাঝহি রাধা কান ॥
 বহুবিধ রাগিণী ছন্দ ।
 গাওত কতহিঁ পরবন্ধ ॥
 কত কত যন্ত্র রসাল ।
 ভেদ পড়ন ধরু তাল ॥
 অপরূপ রাসবিলাস ।
 কহ জগমোহন-দাস ॥

২০১ ॥ [২৯৬-২৯৭] ॥

চুড়াশনি-দাস

নাচত মোহন নন্দহুলাল (যেরো কান)
 নাসাবিরাজিত মোতিমভূষণ
 কটিমাখে ঘুঙ্কর রসাল ॥
 সুন্দর উর-পর রর রুকুনথ পদ-
 সরোরুহ রতনমঞ্জীর ।
 নবনববৎস- গুচ্ছ ধরি ধাওত
 পড়ত অঙ্গন ধূলিধূসর শরীর ॥
 মরকতচান্দ- মুকুর মুখমণ্ডল
 পরিসর কুঞ্চিত অলকহিলোল ।
 ব্রজরমণী পর- বোধ করায়ত
 নয়ন ফিরাওত আধআধ বোল ॥
 অভিনব নীল- জলদ জিনি তম্বুচি
 কহিল নহিল রূপ কিয়ে নিরমাণ ।
 কত কত ভকত যতন করি ধ্যাওত
 সবে চুড়াশনি-দাসের এই নিবেদন ॥

২০০ ॥ [২৯৫-২৯৬] ॥

উদ্ধব-দাস (২)

কালিন্দীর কুল বিকসিত ফুল মন্ত অলিকুল
 পড়লহি পাতিয়া ।
 নাচত যোর করতহি সোর অনঙ্গ আগোর
 ফিরতহিঁ মাতিয়া ॥
 কানন-ওর হেরইতে ভোর কিশোরী কিশোর
 প্রেমরসে ভাসিয়া ।
 ঝুলনকেলি হুঁ জন মেলি অঙ্গ-অঙ্গ হেলি
 হৃদয় উল্লসিয়া ॥
 কতয়ে স্তান করতহিঁ গান রাখত মান
 যন্ত্র সুরঙ্গিয়া ।
 দেই করতাল অতি সুরসাল কহে ভালি ভ্রাতা
 বাওয়ে মৃদঙ্গিয়া ॥
 কত রসভাষ কমলবিকাশ মৃহ মৃহ হাস
 হুঁ-চন্দ্রাননে ।
 উদ্ধবদাস- চিতমন-আশ হুঁ ক বিলাস
 দরশন কাননে ॥

২০২ ॥ [২৯৮] ॥

মুরলী রে, মিনতি করিয়ে যারেবার ।
 শ্রামের অধরে রৈয়া রাধা রাধা নাম লইয়া
 তুমি যেনে না বাজিও আর ॥

খলের বদনে থাক নাম ধরি সদা ডাক
 গুরুজনা করে অপযশ ।
 খল হয় বেই জনা সে কি ছাড়ে খলপনা
 তুমি কেনে হও তার বশ ॥

তোমার মধুরস্বরে রহিতে নারিলুঁ ঘরে
 নীঘরে খরয়ে ছনয়ান ।

পহিলে বাজিলা যবে কুল শীল গেল তবে
 অবশেষে আছে মোর প্রাণ ॥

যে বাজিলা সেই ভাল ইথেই সকলি গেল
 তোরে আমি কহিলুঁ নিশ্চয় ।

এ দাস উদ্ধব ভণে যে বাঁশীর গান শুনে
 সে জন তেজই কুলভয় ॥

২০৩ ॥ [২৯৯] ॥

বৈষ্ণবদাস

যমুনাক তীর- সমীর ইহ যুহু
 অলি পিক পঞ্চম গানে ।

ছহঁ রসে ভোর ওর নাহি পাওব
 বিলসব নটনবিধানে ॥

সদয়ে, হেন কিরিপা হবে তোর ।

সো রসবৈভব রাসমহোৎসব
 দরশন হোয়ব মোর ॥

সহচরী সঙ্গে রঙ্গে করি মণ্ডলী
 যবহঁ নাচারবি শ্রাম ।

তব সঙ্গী-ইজিতে তত্ত্ব সঙারিয়া
 বস্ত্র দেয়ব তুয়া ঠাম ॥

হেন কিয়ে হোয়ব মহতী হু বোলব
 হরিযহঁ হেরবি মোর ।

হাম তব অমিয়া- সরোবরে ডুবব
 শুনব মধুর স্বর সোয় ॥

নাচব নটবর- শেখর নাগর
 গায়বি তুহঁ সখী সঙ্গে !

তুহঁ নাচবি যব নাগর গাওব
 কত কত রাগতরঙ্গে ॥

ঐছন অমুদিন , শ্রীবৃন্দাবনে
 বিলসবি রাসবিলাস ।

ইহ হরভগ জন সো কিয়ে দরশন
 পাওব বৈষ্ণবদাস ॥

২০৪ ॥ [৩০০-৩০১] ॥

গৌরসুন্দর-দাস

শুন ভাই কৃষ্ণসংকীৰ্ত্তন ।

শুনইতে কীৰ্ত্তন তমুন সুনীতল
 বিজয়ী করয়ে ত্রিভুবন ॥

চীতদরপণ করয়ে জহু মার্জান
 মহাভবানলে জহু ব্যরি ।

মঙ্গলকুমুদ বিধু কিরণ প্রদাপই
 জীবন ভেল বিতানারী ।

আনন্দজলধি করয়ে অতি বর্জন
 দেহ দেহ পীযুষপান ।

ঐছন অপক্লপ না দেখি না গুনিয়ে
 কয়ল গৌর প্রেমধাম ॥

উত্তম অধম দীন হীন জন
 কয়ল প্রেমরসে ভোর ।

হেন সংকীৰ্ত্তন যঝু মন না দরবে
 গৌরসুন্দর-পাপ জোর ॥

২০৫ ॥ [৩০২-৩০৩] ॥

অশ্বমেধ-দাস

মদনমদালসে শ্রাবর ভোর ।
 শশিমুখী হাসি হাসি কর কোর ॥
 রহি রহি চুখই নাইবয়ান ।
 চান্দ চকোর মিলল একুঠাষ ॥
 অধর নিরখি রস শিবি অগেয়ান ।
 অমিয়ারহোদধি ডুবল কার ॥
 ধনি ধনি রাধা-রসনিরবাহ ।
 বশ ভেল অধিক কলাগুরু নাই ॥
 নয়ন চুলাচুলি লহ লহ হাস ।
 অজ হেলাহেলি গদগদ ভাষ ।
 রসভরে দূরে রহ শিখণ্ড পীতবাস ।
 ছহঁ রূপনীছনি মথুরেশ-দাস ॥

২০৬ ॥ [৩০৪] ॥

মুকুন্দ-দাস

নালকমলদল

জয়ত মধুর মূছ হাস ।
 নবঘন জিনি কালা গলাএ গুঞ্জার মালা
 আভীরবালক চারিপাশ ॥

মণিময় বুরি মাথে অঙ্গদ বলয়া হাথে
 রতননুপুর রাজা পায় ।

হাসিতে খেলিতে চায় গোখুলিধূসর গায়
 বর্হা উড়িছে মন্দবার ॥

নবীনরাখাল হরি নটবরবেশ ধরি
 শিশু সঙ্গে গল্পয়া চরায় ।

ভূষণ বনের ফুল কি দিব তাহার তুল
 মুকুন্দ আনন্দে গুণ গায় ॥

২০৭ ॥ [৩০৫] ॥

অন্দকিশোর

গোচনগোরে ঘোরি মন মৃগমদ
 কলম করল নখচন্দ্র ।

পদনখে দাস- কবজ পহঁ লিখইতে
 হরখি ধরল পদবন্দ ॥

হুল্লরী অন্তরে উলসিত তেল ।

আদর হুধই সুধারসবাদরে
 বিরহতাপ দূর গেল ॥

করে কর বারইতে অন্তর দরদর
 রসবতী পুলকিত-অঙ্গ ।

উপজল প্রেম- বিহগপতি তছু ভরে
 ভাগল মানভুজঙ্গ ॥

নাইবাহ ধরি অধিরকলেবর
 মদনজলধিজলভঞ্জে ।

ভাজল মান- জনিত ভয় মাধব
 কোরে পসারল রঞ্জে ॥

ভুজভুজবন্ধন- নিবিড় আলিঙ্গন
 মদন বদন একু মেলি ।

নন্দকিশোর হেরি অমুমানই
 ছহঁ ক কলহ কিয়ে কেলি ॥

২০৮ ॥ [৩০৬] ॥

রাম-অবতারে অমুজ লঙ্গণ
 কৃষ্ণ-অবতারে বলরাম ।

ইবে কলিকালে গৌর-অগ্রজ
 নিতাই তাহার নাম ॥

অববোধবেশে কিরে দেশে দেশে
 ছাড়ি নটবরবেশ ।

ভাই ভাই বলি আবেশে অবশ
 আইলা গৌড়দেশ ॥

রাধার অঙ্ক
 অনঙ্গমঞ্জরী
 জাহ্নবা বাহার নাম ।
 তার প্রাণপতি নিতাই-সুন্দর
 সেই সে আমার প্রাণ ॥
 অবাচিত জনে যাচি প্রেম দেই
 ভিন্নপর নাহি করে ।
 কে আছে এমন দয়ার ঠাকুর
 তারয়ে নন্দকিশোরে ॥
 ২০৯ ॥ [৩০৭]

জঙ্গলভট- পদ্ম-নিকট
 আসি দেখিল গোপিনী ।
 গোপসঙ্গে শ্রাম যজে
 গোষ্ঠে কয়ল সাজনৌ ॥
 না পাঞা বিরল আঁখি ছলছল
 ভাবিঞা আকুল গোপিকা ।
 নাহ রমণ- দরশন বিহ্ন
 কৈছে জীয়াব রাধিকা ॥
 যামুনকুল চম্পকমূল
 তাহি বসিল নাগরী ।
 দীনবন্ধু পড়ল ধন্দ
 হইল বিপদপাগলী ॥

২১১ ॥ [৩১০] ॥

দীনবন্ধু-দাস

ধনী সাজত শ্রামমনোহর বেশ ।
 কসি কানড় ছাঁদে বাঁধাওল কেশ ॥
 সৌখি সিন্দুর চন্দনবিন্দুছটা ।
 রবিশঙ্কর বেটল চাঁদঘটা ॥
 মৃগনাভিবিচিত্রিত গণ্ডুকুল ।
 বরবেশর লখিত নাসিকমূল ॥
 ঘনকুঙ্কম ঘোরি লেপি কুচভার ।
 তহি শোভিত সুন্দর মোতিমহার ॥
 করকঙ্কণ হেরি অনঙ্গ বিভোর ।
 কটি কিঙ্কণী মণ্ডিত নীলনিচোল ॥
 পদপঙ্কজ রঞ্জিত যাবকরঙ্গ ।
 দীনবন্ধু নেহারি প্রফুল্লিত-অঙ্গ ॥
 ২১০ ॥ [৩০৯]

নিজ মন্দির তেজি গতং ঝটকং ।
 চলকুণ্ডলমণ্ডিতগণ্ডতং ॥
 মদমত্তমত্তজমদগতা ।
 জটীলাপদপঙ্কজধূলিনতা ॥
 নতকঙ্কর হেরি গতং স্রবলং ।
 জটীলা জয় দেই বলে কুশলং ॥
 মধুরাধরবাতহি শূধমিঠং ।
 গুরুগর্ভিত গুনি ত দেই পিঠং ॥
 স্রবলাকৃতি রাই বনে গমনং ।
 রহ দীনবন্ধু-কলিতং ভগনং ॥
 ২১২ ॥ [৩১০-৩১১]

নন্দনানন্দ (২)

চল দূতী কুঞ্জর জিতি
 মধুরগতিগামিনী ।
 খঞ্জনদিগ্ধি অঞ্জন মিঠি
 চঞ্চলমতি চাহনী ॥

নিশিযুখে স্নেহে হরি ছান্দত গাই ।
 গাবীদোহন কেলি করত মাধাই ॥
 দোহত গাবী সখাগণ সঙ্গ ।
 ঘরঘর গাগরী বোলত রঙ্গ ॥

গোদোহন কেলি কর অবসান ।
সহচর আসি পুন ভেটল কান ॥
এ নয়নানন্দ কহই জুড়ি হাত ।
একে একে মীলল সকল সাঁগাত ॥

২১৩ ॥ [৩১২] ॥

উঠ গোপাল প্রাতঃকাল মুখ নেহারি তের ।
রজনী অব- সান ভেই কাম ভেই মের ॥
উঠত ভাষু দেখত কামু রজনী গেই দূর ।
বালক সঙ্গে মেলত রঙ্গে রোহিণেয় বলবীর ॥
এই শ্রীদাম দাম সুদাম সঙ্গিগণ তের ।
পূরত বেণু ধাওত ধেমু আদিনা ভরল
মের ॥

নন্দরাণী পসারি পাণি বালক লেই কোর ।
মুখ নেহারি দুখ বিসরি কিয়ে সুখ জানি
ওর ॥
শ্রামচন্দ্র চন্দ্র উদিত নাশল হৃদি বোর ।
হেরিয়া বয়ন কহিছে নয়ন উঠ কানাই মোর ॥
২১৪ [৩১২-৩১৩] ॥

গোকুলচন্দ্র

ধৈর্য্যং রহ ধৈর্য্যং রহ
গচ্ছং মথুরায়ে
চুঁড়ব পুরী পতিপ্রতীক্ষে
বাহাঁ দরশন পাওয়ে ॥

অতি ভয়ং অতি ভয়ং
শীত্ৰং কুরু গমনা ।
অবিলম্বে বধূয়াপূরী
প্রবেশ করিল ললনা ॥

এক রমণী অল্পবয়সী
নিজপ্রয়োজন পূছে ।

নন্দ-জাত কৃষ্ণ খ্যাত
কাহার ভবনে আছে ॥

শুনি সো ধনী কহই বাণী
সো কাইঁ হিরাঁ আশব ।

বহুদৈবকী-সুত কৃষ্ণ খ্যাত
কংস-রিপু মাধব ॥

সোই সোই কোই কোই
দরশনে মরু আসা ।

গোকুলচন্দ্র কহে জাও জাও
ওই যে উচ্চ বাসা ॥

২১৫ ॥ [৩১৩-৩১৪]

ললিতার সনে রাই গেলা নিজ ঘর ।
শ্রামপ্রেমে গরগর সভয় অন্তর ॥
নিরবধি চমকিত নহে গৃহকাজ ।
সঙরে বন্ধুর গুণ ভেজি সব লাজ ॥
হেনকালে আইলা তখি ব্রজবধুগণ ।
রাই বলে ভাল হৈল আইলে সখীগণ ॥
পিয়া বিহু হিয়া মোর ধরণ না যায় ।
তাহার দর্শনে পুন হৃদয় উপায় ॥
জটিলারে বিশাখিকা করে নিবেদন ।
স্বর্ঘ্য পূজিতে আজু করিব গমন ॥
সামগ্রী আনিঞা দেহ উত্তম করিআ ।
সখী সনে চলে গোকুল রাধারে লইয়া ॥
২১৬ ॥ [৩১৫] ॥

জগদানন্দ (২)

আরতি করে নন্দরাণী বালকমুখ হেরি ।
গাওত নব- নাগরী সব রাখাল সকল বেরি ॥

রক্তাকল স্বতপ্রদীপ পুস্পরচিত ধালি ।
 সুলক্ষ্মীগণে হলোতি দেই শিক্তগণ করতালো ॥
 রাধি শিক্তাবেণু যশোদা মাই কোরে নিল জুনো ভাই ।
 বাখন দহি দেই ক্ষীর খাওয়ে রাম কানাই ॥
 সকল শিশুর মুখ্যুতুলি তুলি যশোমতী চুমা খাওয়ে ।
 মঙ্গল পুছে নন্দবোষ জুগদানন্দ গাওয়ে ॥
 ২১৭ ॥ [৩১৬] ॥

নীলাম্বর

রাধা-বিনয়করুণা গুনি কান ।
 জরজর-অস্তুর সজ্জনয়ান ॥
 পাণি পসারি ধনী কোরে নেল ।
 বদন চাহি হরি হরষিত ভেল ॥
 পীতবসনে পদ দেই মুছাই ।
 বচন-অম্বিয়ারসে তুষল রাই ॥
 চিত্তধৈরজ ধর না ভাবিহ আন ।
 নীলাম্বর কহে কর অবধান ॥
 ২১৮ ॥ [৩২০] ॥

ভাগবতানন্দ

সোনার বরণ গা চলে বা না চলে পা
 ভাবভরে পড়ে আউলাইয়া ।
 গোবিন্দের কান্ধে বাহ দিয়া চলে মহাপ্রভু
 নাচে পহ 'হরি বোল' বলিয়া ॥
 গুলকে পুরিত তহু কদম্বকেশর জহু
 মুখ হেরি [পড়ে] কত জনা ।
 আবেশে অবশ হৈয়া ভুজযুগ পশারিয়া
 কোল দিতে পাসরে আপনা ॥
 নীলাচলের মাঝে ভকতসমাজে সাজে
 সঙ্কীর্ণন-অঙ্গ পরকাশ ।
 কহে ভাগবতানন্দ মনে বড় আনন্দ
 জনমে জনমে হব দাস ॥
 ২১৯ ॥ [৩২১] ॥

চন্দ্রশেখর (৩)

কাহে তুহঁ কলহ করি কান্তহুত তেজলি
 অব সে বসি রোয়সি কাহে রাখে ।
 মেরুসম মান করি উলটি ফিরি বৈঠলি
 নাহ যব চরণ ধরি সাধে ॥
 তবহঁ উহে নাগরি ভংসন করি তেজলি
 মান বহ রতন করি গণলা ।
 অবহঁ তুহঁ ধরমপথ- কাহিনী উগারসি
 রোখে হরি বিমুখ ভই চললা ॥
 কাতরে তুয়া চরণযুগ বেড়ি ভুজপল্লবে
 নাহ নিজশপতি বহ দেল ।
 নিপটকুটিনাটি কটু কঠিনী বজরাবুকী
 কৈছে কর চরণ-পর ঠেল ॥
 অবহঁ সব সখিনী ভব নিকটে নাহি বৈঠব
 হেনই অবিচার যদি করলি ।
 চন্দ্রশেখর কহে কতয়ে সমুখায়ল
 যবু বচন উপেখি প্রেম ভান্ধলি ॥
 ২২০ ॥ [৩২৪] ॥

স্বর্ণবর্ণ বিবর্ণ ভৈ গেল
 পূর্ণবিধুযুগ তুল নীরসল
 নয়নপঙ্কজনীরহি ভীগল
 হিয়ক অধর গো ।
 মান ভেল তুয়া প্রাণগাহক
 নহিলে উপেক্ষি রসিক নায়ক
 বো ভেল সো ভেল অবহঁ অবুধিনী
 আপন সম্বর গো ॥
 যতহি মন-মহ কোপ উপজত
 ততহি কোপ কি করিতে সমুচিত
 পায়ে পরণত সে জন হোয়ত
 তাহে কি তেজিয়ে গো ।

ହିତ କହୁଁତେ ଅହିତ ମାନସି
 ମୁହଁଦଗଣେ ତୁହିଁ ବୈରୀ ଜାନସି
 ଅତରେ ଦେଖି ଶୁନି ନୀରବେ ରହି ନହି
 ଉତର ଦୀଞ୍ଜିରେ ଗୋ ॥

ଯୋ ବିନେ ଯୁଗଶତ ନିମିତ୍ତ ହୋୟତ
 ସେ ତୁହେ ହରି ହରି ମିନତି କତ ଶତ
 କରଳ କର ଜୁଡ଼ି ଗଳାହିଁ ଅସରେ
 ଧରଣୀ ଲୁଟାୟିଲ ଗୋ ।

ଐଛେ ହଟ୍ଟନ ପଳାଟି ବୈଠାଲି
 କାନ୍ତବଦନ ନିତାନ୍ତ ନା ହେରାଲି
 ଚନ୍ଦ୍ରଶେଖର ଭାଗ୍ୟେ ଭାବିନୀ
 ପିରୀତି ଭାଗଲ ଗୋ ॥
 ୨୨୧ ॥ [୩୨୫]

କହୁଁ ଶ୍ରୀମଳଧାମା ।
 ହରି-କିନ୍ନର ହାମ ଉଦ୍ଧବ-ନାମା ॥
 ଅନ୍ତ ହରିଃ ସ କୁନ୍ତ ।
 ମଧୁପୁରେ ବସଇ ବରଜଜନମିତ୍ର ॥
 କୁନ୍ତେ କିଂ ମଧୁନଗରେ ।
 କଂସକ ପକ୍ଷ ଦଳନ କରି ବିହରେ ॥
 ପୁନ ପୁନ ପୁଛଇ ଗୋରୀ ।
 ଚନ୍ଦ୍ରଶେଖର କହେ ପ୍ରେମଭିଧାରୀ ॥
 ୨୨୨ ॥ [୩୨୬] ॥

ଶଶିଶେଖର

ଅତି ନୂତଳ ଯଶସାନିଳ
 ମନ୍ଦ୍ୟଧୁରବହନା ।
 ହରି-ବୈଷ୍ଣବ ହାମାରି ଅଳ
 ଯଦନାଲେ ନହନା ॥

କୋକିଳାକୁଳ କୁହ କୁହଇ
 ଅଳି ବନ୍ଧୁକୁ କୁହୁମେ ।
 ହରି-ମାଳସେ ତହୁ ଦେଖବ
 ପାଞ୍ଚବ ଆନ ଜନସେ ॥

ସବ ସଜ୍ଜିନୀ ସିରି ବୈଠାଲି
 ଗାଓତ ହସି-ନାମେ ।
 ସେଧନେ ଶୁନେ ତୈଧନେ ଉର୍ତ୍ତେ
 ନବରାଗିନୀ ଗାନେ ॥

ଲଳିତା କୋରେ କରି ବୈଠତ
 ବିଶାଖା ଧରେ ନାଟିଆ ।
 ଶଶିଶେଖରେ କହେ ଗୋଚରେ
 ଯାଓତ ଜୀଉ ଫାଟିଆ ॥
 ୨୨୩ ॥ [୩୨୭] ॥

ନୀଳୋତ୍ପଳ-ସୁଧମଞ୍ଜୁଳ
 ଧାମର କାହେ ଭେଳ ।
 ମଦନଞ୍ଜରେ ତହୁ ଡାତଳ
 ଜାଗରେ ନିଶି ଗେଲ ॥
 ସିନ୍ଦୁରହି ପରିସଞ୍ଚିତ
 ଚୋରସ କାହେ ଭାଳ ।
 ଗୋବର୍ଦ୍ଧନେ ଗୌରୀକ ସେବି
 ସିନ୍ଦୁର ଡାଧି ନେଲ ॥

ନନ୍ଦରଞ୍ଜନ ବନ୍ଧୁସି ତୁଆ
 ଦେୟଳ କୋନ ନାରୀ ।
 କଟକେ ତହୁ କ୍ରତବିକ୍ରତ
 ତୁହେ ଚୁଁ ଡିହୁତେ ଗୋରି ॥

ନୀଳାସର କାହେ ପହିରାଲି
 ଶୀତାସର ହୋଡ଼ି ।
 ଅଗ୍ରଜ ସଞ୍ଜେ ପରିସଞ୍ଚିତ
 ନନ୍ଦାଳରେ ଭୋରି ॥

| | | | |
|-------------------|------------|------------|-------------------|
| অঞ্জন কাছে | গগুস্থলে | বেদহি যাকো | যশগুণ গাওত |
| খণ্ডন কাছে অধরে । | | | করতহি নাম-কি আশ । |
| উত্তর-প্রতি- | উত্তর দিতে | তাকো নামহি | পাপিজন বঞ্চিত |
| পরাজয় শশিশেখরে ॥ | | | রোহিণীনন্দন-দাস ॥ |
| ২২৪ ॥ [৩২৮] ॥ | | | ২২৬ ॥ [৩৩০] |

বিশ্বস্বর-দাস (২)

জাগী হো কিশোরী গোরী রজনী ভই ভোরে ।
 রতি-অলসমে নিদ্র জাওত রসরাজহি কোরে ॥
 নীলবসন যণি-অভরণ ভই গেও বিধারে ।
 সাস্ন ননদী এইসে বিবাদী মনমে নাহি তেরে ॥
 নগরক[লোক] জাগি বৈঠব কেইসে জাওব
 গুরে ।
 অরুণ-উদয় হোই আওত শারী শুক ফুকারে ॥
 শুনি নাগর উঠি বৈঠল নাগরী করি কোরে ।
 বিশ্বস্বর-দাস ঝারি গুরি লেই ঠারি রহত দ্বারে ॥
 ২২৫ ॥ [৩২৫] ॥

যাকর পদহ্যতি- দরশনে নিগরব
 কোটি কোটি মনুমথ ভেল ।
 কুটিল দৃগঙ্কল বিদগাধি বিহরণি
 ত্রিভুবনমন হরি নেল ॥
 অভিনবজলধর- সুল্লর-আকৃতি
 করতহি প্রেমবিহার ।
 ত্রিজগতযুবতীক ভাগিবরসাধন
 মুরতি সিদ্ধি অবতার ॥
 সো অব নন্দহি নন্দন নাগর
 তোহে কর আনন্দভোর ।
 শ্রীশচীনন্দন ও নবমাধুরী
 বরণি না পাওল ওর ॥
 ২২৭ ॥ [৩৩১]

রোহিণীনন্দন-দাস

ভজ মন রাধে কৃষ্ণ গোবিন্দ ।
 যাকো নামহি মোচিত ভববন্ধ
 হোতহি প্রেম-আনন্দ ॥
 এ শুক শঙ্কর সনক সনাতন
 অন্ত নাহি পাওয়ে অনন্ত ।
 যাকো নামহি ত্রিভুবনমঙ্গল
 অহর্নিশি জপতহি সন্ত ॥
 যাকো নামহি সুরাসুর নরবর
 মুনিগণ করত ধেরান ।
 যাকো নাম রউত নারদ সলা
 ভুবন ফিরত কর গান ॥

রাসানন্দ

সুরীত কহায়সি সখীগণ মেলি ।
 গঞ্জে দূখ দ্বিগুণ করি দেলি ॥
 একে হাম ছুখিনী অনাধিনী নারী ।
 দগধরণায়ে দহসি অবিচারি ॥
 সখি হে মঝ মন বুঝসি কোই ।
 সোই গড়ল প্রেম ভাঙ্গল সোই ॥
 ইথে যদি মোহে দেওবি অহুতাপ ।
 কালিয়বিষহুদে দেঅব ঝাঁপ ॥
 ঐছন বাণী কহল যব রাই ।
 রাসানন্দ তবহু মুখ চাই ॥
 ২২৮ ॥ [৩৩২]

গোপীনাথ-দুର୍জভ

শুন হে নাগরগুরু রসের কর্ত্তক
 অনাধিনী-রাই-পরায়ণ ।
 চতুরের শিরোমণি প্রেমরতনখনি
 বিদগধনাগর কান ॥
 বজ্র, জানসি রাই তোহারি ।
 নীল-অম্বর গলে দেই মিনতি কর
 রাখবি বচন হামারি ॥
 যব রাই গুরুজন- সঙ্গতি তব তহি
 না করিহ মুরলী-নিসান ।
 শুনহৈতে মধুর- শব্দে তম্ব পুলকিত
 চমকি চমকি উঠে প্রাণ ॥
 উতপত চীত রীত নাহি মানত
 লোরে নয়ান মোর ঝাঁপ ।
 তুয়া মুখ দরশনে লাগি চিত আকুল
 গুরুহরজনভয়ে কাঁপ ॥
 কি করব ও মুখ- চাঁদদরশ বিনে
 খেনে কত যুগ করি মানি ।
 লাখজনচকোর- তাপহরণ মুখ
 দেখিলে কি হএ নাহি জানি ॥
 কহহৈতে গোবী পুঙ্কে পরিপূরল
 নাগর করলহি কোর ।
 আহা মরি মরি করি চুষই কত বেরি
 গোপীনাথ-দুর্জভ ভোর ॥
 ২২৯ ॥ [৩৩৩-৩৩৪]

ব্রজনাথ

দূতীক বচন শুনল যব নাগর
 সচকিত পুন পুন হোই ।
 রাইক শেষ- দশা যব শুনল
 হুকরি হুকরি কত রোই ॥

কাতরে তব হরি দূতীক করে ধরি
 দেয়ল আপন মাথে ।
 ছই-এক দিবস মাথে হাম বারব
 তুহঁ পরবোধব তাথে ॥
 তুহঁ মঝ অন্তর জানসি রে সখি
 সো বিনে আন নাহি জান ।
 সো-মুখদরশন বিনে তম্ব জরজর
 অবিরত ঝরই নয়ান ॥
 রাইক আগে কহবি তুহঁ সুন্দরি
 হামারি মিনতি বেরি বেরি ।
 কহে ব্রজনাথ তবহি হুখ মীটব
 যব হাম ও-মুখ হেরি ॥
 ২৩০ ॥ [৩৩৪-৩৩৫] ॥

অকিঞ্চন-দাস

শুন শুন সুবল সাজাতি ।
 সহই না যায় হুখ আজুক রাতি ॥
 রাইক প্রেমমহিমা নাহি ওর ।
 পরশি রহই তম্ব হিয়া হিয়া জোর ॥
 ভাবে বিভোর রাই মঝ পরসঙ্গ ।
 অনিমিখ হেরই নয়ন ভরঙ্গ ॥
 রসবতী রাই কতই রস জান ।
 প্রেমরসে বান্ধল হামারি পরায়ণ ॥
 সো ধনী অধরে অধর যব দেল ।
 রাজহংস যেন সরোবরে কেল ॥
 ভণই অকিঞ্চন নাগর সুজান ।
 ইহ রসলীলা সব তুহঁ জান ॥

২৩১ ॥ [৩৩৬] ॥

যাবটে আমার রাইএর বসতি
 গোচর হইবে যবে ।
 প্রীতপমঞ্জরী মোরে কৃপা করি
 চরণে রাখিবে কবে ॥

মোরে কৃপা করি গোবর্দ্ধন গিরি
রাধাকুণ্ড কুঞ্জবনে ।

যেখানে যেখানে আর লীলাস্থানে
নিভৃত নিকুঞ্জবনে ॥

নিভৃত নিকুঞ্জে রাই যাবে রঞ্জে
নয়নে দেখিব কবে ।

গুরুরূপা সখী অনাথিনী দেখি
পশ্চাতে রাখিবে কবে ॥

আর কত দিনে সেবাপরাগণে
আমারে ইঞ্জিতবাণী ।

ইঞ্জিত বুঝিব পালঙ্ক বিছাব
রাধারে বসাব আনি ॥

পালঙ্ক উপরে বসায় রাধারে
চরণ ধুয়াব স্নেহে ।

গুরু বাস দিয়ে চরণ মুছাব
কর্পূরতাষূল মুখে ॥

ঠাকুরচরণে মোর নিবেদনে
কে আর করিবে দয়া ।

অকিঞ্চন-দাসে সেবা অভিলাষে
দেহ মোরে পদছায়া ॥

২৩২ ॥ [৩৩৬-৩৩৭]

দস্তাভ

পেখলু অপরূপ নন্দকুমার ।
কাঁলিনীনীল-তীরতরুহেলন

যেহন জলদসঞ্চার ॥

চুড়ি উড়য়ে ময়ূরশিখণ্ডক
সো এক অপরূপ ঠাম ।

যেহন ইন্দ্র-ধনুক তহি উয়ল
ঐহন মরু মনে ভান ॥

মোতিমহার উর-পর লোলত
হেরিয়ে তারকপীতি ।

কটি-পর পীত-বসন তহি রাজিত
জিনি দোদামিনীকাঁতি ॥

চরণ অবধি বন-মালা বিরাজিত
উনমত মধুকরজাল ।

পদপঙ্কজতলে মানস সৌপল
কাতরে কহত দয়াল ॥

২৩৩ ॥ [৩৩৮] ॥

কাশী-দাস

নন্দনন্দন সঙ্গে মোহন
নওল গোকুলকামিনী ।

তপননন্দিনী-তীরে ভালে বনি
ভুবনমোহনলাবণি ॥

তা থই তা থই মৃদঙ্গ বাজই
মুখর কঙ্কণ কিঙ্কিণী ।

বিলসে গোবিন্দ প্রেম-আনন্দ
সঙ্গে নবনবরঙ্গিণী ॥

উরহি লম্বিত কনকচম্পক
দাম কর্দমচন্দনে ।

দৌহ-কলেবর ভেল শ্রমজল
মোতি মরকত কাঞ্চনে ॥

রাসে মাতল সঙ্গে ষড়ঋতু
কুঞ্জকাননে রাজই ।

গুরু শিখী পিক চাতক ডাহক
ভ্রমর পঞ্চম গাওই ॥

রাসমণ্ডল গোপিনীকুল
শ্রাম সনে নবরঙ্গিণী ।

দেই করতালি বোলে ভালি ভালি
কাশী-দাস বলি বাইনি ॥

২৩৪ ॥ [৩৩৯] ॥

সব্বাশব্দ

হিরণবরণ দেখিলাম গোর

ছিল ছিল যায় ঠাটে ।

তম্ব যন প্রাণ আপনার নয়

ডুবিছু তাহার নাটে ॥

অচল পদ গদগদ বাক্

ধৈর্য্যমদ গেল ।

চেতনহারা বাউল পারা

আগমদশা হৈল ॥

ভয় করি নয় তয় কেন হয়

গা কেনে মোর কাঁপে ।

নিরখি লোচন হরল চেতন

দংশল যেন সাপে ॥

রূপের ছটা চাঁদের ঘটা

জটাধারী দেখে ভুলে ।

নৈদার নারীর ধৈর্য্যধ্বংস

দাগ রহে বা কুলে ॥

প্রতি অঙ্গে যদি নয়ান থাকিত

পুরিত মনের সাধ ।

একে কুলবতী তায় ছাটি আঁখি

তায় বুড়টা বাদ ॥

চাঁচরচুলে চাঁপার ফুলে

চার চঞ্চরী চলে ।

ভাল বলমল স্বরূজ লুকায়

তায় অলকা দোলে ॥

ভুরুর জ্যোতি হরয়ে মতি

শক্রধনুছটা হরে ।

অপাক্তরঙ্গ টক কুলবতীর

ব্রতভঙ্গ করে

বদনচাঁদে

মদন কাঁদে

হৃদে মুকুতার পাঁতি ।

মৃহমৃহ

হাসিরাশি

দেখে কেবা ধরে ছাতি ॥

স্বর্ণকপাট

হৃদয়তট

আজ্ঞাতুলসিত ভূজা ।

কোন ধনী না

নয়ানে হেরিয়া

দিটি দিঞা করে পূজা ॥

জামুর বরণ

কাঁচা সোনা

যেমন সাঁচামোচা ।

হেরিলে তার

নাচা কাঁচা

না যায় কুল বাঁচা ॥

স্থলপদ্ম

চরণযুগল

নথ ইন্দু নিন্দে ।

সরবানন্দ-

চিত চঞ্চল

মজু চরণারবিন্দে ॥

২৩৫ ॥ [৩৪০-৩৪১] ॥

বীরবাহু

দেখ সখি মোহনমধুরস্ববেশং ।

চন্দ্রকচাক্র-

মুকুতাফলমণ্ডিত

অলিকুলসুন্দরকেশং ॥

তরুণ-অরুণকরু-

শাময়-লোচনে

মনসিজতাপবিনাশং ।

অপরূপরূপ-

মনোভবমর্জল-

মধুরমধুরমৃহহাসং ॥

অভিনবজলধর-

কলিতকলেবর-

দামিনীবসনবিকাশং ।

কিয়ে জড় অজড়

সকল পুলকারিত

কুঞ্জভবনকৃতবাসং ॥

বো পদপঙ্কজ ভব নারদ অজ
 ভাব অভাববিশেষঃ ।
 ব্রজবিনীতাগণ- বোহনকারণ-
 বিরচিতবিবিধবিলাসঃ ॥
 পঞ্চমরাগ- তানতরঙ্গান্বিত-
 অধরমিলিতবক্সংসং ।
 অভিনবকমল জিতল পদপঙ্কজ
 বীরবাহ-মনোহংসং ॥
 ২৩৬ ॥ [৩৪৩] ॥

ভ্রমরকুল- নাদে অব- সাদ মধু প্রাণ ।
 কুঞ্জ মন- রঞ্জ ভয়- গুঞ্জ সম ভান ॥
 কোকিলকল- ভাবে অব ত্রাস ভেল চীত ।
 সঙ্গস্থখ লাগি মম অঙ্গ ভেল ভীত ॥
 গন্ধসহ গন্ধবহ মল্লগতি ভেল ।
 ইহ সুখদ বিপিনক্রম- দাম হুখ দেল ॥
 বিকট ফুল- বৃন্দ চিত্ত গন্ধ হরি নেল ।
 সবলহাদি কমল অব তরলমতি ভেল ॥
 ২৩৮ ॥ [৩৪৫-৩৪৬] ॥

নিমানন্দ-দাস

সখীগণ সঙ্কে রঞ্জে কুলকামিনী
 করই হাসপরিহাসে ।
 প্রিয় এক সহচরী তুরিতহি আয়ল
 শ্রামক-বচনবিশেষে ॥
 শুন শুন সুন্দরি রাই ।
 সো বরনাগর কুঞ্জভবনে গেও
 তুরিতহি অব তুহুঁ বাই ॥
 সঙ্কেতবচন শুনি তহি হরষিত
 সখীক কহই বারে বার ।
 নিভূতনিকুঞ্জে আঙ্কু হরি ভেটব
 তুরিতহি করই শিঙ্গার ॥
 শ্রামক-প্রেমমদে গরগর সুন্দরী
 উলসিত হৃদয়ক মাঝ ।
 • নিমানন্দ-দাস- আশ আঙ্কু প্রব
 • ভেটব নাগররাজ ॥
 ২৩৭ ॥ [৩৪৪] ॥

রাধানন্দ-দাস

তুহুঁ মধু প্রাণক পিয়ারী ।
 রাখব হৃদয় বিদারি ॥
 তুহুঁ বরনাগরী বালী ।
 হৃদয়ক চম্পকমালা ॥
 তুহুঁ মুখ চন্দ্র উজোরী ।
 হাম দিঠি লুবধ চকোরী ॥
 রমণীর অঙ্গুত কান ।
 রাধানন্দেতে রস গান ॥
 ২৩৯ ॥ [৩৪৭]

নিকুঞ্জভবনে হুঁ নিকুঞ্জভবনে ।
 সোদামিনী অঙ্গ কি গোপিল নবধনে ॥
 রাধা কানু হুঁ কর অভেদপিরোতি ।
 হৃন্দুভি সহিতে বিজয় কৈল রতিপতি ॥
 তরুণিত যমুনা উথলি বহিলা ।
 হেমলতা ভুজদণ্ডে রন্দকি (?) বান্ধিলা ॥
 রতিরস অবসানে হুঁ ক উল্লাস
 যুগলচরণ সেবে রাধানন্দ-দাস ॥
 ২৪০ ॥ [৩৪৭] ॥

কমলাকান্ত-দাস

শ্রাম গুণ- দাম বিনে দাম যুগ ভেল ।
 কামধর- দাম অব ভেল মুখে শেল ॥

মগনচন্দ্র

আজু রে গৌরাজ-মনে কি ভাব উঠিল ।
 পূরবচরিত্র বৃষ্টি মনেতে পড়িল ॥
 সভা করি বসিলেন গৌরাজ-সুন্দর ।
 রাধাই মুরারি-গুপ্ত আর বক্রেস্বর ॥
 চারিদিকে ভক্তবৃন্দ নাচে হরি বলি ।
 আনন্দ হইয়া কেহ দেয় করতালি ॥
 নিত্যানন্দ গৌরচন্দ্র শোভিয়াছে ভাল ।
 জগন্নাথ-মিশ্রের ঘর করিয়াছে আলো ॥
 কোটি কাম মুরহিত নয়নের কোণে ।
 মগন হইয়া যথ হেরই নয়নে ॥

২৪১ ॥ [৩৪৭-৩৪৮] ॥

চান্দনী রজনী হেরি গৌরাজ-সুন্দর ।
 কৃষ্ণ-অভিসাররসে প্রভু ভেল ভোর ॥
 ভ্রমর কোকিল করু স্নমধুর গান ।
 শেজ তেজি উঠিলা গৌর রসধাম ॥
 ঠমকি ঠমকি যায় চরণ-অধির ।
 ভাবাবেশে আওল সুরধুনীতীর ॥
 একে সে নির্জনে পুন গঙ্গার তরঙ্গ ।
 ফুলবন দেখি ভাব বাঢ়ল মাতঙ্গ ॥
 তহি' প্রভু বৈঠল নীপতরুমূলে ।
 সেজ বিছায়ল কিশলয় ফুলে ॥
 দিশ হেরি রাধা বলি আশি ছলছল ।
 মগনচন্দ্র হেরি হৃদয়তরল ॥

২৪২ ॥ [৩৪৮] ॥

রাধামুকুন্দ-দাস

নাচিছে কানাই সঙ্গে বলাই ।
 হেন কালে তথা আয়ল রাই ॥
 ললিতাদি সখী সঙ্গেতে করি ।
 অনিমিষে হরি মুখ নিহারি ॥

নীলগিরি কিবা রজতগিরি ।
 তথাই শোভয়ে সুহেমগিরি ॥
 শ্বেতনীল জহু কমলমাঝে ।
 সোনার কমল অধিক রাজে ॥
 হেম নীল শ্বেত চন্দ্র উদিত ।
 সখীগণ তহি তার' মিলিত ॥
 অদভূত শোভা ত্রীনন্দালয়ে ।
 হয় নাই কভু হবার নহে ॥
 নয়নে নয়ন কমল অলি ।
 চাতক পায়ল মেঘ-আবলি ॥
 চকোর মিলল চন্দ্র উজোরে ।
 রাধিকা-রূপ মুকুন্দ নেহারে ॥

২৪৩ ॥ [৩৫০] ॥

প্রতাপনারায়ণ

চন্দ্রবদনী ধনো প্রেমতরঙ্গা ।
 নয়ননলিনযুগ ভাঙ বিভঙ্গা ॥
 নাসা খগপতি অধর বিষজ্যোতি
 যোতিম রে কুচ শিব শিব গঙ্গা ।
 কেশরী জিনি কাট নাভি সরোবর
 কিঙ্কণী ঝলকই মুগধ অনঙ্গা ॥
 প্রতাপনারায়ণ হংসকুলগামিনী
 ভামিনী বিলসতি মোহন সঙ্গা ॥

২৪৪ ॥ [৩৫১] ॥

মুকুলিতবকুলকুমুমঙ্গলকেশুং ।
 রুচিরচন্দনচাকুচচ্চিতবেশং ॥
 অভিনবজলধরকুস্তলজালে ।
 শোভিত পরিমলমালতীমালে ॥
 মণিময়মকরকুণ্ডলপ্রতিদেশং ।
 তড়িদিব নবনীল বসনবিকাশং ॥
 প্রতাপনারায়ণ-ভণিতমধুপং ।
 পরমপুরুষপুরুষোত্তমরূপং ॥

২৪৫ ॥ [৩৫২] ॥

শারদপূর্ণিমাহিমকরবরণে ।
 চঞ্চলনীলনলিনীদলশয়নে ॥
 প্রাতরুদিতরবিসিন্দুরকাঁতি ।
 দশন সাজল মুকুতাফলভাঁতি ॥
 বঙ্কবিলোকনৌ কাজররঙ্গি ।
 কামকামান কুটিলক্রভঙ্গি ॥
 শ্রীফলসফলিতকুতকুচকলসে ।
 মন্তময়ূরীপতি জিনিয়া অলসে ॥
 মৃগমদচন্দনচর্চিত্তদেহা ।
 তরলধনাততদামিনীরেহা ॥
 প্রতাপনারায়ণ-সঙ্গীতভণিতং ।
 রমণীশিরোমণি রাধার চরিতং ॥

২৪৬ [৩৫২]

কিঙ্কর

বিগলিতকুস্তল ভুরুমহারঙ্গ ।
 ঘন ভুজঙ্গম জহু ভেল সঙ্গ ॥
 নয়নরাগ ভরু সা (৭) দূরদূরং ।
 নীলনলিনী যেন পরশল সুরং ॥
 দশনক দংশন অধরক অংশং ।
 জহু বিশ্বফল কীর নহি দংশং ॥
 অলকা গলিত তন মোতিমহার ।
 তরল সলিল যেন প্রাতরকার ॥
 উচকুচকঙ্ক নথ নথ দন্তং ।
 শাতকুস্তগিরিশির চির থণ্ডং ॥
 শুনি চমকিত ধনী মুহুমুহ হাসং ।
 কিঙ্কর কহ সখি কিয়ে অভিভাষণ ॥

২৪৭ [৩৫৩] ॥

লালবিহার

দেখ সখি নিকুঞ্জ-মাঝারে অহুপাম ।
 কোতুকে কোকিল অলি করয়ে স্ৰগান ॥

একে সে রসের কুঞ্জ বহে নব বাএ ।
 পরাগ সহিত মন্দ অধিক সুহাএ ॥
 কিবা অপরূপ শোভা বিনোদিনী রাধা ।
 হেরিয়া মদন মদে পড়ি গেল বাধা ॥
 কি কহব গ্রাম-মোহনময়ী বেণী ।
 যাহার উপরে শোভে মুকুতার শ্রেণী ॥
 বিবিধ রসের ফুল সাজে সারি সারি ।
 যার মাঝে রতনখেচনো মনোহারী ॥
 তাহার অগ্রেতে স্মৃৎসর কুলখোপা ।
 দোলএ বিচিত্র মুখ তুল (৭) রত্নখোপা ॥
 সূচিকন রসবেশ লখল না যাএ ।
 নাগররতনমন হবএ হেলাএ ॥
 যাহার সৌরভে বৃন্দাবন ভোর ।
 লালবিহারী তাহে কিবা দিব তুর ॥

২৪৮ [৩৫৪] ॥

প্রাণদাস

মদনমাতঙ্গ সমরে ভেল ভঙ্গ ।
 বৈঠল দুই জন স্নেহবরনবিধু ॥
 শ্রমজলপূরিত-অঙ্গ ॥
 নবকরপল্লব অঞ্চল বীজই
 কুস্তলে যাজই দেহ ।
 শিখিনীশিখণ্ড যতন করি সাজই
 পুন নব বাঢ়ল নেহ ॥
 কতি বনমালা কতিহু পীত-অমর
 কতি রহু মুরলী সুরম ॥
 কালভুজঙ্গম- দংশনে যৈছন
 বারণ নহে মণিময় ॥
 অধরসুধারস পুন পুন পীবই
 পুন পরিরম্ভণ কেলি ।
 রমণ রমণী হুই লখই ন পাওই
 অহুপম হিয় হিয় মেলি ॥

কাঞ্চনশৈল জলদে ছহঁ বাঁপল
 নীলজলদে কিয়ে ইস্খু ।
 তুখিত বিধুসুদ বিধু কিয়ে বাঁপল
 ময়ন কিয়ে রসসিদ্ধ ॥
 বহত অনিল কুহরে কুহক ॥
 বহুধ মধুকরীপুঞ্জ ।
 তরুনবশাখে কুমুভার প্রবিত
 ঝরু মকরন্দ সুকুঞ্জ ॥
 রসময়রাজ রসিক বরনাগরী
 বিলসত মদনবিলাস ।
 কুঞ্জ বহার সখিনীগণসজ্জিত
 হেরই প্রাণহ দাস ॥
 ২৪৯ ॥ [৩৫৫] ॥

দামোদর

রাই নয়ান মেলিয়া কেন চাহ না ।
 তুমি মোর রতন জীবন ধন যৌবন
 মদনদহনশর সহে না ॥
 তুয়াক রূপশী পরশি সরসিকহ
 অধীন জনেরে কেন দেহ না ।
 তুয়া মুখচান্দ চান্দ অধরানন
 হাসি বিকশি কেন কহ না ॥
 দবহি হতাশনে মদনে তমু ভাজলি
 পরশ নহিলে তমু রহে না ।
 লেহ মোর খত লিখি দামোদর রহ সাখী
 তুয়া বিনে আর কার হব না ॥
 ২৫০ ॥ [৩৫৬] ॥

সেবাচান্দ

দেখ সখি নিকুঞ্জের অপরূপ রস ।
 বিনোদিনী গান করে বিনোদিনী সঙ্গ ॥
 ঘেরি ঘেরি বৈঠল যত চন্দ্রাবলী ।
 অকল পাতিঞা বাগে যৌবনের ডালি ॥

তা দেখি ময়ূরগণ নাচে কিরি কিরি ।
 জয় রাধে ত্রৈরাধে বলি গায় শুক সারী ॥
 ফুলভরে তরুগণ লম্বিত হইল ।
 চরণপরশ লাগি লুটিঞা পড়িল ॥
 সেবাচান্দ ভাবি রসে না পাইয়া ওর ।
 ছহঁ মুখ নিরখিয়া তই গেল ভোর ॥
 ২৫১ ॥ [৩৫৭] ॥

রামরতন

নারদ হেরি নন্দ ফুকারি
 লালন কহি কোরে ।
 পরণাম করি মুনিপায়ে ধরি
 ভাসল আখিনীরে ॥

হাম উদার না জানি ফাঁপর
 ই কি পরমাদ ভেল ।
 সরবস ধন লালন জীবন
 কোন বিধি হরি নেল ॥

কি ফলে পাওল কি পাপে ছাড়ল
 না বুঝি করমবাত ।
 হাম অভাগিনী লালন হারাইয়া
 না ভেল এ দেহপাত ॥

পরান বিদরে নাহি যায় দুরে
 যে ছুখ কহব কার ।
 বোবার স্বপন তেবতি পরান
 ভিতরে সুনি বেড়ায় ॥

রামরতন এই নিবেদন
 চরণে মুনি তোহার ।
 নীলরতনে বারেক নঞানে
 দেখাহ মুনি হামার ॥

২৫২ ॥ [৩৫৮] ॥

গদাধর-দাস

অপরূপ রাধা-মাধব-ভাতি ।
 তাষুল ছোড়ি সেজ-পর বৈঠল
 পুনহি মদনরসে মাতি ॥
 রতনপালঙ্ক-পর শূতল ছহঁ জন
 হিয়ে হিয়ে নয়ানে নয়ানে ।
 ললিতা-সুন্দরী তাষুল কপূর পুরি
 দেঅল ছহঁর বয়ানে ॥
 সখী সব নিরখত অপরূপ মাধুরী
 ছহঁ জন গাঅত ছহঁরসে ভোরি ।
 ছহঁ ক কোরে লটপট ছহঁ জন
 কাল গোর কোই লখই না পারি ॥
 কোই কহত ইয়ে ধীরবিজুরী কিয়ে
 রহতহি জলধরে ঘেরি ।
 গদাধর কহে ইহ সোই নবকৈশোর
 বুযভানু-কিশোরী ॥
 ২৫৩ ॥ [৩৫৯] ॥

‘মাধবেন্দ্র-পুরী’

সাজল ধনী চন্দ্রবদনী
 গ্রাম-দরশন-আশে ।
 সজিনীগণ রঙ্গিনী সব
 ঘেরিল চারি পাশে ॥
 ভরুগারুণ-চরণযুগল
 মঞ্জীর তহিঁ শোভে ।
 ভূদাবলী গুঞ্জ গুঞ্জ
 শুভ্ররে যমুনোভে ॥
 কুস্তিকুস্ত জিনি নিতম্ব
 কেশরিকীর্ণমাঝে ।
 পরি নীলাধর পট্টাধর
 কিস্কিনী তহিঁ বাজে ॥

বাহয়ুগল

করিশাবকগুণ্ডে ।
 হেমাকদ মণিকঙ্কণ
 নথরে শশিখণ্ডে ॥
 হেমাচল কুচমণ্ডল
 কাঁচলো তহিঁ শোভে ।
 চন্দ্রকান্ত ধ্বাস্তদমন
 কর্ণে কর্ণে শোভে ॥
 জাহ্নদ-হেমযুক্ত
 মুকুতাফলপাতি ।
 ফণিমণিযুত দামসহিত
 দামিনীসমভাতি ॥
 বিষফল-নিন্দি অধর
 দাড়িমবীজদশনা ।
 বেশর তহিঁ নলকে ঝলকে
 মন্দমন্দহসনা ॥

নাসা তিল-ফুলতুল
 কবরী করবীছাঁদে ।
 মদনমোহন-মোহিনী ধনী
 সাজলী তহিঁ রাখে ॥
 নবযৌবনী চন্দ্রবদনী
 বৃন্দাবনবাটে ।
 মাধবেন্দ্র-পুরী রচিত ভাষ
 বর্ণি পূর্ণি পাটে ॥
 ২৫৪ ॥ [৩৬২] ॥

গোবিন্দদাস ক্ষেত্রমোহন-দত্ত

মাধব, অব তুহঁ শঙ্করদেবা ।
 যাকর পুণফলে প্রাতরে তেটলু
 দূরেছ দূরে রহঁ সেবা ॥

আকুল কুটিল- চুড়শিখিচক্রে
ভালহি সিদ্ধুরদহনা ।
চন্দন-মাঝহি যুগমদ লাগল
তেই বেকত তিন নয়না ॥

চন্দনরেণু- ধূসর ভেল সব তহু
সোই ভসমসম ভেলা ।

তোহারি বিলোকনে মঝু মন মনমথ
মনমথ সঞে জরি গেলা ॥

কাহে দিগম্বর অবহঁ বসন পর
শঙ্কর-নিয়ম উপেখি ।

গোবিন্দদাস কহয়ে পর অম্বর
(ক্ষেত্রমোহন-দত্ত)

গণইতে লেখি না লেখি ॥

২৫৫ ॥ [৩৬০-৩৬১]

বাসুদেব-দাস

দণ্ডে শতবার খায় বাহা দেখে তাহা চায়
ছানা দধি এ ক্ষীর নবনী ।

রাখিও আপন কাহে ভোকছানি লাগে পাছে
আমার সোনার যাহুঘণি ॥

শুন বাপু হলধর এক নিবেদন মোর
এই গোপাল মায়ের পরাণ ।

বাইতে তোমার সনে সাধ করিয়াছে মনে
আপনি হইও সাবধান ॥

দামালিয়া বাহু মোর না জানে আপন পর
ভালমন্দ নাহিক গেয়ান ।

দারুণ কংসের চর তারা ফিরে নিরস্তর
আপনি হইও সাবধান ॥

বাম করে হলধর দক্ষিণ করে গিরিধর
শুন বলাই নিবেদনবাণী ।
বাসুদেব-দাস বলে তিতিল নয়নজলে
মুরছিয়া পড়িল ধরণী ॥

২৫৬ ॥ [৩৬৪-৩৬৫] ।

কোরে বৈঠায়লি সুলদরী রাই ।

হুহঁ নবঘোবন হুহঁ অবগাই ॥

হুহঁ আলিঙ্গন মদনমাতা ।

তমালে বেঢ়ল জহু কনকলতা ॥

রসেতে চঞ্চল দৌহার আঁখি ।

নাচত যৈছন খঞ্জন পাখী ॥

রূপ বিলোকিত হুহঁ ক নয়নে ।

হেরি লুকায়ল চাঁদ গগনে ॥

করে লুকায়ল হুহঁ হেমকটোর ।

হাসি হাসি কহে হুহঁ মরমক বোল ॥

হুহঁ ক পিরীতি হুহঁ ভালে জান ।

কহে বাসুদেব হুহঁ রসিকসুজান ॥

২৫৭ ॥ [৩৬৫]

স্বদনাত-দাস

গঞ্জে গঞ্জক লোক তাহে না ডরাই ।

ছাড়ে ছাড়ুক নিজ পতি আপদ এড়াই ॥

বলে বলুক পাড়ার লোক তাহে নাহি ডর ।

না বলুক না ডাকুক না যাব তার ঘর ॥

ধরমকরম বাড়ক তাহে না ডরাই ।

মনের ভরমে পাছে বন্ধুরে হারাই ॥

কালামাগিকের মালা গাঁথি নিব গলে ।

কামু-গুণবশ আমি পরিব কুণ্ডলে ॥

কামু-অমুরাগরাঙ্গা বসন পরিয়া ।

দেশে দেশে ভরমিব যোগিনী হইয়া ॥

বহুনাথ-দাসে কহে এহি মনে সাধ ।
হয় হউক জগ ভরি কালা-পরিবাদ ॥

২৫৮ ॥ [৪৭০] ॥

শাওড়ী ননদী য়োর সদাই বাসয়ে চোর
গৃহপতি ফিরিয়া না চায় ।

এ বীরহাশীর-চিত শ্রীনিবাস-অনুগত
মজি গেলা কালাচাঁদের পায় ॥

২৬০ ॥ [৪০৬] ॥

বলরাম-দাস (২)

রূপ সনাতন সঙ্গে শ্রীধীব-গোসাঞি ।
কত ভক্তিগ্রন্থ কৈল লেখা জোখা নাই ॥
মনের বাসনা আশ্বস্তির কারণ ।
কতিপরগ্রন্থনাম করিব কীর্তন ॥
গোপালবিরুদাবলী কৃষ্ণপদচিহ্ন ।
শ্রীমাধবমহোৎসব রাধাপদচিহ্ন ॥
শ্রীগোপালচম্পু আর রসামৃত শেষ ।
কুপায়ুধিস্তব সপ্ত সন্দর্ভ বিশেষ ॥
মৃত্যুমালা ধাতুসংগ্রহ কৃষ্ণার্চন ।
সঙ্কল্পকল্পবৃক্ষ হরিনামব্যাকরণ ॥
নিখিল লিখিলা গ্রন্থ কত কৈব নাম ।
খুলিলা ভক্তির দ্বার কহে বলরাম ॥

২৫৯ ॥ [৪০৪] ॥

রাঘবেন্দ্র-রায়

তোমা না ছাড়িব বন্ধু তৌমা না ছাড়িব ।
বিরলে পাইয়াছি হিয়া মাঝারে রাখিব ॥
রাতি কৈলাঙ দিন বন্ধু দিন কৈলাঙ রাতি ।
ভুবন ভরিয়া রহিল তোমার খেআতি ॥
ঘর কৈলাঙ বন বন্ধু বন কৈলাঙ ঘর ।
পর কৈলাঙ আপুনি আপুনি হৈলাঙ পর ॥
সকল তেজিয়া দূরে লইলাঙ শরণ ।
রায় রাঘবেন্দ্র কহে ও-রাস্তাচরণ ॥

২৬১ ॥ [৪০৮] ॥

বীর-হাম্মীর

শুন গো মরমসখি কালিয়া কমল-আখি
কিবা কৈল কিছুই না জানি ।
কেমন করয়ে মন সব লাগে উচাটন
প্রেম করি খোয়াই পরাণি ॥

শুনিয়া দেখিহু কালা দেখিয়া পাইহু জালা
নিভাইতে নাহি পাই পানি ।
অশুভ চন্দন আনি দেহেতে লেপিহু ছানি
না নিভায় হিয়ার আগুনি ॥

বসিয়া থাকিয়ে যবে আসিয়া উঠায় তবে
লৈয়া যায় যমুনার তীরে ।
কি করিতে কি না করি সদাই ঝুরিয়া মরি
তিলেক নাহিক রহি ধীরে ॥

গোস্বামি-দাস

কানাই, গাএর গরব নহে ভাল ।
আপনা ভালাই চাও ভরমে চলিয়া বাও
পাছে নন্দ-ঘোবের গারি টাল ॥

কেমন বা রূপ ধর কিসের গরব কর
রাখাল হইয়া এত বেশ ।
মথুরানগর-বাঘে চল দেখি ঐ সাজে
কপালে টালনি আধকেশ ॥

চলিতে না জান পথে মোহনমুরলী হাথে
বাজননুগর দিয়া পায় ।
আমরা পরের নারী তেঞি সে ভরম করি
হাধ দিতে চাও পারা গায় ॥

আসি হাথ দেহ হারে কি আর বলিব তোরে
মুখে বল কাঁচলী উতার ।

গোবিন্দদাসের বাণী হাসে প্রিয়চূড়ামণি
বড় কোপ দেখিয়া রাখার ॥

২৬২ ॥ [৪০৯-৪১০] ॥

সোনার নুপুর কিঞ্চিৎ কল্প
না চলিতে বাজে তার ।

দাস বিহারী সেবা অঙ্গীকরি
নয়ানে বহিছে ধারা ॥

২৬৩ ॥ [৪১০-৪১১] ॥

বিহারি-দাস

মুরলী তরল করল পরাণ
রহিতে না দিল ঘরে ।

অবলাপরাণে না বাঁধ সহনে
নিতি নিতি আঁখি বরে ॥

যথা তথা যাই বাজে সব ঠাই
নাম সে কেমনে জানে ।

শ্রবণে প্রবেশি হৃদয়ে লাগে সি
বাজিল যেখানে প্রাণে ॥

শ্রামের মুরলী ডাকে রাখা বলি
না মানে নিষেধবোল ।

গৃহের করম ধরম-আচার
সব হঞা গেল ভোল ॥

রমণীগণের মনের গরিমা
সকলি ভাগিল বাঁশী ।

ভুলাইয়া মন ব্রহ্মনারীগণ
চরণে করিলা দাসী ॥

হেঁদে সহচারি রহিতে না পারি
বাঁশীচুরি কৈল মন ।

বেশ বনাইতে না পাইলাও তুরিতে
চল যাব বৃন্দাবন ॥

সাজাইছে গোপী শ্রীঅঙ্গ নি[রখি]
যেখানে যেমন সাজে ।

অভরণগণ উলসিতমন
মলিন হৈল লাজে ॥

বীরচন্দ্র

রাই, ত্যজি কালবরণ করিব ধারণ
তোমার অঙ্গের কান্তি ।

তুয়া নাম লৈয়া বেড়াইব কাঁদিয়া
অশ্রুজলে হৈব শান্তি ॥

মিলি ভক্তগণ করিব কীর্তন
রাধা রাধা ধ্বনি করি ।

ক্ষণে ক্ষণে মূর্ছা হইবে যখন
অচেতনে রৈব পড়ি ॥

ভাবি ভব ভাব হৈবে প্রেমভাব
স্বভাব ছাড়িয়া দেহ ।

ত্যজি বংশীধর হৈব দণ্ডধর
রাখিতে নারিবে কেহ ॥

অমূল্যরতন তব প্রেমধন
অবাচকে দিব আনি ।

বীরচন্দ্রে কহে তবে সে খালাস
পাইবে প্রেমের ঋণী ॥

২৬৪ ॥ [৪১২-৪১৩] ॥

স্বামচন্দ্র-অঙ্গিক

রাখে, তুমি মোরে না বাসিয় ভিন ।

রভসে বিরসবাণী না বলিয় চন্দ্রাবলী

আমি তোমার প্রেমের অধীন ॥

বিনতি করিয়া কই আমি আর কার নই

তোমার তোমার বিনোদিনি ।

অসোধল তুয়া ধার হৃদিতে নারিল আর

রহিলাও হরিয়া তোমার ঋণী ॥

ও মুখ পঙ্কজ তোর মন মধুকর মোর
না বলিহ বিরসবচন ।
প্রাণসঞ্জীবনী তুমি ভূষিত চাতক আমি
তুমি প্রিয়া মোর নবধন ॥
স্বরূপে কহিলাও রাই বিকাইলাও তুয়া ঠাঞি
অভিনবযৌবনী নারি ।
রামচন্দ্র-মল্লিকে কয় অতিপ্রেম অতিশয়
বিরস সহএ না পারি ॥
২৬৫ ॥ [৪১৪] ॥

কাজর চরণ-তলে নয়ানে আলতা ।
শ্রবণ কুহরে লঞা গুঞ্জে নাগলতা ॥
গলে পরে কিঙ্কিণী কটিতে পরে হার ।
করে পরে নুপুর জজ্ঞের আগে টাড় ॥
গদগদ হঞা রাই ঝাঁট চলি যায় ॥
কেনে রে দারুণ পথ ঝাঁট না ফুরায় ॥
ব্রজকিশোরে কয় পথ ফুরাইলা ।
নিধুবনে যাঞা রাই জয়ধ্বনি দিলা ॥
২৬৭ ॥ [৪১৭] ॥

শ্যাম-মল্লিক

ও বংশী বাজে বাজে ।
নবনব মধুর শ্রীবৃন্দাবন-মাঝে ॥
বিসরিলাও ধনজন গুরুগরবিতে ।
প্রাণ হরিয়া নিল মুরলীর গীতে ॥
কি করিতে কি না করি এই না গৃহকাজ ।
আর কি রাখিতে হয় কুলভয়লাজ ॥
দূরে কর গৌরব মান অভিমান ।
(চল) ভেটিব শ্রীবৃন্দাবনে রসময় কান ॥
কি করিব লাসবেশ অঙ্গ-অভরণ ।
পুলকে পুরল তনু কাঁপে ঘনঘন ॥
নয়নে গলয়ে নীর গদগদ বোল ।
উথলে প্রেমের সিদ্ধ আনন্দহিলোল ॥
শ্যাম-মল্লিকে কহে অমুভবসার ।
এতদিনে মনোরথ পূরিল রাখার ॥
২৬৬ ॥ [৪১৬-৪১৭] ॥

‘কৃষ্ণদাস কবিরাজ’

চৈতন্ত-কল্লতরু নবদ্বীপে সঞ্চর
প্রেমজলে তনু পুলকিত ।
একে প্রভু নিত্যানন্দ সঙ্গে আর অধৈতচন্দ্র
হুই শাখা হৈল উপনীত ॥
দ্বাদশ গোপাল আর উপশাখা হৈল তার
চৌষটি মহাস্ত ফল ফলে ।
পাকিলে সে প্রেমফল ভক্ত লৈঞা সে সকল
বিলাওল নদীয়াতুলে ॥
তার এক ফল ভাসি এ দেশে লাগল আসি
যেই পাইল সেই ভাগ্যবান ।
সে ফল অমৃতধন খাঞা কৈল আনন্দদান
জীবে খাঞা হরল গয়ান ॥
তার কিছু শেষ ছিল হুখী ভূখি জীবে দিল
দিল প্রেম আপনার মুখে ।
কৃষ্ণদাস কবিরাজের আশা শুখান নদীর দশা
বিন্দু না পড়ল মোর মুখে ॥
২৬৮ ॥ [৪১৮-৪১৯] ॥

ব্রজকিশোর

রাই সাজে বংশী বাজে না পড়িল ওর ।
কি করিতে কি করে আবেশে মন ভোর ॥
আঁচড়য়ে চাঁচরচিকুর কেশভার ।
পায়ে বাঁধে ফুলের মালা না করে বিচার ॥

অদন

হা হা প্রভু নরহরি দয়া কর মোরে
দগধ হইমু পড়ি দারুণ সংসারে ॥

অধম অযোগ্য হিতাহিত নাহি জানি ।
 [শমন] দমন ভয়ে কাঁপয়ে পরাণী ॥
 সে সব অজ্ঞান যৌবনে মত্ত হৈছ ।
 ইবে জরা [মরণ] সেবনে গোঞাইছ ॥
 জননীজঠরে যত ডর না পাইছ ।
 জনমিয়ে মায়ামোহে সব পাসরিছ ।
 তোমার অনুগত হয়ে তোমা না ভজিছ ।
 লোকপ্রতারণা করি উদর পুরিছ ॥
 সাধুমুখে সিদ্ধাস্ত শুনি ত্রাস উপজিল ।
 অমিয়া তেজিয়া কিয়ে গরল ভখিল ॥
 নামাভাসদাস মুঞি না দেখিয়ে গতি ।
 মদন তরায়ে প্রভু রাখহ থিয়াতি ॥
 ২৬৯ ॥ [৪২১] ॥

বিশ্বস্তুর-দেব

রাসমণ্ডল-মাঝে যুগলকিশোর ।
 হুহঁ অঙ্গে অঙ্গ দিয়া হুহঁ ভেল ভোর ॥
 রাধা-অঙ্গে অঙ্গ দিয়া নাগর চলি যায় ।
 নাচিয়া চলিছে ভালি মন্দগতি তায় ॥
 তা দেখি মউরী সব নাচে ফিরি ফিরি ।
 জয় রাধা কৃষ্ণ বলি ডাকে শুক সারী ॥
 শ্রাম-অধরে বাজে মধুর মুরলী ।
 বমুনা ধকিত ভেল মোহিত সকলি ॥
 ফুলভরে লতা সব লম্বিত হইয়া ।
 চরণপরশ-আশে পড়িছে নটাইয়া ॥
 বৃন্দাবনে আনন্দে হিলোল বহি যায় ।
 বিশ্বস্তুর-দেব তাহা দেখিবারে পায় ॥
 ২৭০ ॥ [৪২৩-৪২৪] ॥

উদয়াদিত্য

কি বলিতে জানো মুঞি কি বলিতে পারি ।
 একে গুণহীন আর পরবশ নারী ॥

তোমার লাগিয়া মোর যত গুরুজন ।
 সকল হইল বৈরী কেহ নয় আপন ॥
 বাঘের মাঝে যেন হরিণীর বাস ।
 তার মাঝে দীঘল ছাড়িতে নারি খাস ॥
 উদয়-আদিত্যে কহে মনে ওই ভয় উঠে ।
 তোমার পিরীতি ঋনি তিলেক পাছে টুটে ॥
 ২৭১ ॥ [৪২৫] ॥

শ্রামপ্রিয়া

প্রাণ ধরিব কেমনে প্রাণ ধরিব কেমনে ।
 দিবসে আন্ধার হৈল ত্রিমুরারী বিনে ॥
 হরি গুরু বৈষ্ণবের সেবা হৈল বাদ ।
 আর কি রসিকানন্দ পূরাইবে সাধ ॥
 একে সে রসিকানন্দ রসের তরঙ্গ ।
 বসিলা রসিকানন্দ ক্ষীরচোরা সঙ্গ ॥
 কাদিতে কাদিতে হিয়া বিদরে উল্লাসে ।
 দশদিগ শূন্য হৈল শ্রামপ্রিয়া ভাবে ॥
 ২৭২ ॥ [৪২৬] ॥

বিপ্রদাস-যোষ

আগো যা, আজি আমি চরাব বাছুর ।
 পরাইয়া দেহ খড়া ময় পড়ি বাক্য চূড়া ॥
 চরণেতে পরাই নুপুর ॥
 অলকা তিলক ভালে বদমালা দেহ গলে ॥
 শিলা বেজ বেণু দেহ হাথে ।
 ত্রীদাম সুদাম দাম সুবলাদি ঈলরাম ॥
 সভাই দাঁড়াইয়া রাজপথে ॥
 বিশাল অর্জুন জান কিঙ্কিণী অংকনান ॥
 সাজিয়া সভাই গোষ্ঠে যায় ।
 গোপালের কথা শুনি সজলনয়নে রাণী ॥
 অচেতনে ধরণী লোটার ॥

চঞ্চল বাছুরি সনে কেমনে ধাইবে বনে

কোষল ছুখানি রাজ্য পায় ।

ঘোষ বিপ্রদাসে বলে এ বয়সে গোষ্ঠে গেলে

প্রাণ কি ধরিতে পারে যায় ॥

২৭৩ ॥ [৪২৮] ॥

মাধুরী-দাস

মরমে মরমে

পশিঞা ছুজনে

পেয়ে সদা মনমধু ।

চকোর হরিষে

সুখার আবেশে

পরশিঞা রহে বিধু ॥

যখন জনমে

হু ঠাঞি হু জনা

আচরে যে যার রীত ।

কালাকাল পাঞা হঠাৎকারে (আ)সিঞা

যোগাযোগ পরতো ॥

যে সাধ মিলন

পাইল যেইজন

তুলনা নাহিক তার ।

যুত হুধু চিনি

তাহার বাছনি

ছানিঞা নিকসে সার ॥

দাস মাধুরী

আনন্দলহরী

করণে কোতুক পাই ।

পরশে মিশাঞা

ভিঞ্জন করহ

মনকে মাথয়ে ভাই ॥

২৭৫ ॥ [৪৩০-৪৩১] ॥

দ্বিজ ভীষ্ম

কি রূপ দেখিলুঁ

মধুরমুরতি

পিরীতিরসের সার ।

হেন লয় মনে

এ তিন ভুবনে

তুলনা নাহিক আর ॥

বড় বিনোদিয়া

চূড়ার টালনি

কপালে চন্দনচাঁদ ।

জিনি বিধুবর

বদন স্তম্বর

ভুবনমোহন ফাঁদ ॥

নবজলধর

রসে চরচর

বরণ চিকণকাল ।

অঙ্গের ভূষণ

রজত কাঞ্চন

মণি মুকুতার মালা ॥

জোড়া তুর বেন

কাষের কামান

কে না কৈল নিরমাণ ।

স্তরল নয়নে

ভেরহ চাহনি

• বিষম কুসুমবাণ ॥

স্তম্বর অধরে

মধুর মুরলী

হাসিয়া কথাটি কয় ।

বিজ ভীষ্মে কহে

ও রূপ নাগর

দেখিলে পরাণ রয় ॥

২৭৪ ॥ [৪২৯] ॥

মানসিংহ-দাস

ওহে শ্রামরায় কথা শুন মন দিয়া ।

কি করিতে কি না করে

গুমরি গুমরি বুঝে

কি দেখায় কপালে হাথ দিয়া ॥

অতি স্নুমারতনু

শিরীষ কুমুম জহু

ভাল মন্দ কিছুই না জানে ।

রাজকুমারী ঘরে

রহিতে নাহিক পারে

তোমারে সে দেখিয়া স্বপনে ॥

বসন না রাখে গায়

কাতরনয়নে চায়

সোনার তনু ধুলায় পড়িয়া ।

তোমার কঠিন মন

তিরিবধ না গণন

কুলবতী দিলা চালাইয়া ॥

শুনিয়া সখীর বাণী হরিষে রসিকমণি
কহে ঝাট মিলাহ যতনে ।
মানসিংহ-দাসে ভণে হৈয়া উলসিত মনে
ধনী কাছে পুনরাগমনে ॥

২৭৬ ॥ [৪৩১] ॥

বাদবেন্দ্র

আমার শপতি লাগে- না ধাইহ ধেনুর আগে
পরানের পরাণ নীলমণি ।
নিকটে রাখিহ ধেনু পুরিহ মোহন বেণু
ঘরে বসি আমি যেন শুনি ॥

বলাই ধাইবে আগে আর শিশু বামভাগে
শ্রীদাম সুদাম সব পাছে ।

তুমি তার মাঝে ধাইয় সঙ্গছাড়া না হইয়
মাঠে বড় রিপুভয় আছে ॥

সুধা হৈলে লৈয়া খাইহ পথ পানে চাহি যাইহ
অতিশয় তৃণাকুর পথে ।

কারু বোলে বড় ধেনু ফিরাইতে না যাইহ কানু
হাত তুলি দেহ মোর মাথে ॥

থাকিবে তরুর ছায় মিনতি করিছে মায়
রবি যেন না লাগয়ে গায় ।

বাদবেন্দ্রে সঙ্গে লইহ বাধা পানই সাথে থুইহ
বুঝিয়া যোগাৰে রাজা পায় ॥

২৭৭ ॥ [৪৩৩] ॥

পরশুরাম

কালিন্দীকিনারে গো নাগর কালিয়া ।
জলেতে বাইতে একা সে অঙ্গে লাগিল ঠেকা
মনে ছিল তমাল বলিয়া ॥

কানাক্রি করিয়া আগে আবেশ আছিল গো
ধাধসে বাকিল হুই পায় ।

রূপের বাতাসে তনু কে জানে কি হৈল গো
কথা কহিতে পুলক পড়ে গায় ॥

নবকুবলয়দল- তনু নিরমল গো
রতনমুকুর বস্ হিয়া ।

কেমন বিধাতা তায় রসাল করিল গো
সুধই সুধার সার দিয়া ॥

রূপের মাধুরী কত ভুবন ভুলায় গো
পরশে অমিয়া সুধরাশি ।*

পরশুরামের মনে অগুরি অগুরি রূপ
বসিঞা কান্দিয়ে দিবানিশি ॥

২৭৮ ॥ [৪৪০] ॥

জগদানন্দ-ঘোষ

আয় ভাই খেলাইতে যাবি গোরাচাঁদ ।

শিশুগণ ডাকি বলে আয় ভাই গঙ্গার কূলে
নাচিব গাইব হরিনাম ॥

শিরে অবতংস কনকঝুরি লম্বিত
দোলত ললাট সুমাঝ ।

ততুপরি চন্দন চিত্রবিচিত্রক
দেখি মুখ চন্দ্র বিরাজ ॥

রতনহারাবলী বক্ষে বিলম্বিত
তাড় বলয়া দোন করে ।

গৌর কলেবর নীল পাটের ধটা
বেড়িয়াছে ঘাঘর বুজ্জু যুরে ॥

হেদে রে বালকগণ লঞা যাইছ প্রাণধন
সকাল আনিহ গোরাচাঁদে ।

ঠাকুর স্তম্ভরানন্দ গোরা-লীলা বিজ্ঞানত
গায়ত ঘোষ জগদানন্দে ॥

২৭৯ ॥ [৪৪১] ॥

নবচৈতন্য-দাস

পণ্ডিত শ্রীগৌরীদাস অধিকাতে যার বাস
দেহ যার প্রেমের স্বরূপ ।
চৈতন্যের আঞ্জা পাঞা নিত্যানন্দ সঙ্গে লঞা
প্রেমদানে অতি অপরূপ ॥

প্রভু কহে নিত্যানন্দ রামাই সুন্দরানন্দ
গৌরীদাস-পণ্ডিত লইয়া ।
স্বরধুনীতীরে যাঞা জীবেরে সদয় হঞা
প্রেম দেহ জগত ভরিয়া ॥
প্রেমধন বিতরণে দিবানিশি নাহি জানে
দীন হীন না কৈল বিচার ।
গৌরীদাস বড় রঙ্গী প্রেমদানের পাঞা সঙ্গী
খুলি দিল প্রেমের ভাণ্ডার ॥

পূর্বে ব্রজবিহারে কৃষ্ণের যে সহচরে
সুবল বলিয়া নাম ধরে ।
কৃষ্ণে স্নেহ দেই সদা আপনে হইয়া রাধা
দেখি কৃষ্ণে বিরহ পাসরে ॥

রাধার স্বরূপ দেখি কৃষ্ণ হৈলা মহাসুখী
তার রূপে আনন্দিত মন ।
তবে ত সুবল-রূপ গৌরীদাস-স্বরূপ
মহাপ্রভুর স্নেহের কারণ ॥

গৌরীদাস প্রেমদানে চৈতন্য না দেখি মানে
কি করিব কি হবে উপায় ।
তবে ত চৈতন্য-হরি মনে মনে বিচারি
নিত্যানন্দ সঙ্গে লঞা যায় ॥

সাক্ষাৎ স্বরূপ হঞা দুই প্রভু স্নেহ পাঞা
সেবারসে তাহার অধীন ।
কোটি কাম জিনি রূপ স্বমাধুরীস্বরূপ
দেখি হেন নিত্য নবীন ॥

গৌড়দেশে গৌরীদাস সেবা পাঞা স্নেহোন্মাদ
আনন্দসমুদ্রে সদা ভাসে ।
তাহার অসীমগুণ কৈল কিছু বর্ণন
কহে নবচৈতন্য-দাসে ॥

২৮০ ॥ [৪৪৬-৪৪৭] ॥

মনশ্যাম-দাস (৩)

পার হৈয়া যত গোপী গেলা সব ঘরে ।
গোধন লইয়া কৃষ্ণ যমুনার তীরে ॥
বেলা-অবসান দেখে আনন্দিত হৈয়া ।
বৃন্দাবন প্রতি ধায় গোধন লইয়া ॥
উচ্চপুচ্ছ করি দেখু চলে হাষারবে ।
আবা আবা রব দিয়ে চলে শিশু সবে ॥
নিজ নিজ গৃহে সবে করিল প্রবেশ ।
দিনমণি অন্ত গেলা বেলা অবশেষ ॥
এই ত কহিলাম কৃষ্ণের নৌকাখণ্ড যত ।
মনশ্যাম-দাস কহে আর কব কত ॥

২৮১ ॥ [৪৪৮] ॥

প্রতাপরুদ্র

তোমার লাগিয়া রাধে তোমা আরাধিহু ।
মনের মানস যত সকল সাধিহু ॥
অঙ্গ মাঝে হব তোমার অঙ্গ পরিপূর ।
আভরণ মাঝে হব ছথানি নুপুর ॥
নখচন্দ্র চকোর পদকমলে ভ্রমর ।
ও রূপে মুকুর হব নিরাগে চামর ॥
আর এক সাধ আমি করিয়াছি মনে ।
অতি ক্ষীণ রেণু হৈয়া থাকিব চরণে ॥
রেণু হৈতে না পাই যদি মনে অহুমানি ।
প্রতাপরুদ্রে রূপা করহ আপনি ॥

২৮২ ॥ [৪৪৯]

কেশব ব্রাহ্মণ

হুল করি যদি পরি সেহ নহে ভালি ।
 বিষম ব্রজের বৈরাী ভ্রমরা ভ্রমরা ॥
 হিয়ার কাঁচলী সনে রাখিয়ে বাক্সিয়া ।
 যেখের চাতক ডরে যরিএ ডরাইয়া ॥
 কেশব বামন কয় স্তন বিনোদিনী ।
 জগতে সভাই কয় শ্রামসোহাগিনী ॥

২৮৩ ॥ [৪৫০]

পিরীতি উপরে

শয়ন করিব

পিরীত শিধান মাথে ।
 পিরীত বালিসে আলিস ছাড়িব
 থাকিব পিরীতি সাথে ॥
 পিরীতি বেশর পরিব নাসিকা
 ছলাব নক্ষত্রকোণে ।
 যশোদানন্দনে ভগ্নএ পিরীতি
 পিরীতি কেহ না জানে ॥

২৮৫ ॥ [৪৫৮] ॥

শ্রীদাম-দাস

স্তন বিবস্তর আমার উত্তর
 তুমি বাবে দেশান্তরে ।
 তোমা না দেখিয়া মরিব খুরিয়া
 স্তনিয়া থাকিব ঘরে ॥
 লঞা ভক্তগণ করহ কীর্তন
 স্তনিতে শ্রবণস্থখ ।
 আর না স্তনিব পরাণে মরিব
 উঠিছে মনহুখ ॥

মুকুন্দ মুরারি এ সভারে ছাড়ি
 কি লাগি বিদেশে বাবে ।
 বিজুপ্রিয়া তেজি হইবে সন্ন্যাসী
 নদীয়া আন্ধার হবে ॥

এ সব জানিয়া স্থির কর হিয়া
 সন্ন্যাসীতে নাহি দায় ।
 ভরুণ বয়সে বাবে দূরদেশে
 দাস শ্রীদামে গায় ॥

২৮৪ [৪৫৩] ।

নসির মাযুদ

চলত রাম স্থলর শ্রাম
 পাচনি কাচনি বেত্র বেণু
 মুরলিখুরলি গান রি ।
 প্রিয় শ্রীদাম সুদাম মেলি
 তরগীতনয়াতীরে কেলি
 ধবলী শাউলী আও রি আও রি
 ফুকরি চলত কান রি ॥

বয়সে কিশোর মোহন ভাতি
 বদন ইন্দু জলদকীতি
 চারু চন্দ্রি গুজাহার
 বদনে মদন-ভান রি ।

আগমনিগমবেদসার
 লীলার করত গোষ্ঠবিহার
 নসির মাযুদ করত আশ

চরণে শরণ দান রি ॥

২৮৬ ॥ [৪৬২] ॥

অশোদানন্দন

পিরীতি নগরে বসতি করিব
 পিরীতে বাক্সি চাল ।
 পিরীতি কপাট ছয়ারে বসাব
 পিরীতে পৌরাব কাল ॥

বিদ্যাপতি ও বদুনন্দন

কি কহব রে সখি তখনক লাজ ।
 সপনে আপনে পিয়া আগল সমাজ ॥

করে কর ধরি পিয়া পুছত বাত ।
 হঠে হাম তাক ছোড়ায়ল হাত ॥
 ফারল যল্লতোরল হার ।
 কতহি কহব তাই করয়ে বিহার ॥
 ভণএ বিজ্ঞাপতি ইহ রস গায় ॥
 ইহ অবশেষ যখনলই গায় ॥

২৮৭ ॥ [৪০৫] ॥

জয়কৃষ্ণ-দাস (২)

প্রভাসে রাখার বাণী শুনিয়া গোকুলমণি
 কহে তাহে করিয়া পিরীতি ।
 দারুণ বিধাতা মোরে আনাইয়া এতদূরে
 রাখে লয়া দূর ধারাবতী ॥

তোমার বিরহানলে সদা মোর হিয়া জলে
 ডুবি ভাসি ভাবনাসাগরে ।
 কি করিতে কিনা করি বৈরজ ধরিতে নারি
 সদা ধ্যান করিতে তোমারে ॥

আছে দুই চারি স্ত্রী নারায়ণশক্তি হেতু
 নষ্ট কৈলে বাবো বৃন্দাবনে ।
 তুমি মোর হনয়ন আমার অনুল্য ধন
 তোমা বিহু কি আছে ভুবনে ॥

করণ নয়নে নীর ভিজিল হিয়ার চীর
 পুন কহে গদগদ ভাষা ।
 জয়কৃষ্ণ-দাস ভণে করুণা করিয়ে যনে
 দীনবন্ধু-চরণ ভরসা ॥

২৮৮ ॥ [৪০৬] ॥

পদমঞ্জরী-স্বত পদকর্তৃ-সূচি

অকিকন-দাস ৫৭০

অনন্ত-দাস ৫১৫

অনন্ত বড়ু চণ্ডীদাস ৫২০

আচার্য-চন্দ্র ৫০৮

আনন্দচন্দ্র ৫৬০

উদয়াদিত্য ৫৮২

উদ্ধব-দাস (১) ৫১২

উদ্ধব-দাস (২) ৫৬২-৬৩

কমলাকান্ত-দাস ৫৭৩

কবিকণ্ঠহার ৫৪৮

কবিরঞ্জন ৫৩৩

কবিরত্ন ৫৩৭

কাহ্নুরাম-দাস ৫১৮

কাশী-দাস ৫৭১

কিঙ্কর ৫৭৫

‘কিশোর-দাস’ ৫৪৭

কিশোরীদাস ৫৪৭

কৃষ্ণকান্ত ৫৬২

‘কৃষ্ণদাস’ ৫২৩

‘কৃষ্ণদাস কবিরাজ’ ৫৮১

কেশব (ব্রাহ্মণ) ৫৮৬

গঙ্গারাম (স্থি) ৫৩৩

গতিপোবিন্দ ৫৪২

গদাধর-দাস ৫৭৭

গুণদাস ৫২০

গোকুলচন্দ্র ৫৬৬

গোকুলানন্দ ৫৪৪

গোপালদাস ৫৩৩

গোপীকান্ত-দাস ৫৫৪

গোপীকান্ত-বহু ৫২০

গোপীনাথ-ভূর্জত ৫৭০

গোবর্দ্ধন ৫৫২

গোবিন্দ-ঘোষ ৫০৬

গোবিন্দদাস কবিরাজ ৫২৩-৩১, ৫১১

গোবিন্দদাস-চক্রবর্তী ৫৩১-৩২

গোব্বাসি-দাস ৫৭২

গৌরদাস ৫৫০

গৌরকিশোর-দাস ৫৪৬

গৌরমুন্দর-দাস ৫৬৩

ঘনরাম-দাস ৫৫৮

ঘনশ্রাম-দাস (৩) ৫৮৫

ঘনশ্রামদাস কবিরাজ ৫৪২-৫৫

চন্দ্রশেখর-দাস ৫০৮

চন্দ্রশেখর (২) ৫৬৭-৬৮

চম্পতি ৫৩৫

চূড়ামণি-দাস ৫৬২

চৈতন্ত-দাস ৫১২

জগদানন্দ-ঘোষ ৫৮৪

জগদানন্দ-দাস ৫৫১-৫২

জগদানন্দ (২) ৫৬৬

জগদাধ-দাস ৫১৭

অগমোহন-দাস ৫৬২

অরকু-দাস (১) ৫৪৬

অরকু-দাস (২) ৫৮৭

জানকীবল্লভ ৫৪৬

জানদাস ৫১৩-১৪

তরঙ্গীরমণ ৫৫৪

'তুলসীদাস' ৫৪৫

দয়াল ৫৭১

দামোদর ৫৭৬

দিব্যসিংহ ৫৪৪

দ্বিজ গঙ্গারাম (গঙ্গারাম ঙ্গেব্য)

দ্বিজ ভীম (ভীম ঙ্গেব্য)

দ্বিজ হরিদাস (হরিদাস ঙ্গেব্য)

দীনদাস ৫৬১

দীনবন্ধু-দাস ৫৬৫

দীনহীনদাস ৫৬১

দেবকীনন্দন ৫১০

ধরঞ্জী ৫৪৫

নটবর ৫৫৯

নন্দ (দ্বিজ) ৫৬১

নন্দকিশোর ৫৬৪

নয়নানন্দ (১) ৫০৯-১০

নয়নানন্দ (২) ৫৬৫-৬৬

নয়হরি-চক্রবর্তী ৫৫৮-৫৯

নয়হরি-সরকার ৫০৪-০৫

নরোত্তম-দাস ৫২১-২২

নবকান্ত ৫৬০

নবচৈতন্ত-দাস ৫৮৫

নসির মামুদ ৫৮৬

নিমানন্দ-দাস ৫৭৩

নীলাক্ষর ৫৬৭

নৃপ বৈষ্ণবাধ ৫৪৯

পরমানন্দ ৫০৯

পরমেশ্বর-দাস ৫১৯

পরশুরাম ৫৮৪

পীতাশ্বর-দাস ৫৫৩

পুরুষোত্তম ৫০৮-০৯

প্রতাপনারায়ণ ৫৭৪-৭৫

'প্রতাপরত্ন' ৫৮৫

প্রসাদ-দাস ৫৪০

প্রাণদাস ৫৭৫

প্রেম-দাস ৫৫৬

প্রেম্যানন্দ ৫৫৬-৫৭

বলদেব-দাস ৫৫৬

বলরাম-দাস (১) ৫১৫-১৬

বলরাম-দাস (২) ৫৭৯

বল্লভ-দাস ৫৩৬

বল্লবীকান্ত ৫৫২

বংশীবদন ৫০৬-০৭

বংশীদাস ৫৪৪

বাহুদেব-ঘোষ ৫০৫

বাহুদেব-দত্ত ৫০৬

বাহুদেব-দাস ৫৭৮

বিজাপতি ৫৩৮

বিজাপতি-যত্ননন্দন ৫৮৬

বিজাবল্লভ ৫৩৭

বিলু ৫৫৯

বিশ্রদাস-ঘোষ ৫৮২

বিশ্বস্তর-দাস ৫৬৯

বিশ্বস্তর-দেব ৫৮২

বিশ্বারি-দাস ৫৮০

বীরচন্দ্র ৫৮০

বীরবাহু ৫৭২

বীর-হাখীর ৫৭৯

বৃন্দাবন-দাস ৫১০

বৈকুণ্ঠদাস ৫৬৩

ব্রজকিশোর ৫৮১

ব্রজনাথ ৫৭০

ব্রজানন্দ ৫৪১

ভাগবতানন্দ ৫৬৭

ভীম (দ্বিজ) ৫৮৩

ভূপতি ৫৩৫

মগনচন্দ্র ৫৭৪

মধুরেশ-দাস ৫৬৪

মদন ৫৮১

মধুসূদন-দাস ৫৫২

মনোহর-দাস ৫৫৪

মাধব-ঘোষ ৫০৫

মাধব-দাস ৫১১

মাধবী-দাস ৫১২

‘মাধবেন্দ্র-পূরী’ ৫৭৭

মাধুরী-দাস ৫৮৩

মানসিংহ-দাস ৫৮৩

মুকুন্দ-দাস ৫৬৪

মুরারি-গুপ্ত ৫০৩-০৪

মোহন-দাস ৫৩৫-৩৬

যদুনন্দন-চক্রবর্তী ৫১১

যদুনন্দন-দাস ৫৪২-৪৩

যদুনাথ-দাস ৫৭৮

যশোদানন্দন ৫৮৬

যশোরাজ-খান ৫০৩

যাগবেন্দ্র ৫৮৪

রত্নপতি-দাস ৫৫২-৫৩

রসিক-দাস ৫৪৫

রাঘবেন্দ্র-রায় ৫৭৯

‘রাধী-দাস’ ৫৩৯-৪০

রাধাবল্লভ-দাস ৫৩৮

রাধামুকুন্দ-দাস ৫৭৪

রাধামোহন-ঠাকুর ৫৫১

রাধানন্দ-দাস ৫৭৩

রাসানন্দ ৫৬৯

‘রামচন্দ্র’ ৫৪৮

রামচন্দ্র কবিরাজ ৫৪৮

রামচন্দ্র-গোখানী ৫৪৭

রামচন্দ্র-মল্লিক ৫৮০

রামরতন ৫৭৬

রামানন্দ-রায় ৫০৩

রামানন্দ-বসু ৫০৬

রায় বসন্ত ৫৩২

রায় শেখর ৫৩৩-৩৪

রোহিণীনন্দন-দাস ৫৬৯

লক্ষ্মীকান্ত-দাস ৫২০

লালবিহারী ৫৭৫

লোচন ৫১২-১৩

শচীনন্দন ৫৬৯

শশিশেখর ৫৬৮

শিবরাম-দাস ৫৪১

শিবানন্দ-চক্রবর্তী ৫১১

শিবানন্দ-সেন ৫০৭

শেখর (রায় শেখর ঈষ্টব্য)

শ্রীমদাস ৫৪১

শ্রীমদ্রিমা ৫৮২

শ্রীম-মল্লিক ৫৮১

শ্রীদাস-দাস ৫৮৬

শ্রীনিবাস-আচার্য্য ৫২১

সর্কীনন্দ ৫৭২

সুন্দরদাস ৫৫০

সুবলচন্দ্র-ঠাকুর ৫৫০

সেবাচাঁদ ৫৭৬

হরিদাস (দ্বিজ) ৫১২

‘হরিবল্লভ’ ৫৫৫

GENERAL INDEX

- Abbās 464
 ʿAbdul Mālī 464
Abhayā-maṅgala 496f.
 Abhirāma-dāsa 320
 Ācārya Candra 211f., 491f.
 Agarwālī 375
Agni-Purāṇa 474
Aikavya-kūdambinī 259
 Akiñcana 366
 Akiñcana-dāsa 335-337
 Alaka 335, 336f.
Alaṅkāra-kaustubha 62, 259
 Ālāol 464
 Āli Miñā 464
 Āli-rājā 464
 Āmān 464
 Amara-māpikya 461
Amaru-kataka 80, 120
 Āmin Dinanātha-dāsa 461
 'Aranta' 73
 Ananta-Ācārya 73
 Ananta Baṇu Caṇḍidāsa (see Baṇu Caṇḍidāsa)
 Ananta-dāsa 73f.
Annadā-maṅgala 17, 322, 380
Anurāga-vallī 93, 255, 258
 Āpihal Āli 464
Aprakāśita-padaratnāvalī 6 et passim
 Āśānanda 446
Aṣṭādāsa-padāvalī 171
Aṣṭa-rasa-vyākhyā 248, 496
 Ānanda 287-289
 Ānanda-cānda (see Ānanda)
 Ānanda-candra (see Ānanda)
 Ānanda-dāsa (see Ānanda)
Ānāṅgamahārī-sampūṭikā 494
Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campū 61, 259
Archæological Survey of India, Annual Reports 490
 'Ātmārāma' 91, 142f.
 Ātmārāma-dāsa 91f.
 Baladeva-dāsa 261f.
 Baladeva-Vidyabhūṣaṇa 261
 Balarāma 96, 283 fn.
 Balarāma-Ācārya 93
 Balarāma-dāsa 11, 74-81, 92, 273, 436 fn.
 Balarāma-dāsa (ii) 101f.
 Balarāma-dāsa (iii) 405
 Bāṅkima-candra Caṭṭopādhyāya 18, 371
Baṅgasree 490
 Baṇu Caṇḍidāsa 8, 388-391
 Baṇu Gaṅgādāsa 144
Bas-reliefs of Badami 480
Benjir-badremunir 371
Bhakti-ratnākara 6 et passim.
Bhakti-ratna malā 467 fn.
Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu 4, 381, 477 fn., 478
Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu-bindu 259
Bhakti-sandarbhā 381
Bhakti-candrika-paṭala 33
Bhaktāmṛtāṣṭaka 33
Bhāgavat-sandarbhā 381
Bhāgavad-gītā 259
 Bhāgavati 303
 Bhavānanda 442f.
Bhāgavata-Purāṇa 4 et passim
Bhāgavatāmṛta-kārikā 259
 Bhāgavatācārya 467f.
 Bhāgavatānanda 321, 496
 'Bhānu-siṃha' 372-374
 Bhānu-siṃha-ṭhākurer Padārālī 18, 372f.
 Bhārata-candra 18, 322, 380
Bhāṣā-sūbdārnata 236
 Bhūpati 151-155, 208
 Bhūpatinātha (see Bhūpati)
 Bhuvana-dāsa 284f.
 Bindu 285f.
 Bindu-dāsa (see Bindu)
Bīrbbhum-ciraṇa, Vol. I, 312ff., 316; Vol. III, 228ff., 323, 329
Brahma-saṃhitā 13, 489
Brahmacaitanya-Purāṇa 471f., 478
Buddha-carita 472
Caitanya-bhāgavata 14 et passim
Caitanya-candrodaya 62, 262, 269, 391
Caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī 262f., 269ff.
Caitanya-caritāmṛta (by Mūrāri-Gupta) 478

Badiyuddīn 464
 Baṇu Caṇḍidāsa (see Baṇu Caṇḍidāsa)
 Bakṣā Āli 464
 Balabhadra-dāsa 454
 Bāla-carita 484

Caitanya-caritāmṛta (by Kṛṣṇapūra) 61
Caitanya caritāmṛta 13 et *passim*
Caitanya-dāsa 89-99, 206
'Caitanya-dāsa' 254
Caitanya-maṅgala 34, 63f., 65
'Caitanya-nandana' 456
Camatkāra-candrikā 162 fn., 259, 478
Camatkāra-candrikā (by Kṛṣṇadāsa) 419f.
Cāmpā-gāji 464
Campaka-nātha 363
Campati 151-155, 208
Campati-pati 151
Cānda-Rāja 461
Caṇḍidāsa 4, 5, 91, 252f., 292, 458, 470
Caṇḍi-kāvya 496f.
Candra-kānta 363
Candra-śekhara (i) 308, 395-397
Candra-śekhara (ii) 308
Candra-śekhara (iii) 7, 9f., 304, 323-326, 387
Candraśekhara-Ācāryaratna 212
Candra-maṇi 162 fn.
Candrārāṇi 371
Catalogue of MSS. in the Sanskrit College Library 486 fn.
Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., Vol. VIII 496
Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts in the Calcutta University Library, Vol. II. 435, 452
Catalogus Catalogorum 485 fn.
Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper MSS. 485 fn.
Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts in the Library of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad, Vol. I 1, 2 460ff.; *Vol. II* 1, 91, 98, 330, 349f., 452; *Vol. III* 2, 419
Caturālī 371
Chaiyad Ainaddin 464
Char. 'aḥ-samudra 277, 280 fn.
'Choṭa Vidyāpati' 145
Cūrāmaṇi-dāsa 295f.

Dacca University MS. 2353 208f.
Dacca University MS. 2689 335f.
Dayāla 888
Dāmodara 886f.
Dāna-keli-kaumudī 387, 476
Dāna-keli-kaumudī (by Yadunandana) 414
Dāna-līlā kāvya 476f.
'Dāsa Jānaki' 198
Dāsa Vamśidāsa 461
Das Manuscript 6 et passim.
Dāsa Vasanta 140
Daśavatāra-carita 483ff.
Devaki-nandana 48f., 59, 75, 81, 138
Devakinandana-dāsa (see *Devaki-nandana*)
Devānanda 455
Devidāsa 461
Dhanahjaya 439
Dharaṇi 189f.
Dhārī Hāmbīra 407
Dhvanyāloka 475, 484 fn.
Dīnabandhu-dāsa 5, 308-311, 387
'Dīna-Caṇḍidāsa' 292

Dīna-dāsa 290, 292
'Dīna Duḥkhi Kṛṣṇadāsa' 101
'Dīna Kṛṣṇadāsa' 101
Dinamani-candrodaya 257
Dinabina-dāsa (see *Dīna-dāsa*)
Divya-siṃha 106, 184f., 215
'Duḥkhi Kṛṣṇadāsa' 101
Duḥkhi Śyāmadāsa 168f.
'Duḥkhini' 191, 412
Durllabha-sāra 64
'Dukhiyā Prasāda' 174
'Dukhiyā Sekhara' 146
Dulā Miñā 464
Dvija Bhagiratha 455
Dvija Bhima 429
Dvija Devidāsa 454 (see *Devidāsa*)
Dvija Durgā-prasāda 452
Dvija Gadādhara 461
'Dvija Gaṅgādāsa' 144
Dvija Gaṅgārāma 91, 142-144
Dvija Ghaṇaśyāma 448
Dvija Goloka 452
Dvija Haridāsa 56f., 436f.
Dvija Harinātha 452
'Dvija Jānaki' 198
Dvija Jita-rāma 450f.
Dvija Kavicandra 457
Dvija Mādhava 54, 461
Dvija Nanda (see *Nanda*)
Dvija Pañcināna 454
'Dvija Pūrṇānanda' (see *Pūrṇānanda-dāsa*)
Dvija Raghunātha 461
Dvija Rājacandra 342
'Dvija' Rāma (see *Rāma-ratana*)
Dvija Rāmānanda 461
Dvija Ratana 456
Dvija Śyāmadāsa 179, 471
Dvija Śyāmānanda 461

Ebādollā 464

Fakir Habib 464
Fakir Ohāb 464
Fragments of Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics 394f.

Gadādhara-dāsa 377
Gadādhara-dāsa 359f.
Gaeāj 464
'Gaṅgādāsa' 460
Gaṅgā-rāma (see *Dvija Gaṅgārāma*)
Gati-govinda 213-215, 233
Gāthā-saptasatī 11, 475, 484
'Gaura' (see *Gaura-dāsa*).
Gaurakiśora-dāsa 198f.
Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-candrikā 259
Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā 138 et *passim*
Gaura-carita-cintāmaṇi 277
Gaura-dāsa 231f.
Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī 7 et *passim*

- 'Gaura-mohana' 231 fn., 232
 Gaurasundara-dāsa (i) (see Gaura-dāsa)
 Gaurasundara-dāsa (ii) 5, 234 fn., 302 fn.
 Gaurāṅga-dāsa 202
 Gauri-dāsa 397-399
 Ghanarāma-dāsa 271-274
 'Ghanaśyāma-dāsa' 271
 Ghanaśyāma-dāsa (i) 213, 215-218, 272, 279
 Ghanaśyāma-dāsa (ii) (see Narahari-Cakravartī)
 Ghanaśyāma-dāsa (iii) 428
 Ghanaśyāmadāsa Kavirāja (see Ghanaśyāma-dāsa i)
 Gita-kalpa-taru cf.
 Gita-govinda 11, 17, 26, 167 fn., 382, 475, 481
 Gita-candrodaya 6, 209f., 276f., 279f., 303
 Gītāmṛta 108
 Gītāvalī 382-384
 Giridhara-dāsa 184
 'Gokula' 313
 "Gokula-Kṛṣṇānanda-Sena" 369
 'Gokula-candra' 312
 Gokula-candra 313 316
 'Gokula-cānda' 313
 'Gokula-dāsa' 313
 Gokula-dāsa (i) 187
 Gokulānanda (i) 56, 185-187
 Gokulānanda (ii) (see Gokula-candra)
 Gokulānanda (iii) 471
 Gokulānanda-Sena 5, 7, 185 fn., 300
 Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa 11, 94, 245, 376
 Gopāla-carita (by Padmanābha) 485
 Gopāla-carita 390, 477
 Gopāla-campū 384f., 477
 Gopāla-dāsa (see Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa)
 Gopāla-dāsa 8, 24, 155, 245-247
 Gopāla-līlā 485
 Gopāla-tāpanī Upaniṣad 259
 Gopīcaraṇa-dāsa 455
 Gopikānta 233, 248-251
 Gopikānta-dāsa (see Gopikānta)
 Gopikānta-Vasu 400-402
 Gopīnātha-Dūrllabha 333f.
 Gopī-premāmṛta 259
 Gopī-ramaṇa 407
 'Gopī-rāma' 445
 Gopī-vallabha 461
 Govardhana (see Govardhana-dāsa)
 Govardhana-dāsa 286f.
 Govinda-Ācārya 8, 105, 138f.
 Govinda-bhāṣya 261
 Govinda-gaī (see Gatī-govinda)
 Govinda-Ghoṣa 35, 38f.
 'Govinda-dāsa' 8, 9, 152, 184, 194, 245f., 285, 461, 465
 'Govindāśiṣyā' 135
 Govindadāsa Kavirāja 54, 67, 69, 77, 80, 93, 97, 105-134, 135, 158f., 215, 237, 276, 318f., 386
 Govindadāsa-Cakravartī 8, 105, 108, 135-138, 201
 Govinda-maṅgala 414, 468f., 476, 479
 Govinda-Ojha 107
 Govinda-rati-mañjarī 213, 215-218, 495
 Gorinda-līlāmṛta (Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja) 180, 220, 224, 479
 Gorinda-līlāmṛta (Madana-Rāya) 216
 Govinda-līlāmṛta (Yadunandana) 219-222, 225f.
 Govinda-vilāsa 486
 Gosvāmi-dāsa 409f.
 'Guṇarāja-Khaṇ' 21, 39
 'Gupta' (see Mūrāri-Gupta)
 Gupta-dāsa 402f.
 Guruprasāda Sena-gupta (see 'Prasāda-dāsa')
- Harekṛṣṇa-dāsa 436
 Hari-bhakti-vilāsa 11
 Haricarṇa-dāsa 459
 'Haridāsa' 436f.
 Haridāsa-dāsa 436 fn.
 Harihara-dāsa 461
 Harikṛṣṇa-dāsa 436
 Hari-nāmāmṛta-ryakaraṇa 334
 Harirāma-dāsa 407
 'Hari-vallabha' 4, 163, 193, 258-260, 280 (see Viśvanātha-Cakravartin)
 Haricrita-kārya 485
 Hari-rāṇṣa 11, 473, 479, 483
 Hari-rāṇṣa (by Bhavānanda) 442
 Hari-vilāsa (i) 185
 Hari-vilāsa (ii) 486
 Harivilāsa-kārya 485
 Harivāṇṣa-dāsa 340
 Hasnat Ali 164
 Hīramāṇī 461
 History of the Tamils 482 fn.
 History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect 472 fn.
 Hṛdaya 364
- Jagabandhu-dāsa 361
 'Jagadānanda' 461
 Jagadānanda (i) 235-241, 316, 310, 342
 Jagadānanda (ii) 316
 Jagadānanda-Ghoṣa 141f.
 Jagadbanchu Bhadra 374
 Jagamohana-dāsa 296f.
 Jagannātha-dāsa 9, 81-84, 171, 491
 Jagannātha-vallabha-nāṭaka 26-28, 64f., 380, 478f.
 Janamejaya Mitra 332 (see 'Sankarṣaṇa-dāsa')
 'Jānakīnātha' 198
 Jānakīrāma-dāsa 171, 198
 Jānakī-vallabha 137f.
 Jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa (i) 195-197
 Jayakṛṣṇa-dāsa (ii) 497f.
 'Jayacandra-dāsa' 197
 Jayadeva 9, 26, 382
 Jiva-Gosvāmin 41, 93, 101, 106, 384-388
 Jñānadāsa 8f., 40, 67-73, 75-77, 80, 96
 'Jñānabina dīna' 290

- Kabīr Mohammad 464
 Kamar Āli 464
Kaṁṣa-nidhana 485
Kaṁṣa-vadha (i) 486
Kaṁṣa-vadha (ii) 486 fn.
Karacā 494
Kāmadeva-dāsa 409
Kamalākānta 458
Kamalākānta-dāsa 6, 283, 345f.
Kānūi-Khuṭiyā 438f.
Kānu-dāsa (see *Kānurāma-dāsa*)
Kānurāma-dāsa 84-87
 'Kānta' 458
Karṇānanda 180, 220ff. *et passim*
 'Kāśi' 461
Kāśi-dāsa 338f.
 'Kavi-Bhūpati Kaṇṭhahāra' 207
 Kavi-karpapūra 61, 138
 Kavi-kaṇṭhahāra 207-209
 Kavikaṇṭhahāra-Thākura 209
Kavindra-rucana-samuccaya 434 fn.
 Kavipati Balarāma 75
 Kavirañjana 8, 144-146
 Kavi-śekhara 8, 146f., 193f., 493f.
 Kaviśekhara-Rāya (see *Rāya Śekhara*)
 'Kavi Sunlara' 234
 Kavivallabha (author of *Rasa-kadamba*) 88
 Kavivallabha 163f.
Kāvya-prakāśa 484 fn.
Kawala-dāsa 375
 Keśava, the Brahmin 450
Keśava-carita 486
Keśava-saṅgita 494
 Kihkara 358
Kirttana-gīta-ratnāvali 211 *et passim*
Kirttānānanda 5, 231, 236, 302 *et passim*
Kirttilatā 3
 'Kisora-dāsa' 198-201
 Kisori-dāsa 135, 201
Kṛṣṇakānta-dāsa 294f.
Kṛṣṇakānta-Majumdar 88, 295, 297, 300
 'Kṛṣṇakānta-tanayā' 295, 375
Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta 13, 17, 180, 219, 482, 486
Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta (of *Yadunandana*) 219ff.
 'Kṛṣṇadāsa' 101, 103f., 376, 418-420
Kṛṣṇadāsa Kaviśāya 9, 42, 64, 81, 103f., 219, 222, 269
Kṛṣṇānanda 342, 376
Kṛṣṇa-padāmṛta-sindhu 196 *et passim*
Kṛṣṇa-prema-taraṅgiṇī 467
Kṛṣṇa-prasāda 233, 427
Kṛṣṇa-śaṅkara 461
Kṛṣṇa-vibhāri 454f.
Kṛṣṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi 4, 6, 259 *et passim*
Kṣetramohana-Datta 360f
Kubera-śānanda 439
Kumāra-sambhava 125
Kumudānanda 409

Lāl-beg 464
Locana-dāsa 8f., 34f., 63-67, 386, 439, 491
Locanānanda (see *Locana-dāsa*)
Laghu Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇi 390 fn.

Lakṣmīkānta-dāsa 399f.
Lāla-vibhāri 353f.
Lalitā-dāsa 360
Lalita-mādhava 381
Laylā-majnu 371

Madana 420f.
Madana-dāsa 422f.
Madana-Rāya 213
 'Mādhava' 54, 377
Mādhava-Ācārya 54, 96
Mādhava-dāsa 54f., 58f., 96, 138, 377, 461
Mādhava-Ghoṣa 35, 37f., 58
Mādhava-saṅgita 439f.
Mādhavendra Puri 12f.
 'Mādhavendra-Puri' 361-363
Mādhavi 58
Mādhō 377
Mādhuri 430f.
Mādhuri-dāsa (see *Mādhuri*)
Mādhurya-kādambini 259
Madhusūdana-Datta 369-371
Madhusūdana-dāsa 242f.
Magana (see *Magana-candra*)
Magana-candra 347-349
Mahābhārata 472
Mahābhavānusaṅgiṇī 276
Mahammad Āli 464
Mahammad Hānif 464
Mahammad Hāsim 464
Maheśa-Vasu 251
Mālādhara-Vasu (see 'Guṇarāta-Khān')
Manah-sikṣā (by *Raghunātha-dāsa Gosvāmin*) 266 fn.
Manah-sikṣā (by *Premānanda*) 255f.
Mānasipha-dāsa 431f.
Maṇi-rāma 456
Māṇika-candra 455
Manohara 9, 96, 254
Manohara-dāsa 251-258
Manohara Rāya 235, 257
Manmatha 342
Mathurā-dāsa 183, 211, 412
Mathurānātha-dāsa 183
Mathuresa-dāsa 304
Megha-dūta 472
Mirjā Kāṅgālī 464
Mirjā Phayajullā 464
Mohammad 464
Mohana (see *Mohana-dāsa* i)
Mohana-dāsa (i) 156-158, 232
Mohana dāsa (ii) (see *Mohana-rāma*)
Mohana-rāma 471
Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān 294 *et passim*
Mṛṇālīnī 13, 317
Mukunda (see *Mukunda-dāsa* ii)
Mukunda-dāsa (i) 251, 304f.
Mukunda-dāsa (ii) 349-351
Mukundadāsa-Gosvāmī 252
Mukundarāma-Cakravartī Kavikāṅkaṣa 496f.
Mukundānanda 298, 395, 346, 349

Muktārāma-Sena 460
 Murāri-Gupta 28-32
 Murāri-Gupta's *Kaṣcā* 29, 33
 Murāri-vijaya 486
 Musalmān Vaiṣṇava Kavi 463 fn., 464

Nāchira Mahammud 463f.
 Nāchiraddin 464
 Nanda 292-294, 396
 Nanda-dāsa (see Nanda)
 Nanda-kīśora 199, 305-308
 Nanda-dulāla 342
 Nandarāma-dāsa 456
 'Nandana-dāsa' 294
 Narahari-Cakravartī 6, 9, 32-34, 215, 276-283, 386
 Narahari-dāsa (i) (see Narahari-Sarkār)
 Narahari-dāsa (ii) (see Narahari-Cakravartī)
 Narahari-Sarkār 9, 24, 32-35, 63, 66, 69, 93, 97, 164, 236, 278 fn., 279
 'Nara-nārāyaṇa Bhūpati' 155
 Narasimha 107
 Narottama-dāsa 8, 74, 94-101, 106, 133 et passim
 Narottamadāsa-Thākura (see Narottama-dāsa)
 Narottama-vīlāsa 93, 96, 101, 197, 202, 277 et passim
 Nasir Māmud 462f.
 Naṭavara 283f.
 Naṭaka candrikā 486 fn.
 Nava Kavi-śekhara 147 fn.
 Navacandra-dāsa 435
 Navacaitanya-dāsa 446ff.
 Navadvīpacandra-dāsa 435
 Navagaurāṅga-dāsa 202f.
 Nava-kānta 289f.
 Nayanānanda (i) 45f., 96
 Nayanānanda-Mīśra (see Nayanānanda i)
 Nayanānanda (ii) 311-316
 Nāyikā-ratna-mālā 9f., 254, 257, 323, 325f.
 Nīkūṇja-rahasya-stava 189
 Nīlāmbara 247f., 320
 Nīlānanda-dāsa 460
 Nīmānanda-dāsa 6, 344f.
 Nityānanda-dāsa 75, 92
 Nṛpa Kavi-śekhara 147 fn.
 'Nṛpa-Raghunātha' 377
 Nṛpa Udayāditya 8, 424-426
 Nṛpa Vaidyanātha 209f.
 'Nṛpati Simha Kavi' 152
 Nṛsimha 155
 Nṛsimha Bhūpati 8, 152, 155
 Nṛsimha-deva 152, 155

Pada-cintāmaṇi-mālā 371
Pada-kalpa-latikā 7 et passim
Pada-kalpa-taru 5 et passim
Padāmṛta-samudra 4, 275f. et passim
Pada-rasa-sāra 6
Pada-ratnākara 6, 345

Pada-samudra 35 fn.
Paddhati-pradīpa 277
Padma-Purāṇa 174f.
Padyāvalī 12f., 128f., 218, 228, 303, 381, 476, 486f., 493
Pañcadaśī 15, 489
Pandit 179 fn., 485 fn.
 'Pāpiyā' Śekhara 146
 'Paramānanda' 376
 Paramānsuda-Bhaṭṭācārya 466
 Paramānanda-dāsa (i) 61-63
 Paramānanda-dāsa (ii) 466
 Paramānanda-Gupta 376 fn., 166
 Paramānanda-Sena 61
 Parameśvara-dāsa 90f., 201
 'Parameśvarī-dāsa' 90, 96, 201
Paramātma sandarbha 384
 Parāṇa-dāsa 355f.
 Parāśurāma 439ff.
Paṣaṇḍa-dulana 494
 Pāvana-dāsa 437
 Phatana 164
 Pir Mahammud 464
 Pīṭambara-dāsa (i) 8, 247f.
 Pīṭambara-dāsa (ii) 331f., 368
 Pīṭambara Mitra (see Pīṭambara-dāsa ii)
Political History of Ancient India 172 fn.
 Potana 464
Prākṛta-Paṇigala 176
 Prāṇa-dāsa (see Parāṇa-dāsa)
 Prāṇa-vallabha 451
 Prasāda-dāsa 174-176
 'Prasāda-dāsa' 371f.
 'Prāta-ādita' 107 fn., 152 fn.
 'Pratāpa-Ādita' 107
 Pratāpa-nārāyaṇa 351-353
 'Pratāpa-rudra' 449
Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture 482 fn.
Prema-bhakti-candrikā 99, 162 fn., 205, 259
Prema-bhakti-cintāmaṇi 162 fn.
Prema-dāsa 262-271
Premāmṛta 390, 477
Premānanda-dāsa (see Prema-dāsa)
Prema-samphuṭa 259
Prema-vīlāsa 91 et passim
Preya-bhakti-rasārṇava 312
Prīti-sandarbha 384
 'Pūrṇānanda' (see Pūrṇānanda-dāsa)
 Pūrṇānanda-dāsa 457
 Puruṣottama-dāsa 48, 59-61, 84
 Puruṣottama-Mīśra (see Prema-dāsa)

Rabindranath Tagore (see 'Bhānu-simha')
 'Rādhā-dāsa' 171-174
Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-līlā-rasa-kadamba 180f., 182f., 219
Rādhā-saundarya-mañjarī 495f.
 Rādhāmohana-dāsa (i) (see Rādhāmohana-Thākura)
 Rādhāmohana-dāsa (ii) 296
 Rādhāmohana-Thākura 4f., 88, 108, 135, 157, 275-277, 279, 297, 300, 302, 387

- Rādhāmukunda-dāsa (see Mukunda-dāsa ii)
 Rādhā-mukundānanda (see Mukundānanda)
 Rādhānanda-dāsa 346f.
 Rādhā-premāṃṣa 390
 Rādhā-vallabha (see Rādhāvallabha-dāsa)
 'Rādhā-vallabha' 461
 Rādhāvallabha-dāsa 166-171
 Rādhikā-mukunda (see Mukunda-dāsa ii)
 Rāga-vartma-candrikā 269
 Rāghavendra-Rāya 408f.
 Raghunātha-Bhaṭṭa 41
 Raghunātha-dāsa Gosvāmin 41, 42, 377
 Raghunātha-dāsa (ii) 194f.
 Raghunāth Rāy 377
 Raghuvamśa 125
 Rājakṛṣṇa Rāya 371
 Rājārāma-dāsa 461
 Rāja-vallabha 427
 Rājīva-locana 444
 'Rāma' 435
 'Rāma-candra' 435
 Rāmacandra-dāsa (i) 202ff., 206, 262, 456, 494
 Rāma-candra (ii) 203f.
 Rāmacandra-dāsa (iii) 75, 97, 99, 105f., 204f., 250
 'Rāmacandra-śāsa' 461
 Rāmacandra-Gosvāmī (see Rāmacandra-dāsa i)
 Rāmacandra Kavirāja (see Rāmacandra-dāsa iii)
 Rāmacandra-Mallika 204, 414-416
 Rāmacandra-Thākura 204
 Rāmagopāla-dāsa (see Gopāla-dāsa)
 Rāma-kānta 435
 Rāma-jīvana 461
 'Rāma-mohana' 461
 Rāmamohana-Bhaṭṭa 461
 Rāmamohana-dāsa 459f.
 'Rāmānanda' 41, 461, 467, 490
 Rāmānanda-dāsa 40, 466f.
 Rāmānanda-Rāya 2, 23, 25-28, 40f., 86, 258, 380
 Rāmānanda-saṅgita-nāṭaka 26
 Rāmānanda-Vasu 9, 24, 30-41, 67, 251
 Rāma-nārāyaṇa 456
 'Rāma-Rāya' 28, 377
 Rām-Rāy Rāthor 377
 Rāma-ratana 358f.
 Rāmāyana 472
 Rasa-kadamba (by Kavivallabha) 88, 164
 Rasa-kadamba (by Yadunandana) 219, 221ff.
 Rasa-kalpa-latā 497f.
 Rasa-kalpa-vallī 7, 24, 50, 135, 139, 145, 243, 245 et passim
 Rasa-mañjarī 8, 23f., 105, 215ff., 244ff., 247f.
 Rasamaya-dāsa 432
 'Rasamayī-dāsi' 432
 Rāsānanda 332f.
 Rasa-niryāsa 243, 317ff., 431
 'Rasika' 191f.
 Rasika-cānda 449
 Rasika-dāsa 190-192
 Rasika Raghunātha 461
 Rasikānanda (see Rasika-dāsa)
 Ratipati-dāsa 8, 243-245
 Ratipati-Thākura (see Ratipati-dāsa)
 Ratirāma-dāsa 461
 Ratna-sāra 253
 Rūpa carana 435
 Rūpa-Gosvāmin 4, 8f., 15, 41, 93, 109, 144, 380-384, 466
 Rūpa-nārāyaṇa 107, 155, 210
 'Rāya' 28
 Rāya Ananta 73
 Rāya Campati 107, 151f.
 Rāya Gadādhara 360, 377
 Rāya Rāghavendra (see Rāghavendra-Rāya)
 'Rāya-Rāghupati-Vallabha' 322
 Rāya Rāmānanda (see Rāmānanda-Rāya)
 Rāya Santoṣa 107, 133
 Rāya Śekhara 9, 35, 146-151, 208, 326
 Rāya Vāsanta 107, 140-142
 Rgveda 2
 Rohiṇinandana-dāsa 330
 Śacīnandana-dāsa (i) 206f., 494
 Śacīnandana (ii) 331, 387
 Śadānanda-dāsa 435
 Śādhana-bhakti-candrikā 162 fn.
 Śādhya-prema-candrikā 162 fn.
 Śadukti-karṇāṃṣa 484 fn., 486
 Saiyad Martujā 463f.
 Saiyad Sultān 464
 Śākhā-nirṇaya 145, 146 fn., 396, 399
 Śāla-beg 463f.
 Saṃgraha-toṣaṇī 219, 228ff.
 Saṃsher 464
 'Sanātana' 9
 Sanātana-Gosvāmin 15, 41, 93
 Saṅgita-dāmodara 105
 Saṅgita-mādhava 133
 Saṅgita-rasārṇava 332, 363
 'Saṅkara' 251
 Saṅkara-dāsa 251
 Saṅkara-deva 2
 Saṅkara-Ghoṣa 251
 Saṅkaraṇa (see 'Saṅkaraṇa-dāsa')
 Saṅkaraṇa-dāsa' 332, 368f.
 Saṅkirtanāṃṣa 5, 216, 308 et passim
 Santoṣa-Rāya (see Rāya Santoṣa)
 Śāraṅga-raṅgadā 180, 219
 Śārārtha-darśinī 259
 Sarkār-Thākura (see Narahari-Sarkār)
 Śārngadhara-paddhati 124
 Sarphatollā 464
 Sarvānanda 340f.
 Sarvavidyāvinoda 228 fn.
 Śaśī' (see Śaśī-śekhara)
 Śaśī-nātha 303
 Śaśī-śekhara 7, 9f., 309f., 316, 323, 326-329, 497
 Śekhara' (see Kavi-śekhara)
 Śekhara' (see Rāya Śekhara)
 Śekhara' (see Śaśī-śekhara)
 'Śekhara-dāsa' (see Śaśī-śekhara)
 Śekhara-Rāya (see Rāya Śekhara)

Sekhlāl 464
 Ser-cānda 464
 Sevā-cānda 357f.
 Shāh Akbar 463f.
 Shāh Keyāmadīn 464
 Sheikh Bhikhan 464
 'Sibāi' 49
Siddha-prema-bhakti-candrikā 162 fn
Siddhānta-candrodaya 9, 101, 252
Sikṣaṣṭaka 303
 Simha Bhūpati 152
 Śiśu-rāma 453
 'Śivānanda' 49f., 96
 Śivānanda-Ācārya 8, 49-51
 Śivānanda-dāsa 436
 Śivānanda-Sena 50f., 61
 'Śivarāma' 378
 Śivarāma-dāsa 177f., 461
Smarana-darpaṇa 90, 205
 Śribhaṭa 379
 Śrī Cānda-Rāya (see Cānda-Rāya)
 Śrīdāma-dāsa 453
Śrīgaurāṅga-līlāmṛta 259
Śrīgaurāṅga-vijaya 206
 Śrīhari-govinda 461
Śrī-Jagadānanda-padāvalī 235 fn., 336f., 339f.
Śrīkṛṣṇa-bhāvānāmṛta 259
Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana 11, 388f., 476f., 498
Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala (by Mādhavācārya) 54, 302, 468, 476, 479
Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala (by Kṛṣṇadāsa) 477
Śrīkṛṣṇa-maṅgala (by Paraśurāma) 139f.
Śrīkṛṣṇa-sandarbhā 384
Śrīkṛṣṇa-vijaya 39, 478, 468
Śrīśrīkṛṣṇa-caitanya-caritāmṛta 391
Śrīśrīrādhākṛṣṇa-rasa-kalpa-vallī (see *Rasa-kalpa-vallī*)
Śrīmad-Bhāgavata (see *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*)
 Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya 4, 8, 62, 66, 92, 93-95, 96f., 101 et passim
Śrīnivāsa-caritra 277
 Śrī-vallabha 107, 158f.
Śrīvallabha-līlā 494
Stava-mālā 261, 381, 477 fn.
Stavāmṛta-lahari 259
Stavāvalī 42
 Subalacandra-Thākura 233f., 495f.
Subhāṣitāvalī 355
 Sukavi Kaṇṭhabhāra (see Kavi Kaṇṭhabhāra)
 Sulocana (see Locana-dāsa)
 Sundara-dāsa 234f.
 Sundara-Kavi 378
 Sūra-dāsa (Sur-dāsa) 378
 Sūta-dāsa 457f.
Sūrya-maṇi 162 fn.
Scapna-vilāsaṁṛta 259
Svarṇalīlā 434f.
 'Svarūpa' 436
 Svarūpa-carana 436
 Svarūpa-dāsa 436
Syāmānanda 9, 94, 96, 101-103
Syāmānanda-prakāśa 383, 346, 492
 Śyāma-dāsa (i) 471
 Śyāma-dāsa (ii) 178-180

Śyāma-dāsa (iii) (see Duḥkhī Śyāma-dāsa)

Śyāmadāsa-Ācārya (see Śyāma-dāsa i).

Śyāmacānda-dāsa 179

Śyāma-Mallika 416f.

Śyāma-priyā 426

Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka 472 fn.

Taraṇi-ramaṇa (see Taruṇi-ramaṇa)

Taruṇi-ramaṇa 9, 251-253

Tattva-sandarbhā 261, 384

Third Report for Śaṅkṛt MSS. 485 fn., 486 fn

Trilocana (see Locana-dāsa)

'Tulasī-dāsa' 192-194

Ujjvala-candrikā 331

Ujjvala-nīlamanī 4, 100, 164, 259, 331, 381, 486 fn.

Ujjvala nīlmanī-kiraṇa 259

Udayādīta (see Nṛpa Udayādītya)

Uddhava-dāsa (i) 88f., 164, 297

Uddhava-dāsa (ii) 295, 297-299, 300

Uddhava-dāsa (iii) 491

Uddhava-sandeha 381, 477 fn.

Upasana-paṭala 162 fn.

Vaikunṭha-dāsa 452

Vaidya Yaśacandra 461

'Vaiṣṇava-carana' 300, 408, 138

Vaiṣṇavācāra-darpaṇa 35, 478 fn., 490

'Vaiṣṇava-dāsa' (i) 5, 7, 185 fn., 297f., 300-302, 489

Vaiṣṇava-dāsa (ii) 301f., 437f.

Vaiṣṇava-vandanā (by Devakīnandana) 48f., 75, 138, 213

Vaiṣṇava-randanā (by Mādhava-dāsa) 138

'Vallabha' (see 'Vallabha-dāsa')

'Vallabha' (see 'Harivallabha')

Vallabha-Chaudhuri 158

'Vallabha-dāsa' 158-163, 164, 241, 258 fn.

Vallavi-kānta 241f.

Vamśī-dāsa (i) (see Vamśīvadana)

Vamśī-dāsa (ii) 42, 187-189

Vamśī-kīṭā 159 fn., 262f., 494

Vamśī-vadana 42-44, 89, 92, 202, 206, 262, 270f., 273

Vamśī-vilāsa 494

Vaṅga-darśana 371

Vaṅgiya-sāhitya-pariśat-patrikā 29, 94, 106, 139, 146, 344, 489, 490, 492, 497f.

Vāṇī-kaṇṭha 451

Vaṇa-deśanā 485 fn.

Vasu Rāmānanda (see Rāmānanda-Vasu)

'Vāsudeva' 465

Vāsudeva-dāsa 364-366

Vāsudeva-Datta 364, 465f.

Vāsudeva-Ghoṣa 35-38, 69, 81

'Vaṭu-dāsa' 457

Vāyu-Purāṇa 474

- Vidagdha-mādhava* 180, 219, 222, 259, 381, 469
Vidyapati 1, 3, 7ff., 12, 17f., 107ff., 132, 144, 147, 164, 166, 210, 270, 495
Vidyāpati (Bengali) (see Kavirañjana)
Vidyāpati-padāvalī 163 fn., 208
Vidyā-sundara 18
'Vidyā-vallabha' 164-166
Vihāri-dāsa 410-412
Vijaya-nārāyaṇa 155, 210
Vijayānanda-dāsa 397
Vilāpa-kusumāñjali 42
Vipradāsa-Ghoṣa 428f.
Vira-bāhu 342f.
Vira-bhadra (see *Vira-candra*)
Vira-bhūmi 330
Vira-candra 214, 415f.
Vīracandra-carita 452
Vira-Hāmbīra 90, 94, 920, 405-407
Vira-ratnāvalī 214
Vira-vallabha 251
Viravallabha-dāsa (see *Vira-vallabha*)
Viṣṇu-Purāṇa 11, 473f., 479, 483
'Viśvambhara' 329
Viśvambhara-dāsa (i) 329, 424
Viśvambhara-dāsa (ii) 329f.
Viśvambhara-deva 329, 423f.
'Viśvambhara dvija' 358
Viśvanātha-Cakravartī 4, 9, 33, 163, 215, 261
 (see *'Hari-vallabha'*)
Vitthal-nāth 294, 379
'Vraja-dāsa' 334 fn.
Vraja-kīśora 199, 334 fn., 417f.
Vraja-nātha 334f.
Vrajanātha-dāsa 334
Vraja-vihāra 485
Vrajananda (i) 176f.
Vrajananda (ii) 316
'Vrajananda' 334 fn.
Vrajaṅganā-kāvya 369f.
'Vṛndāvana-dāsa' 296, 322
Vṛndāvana-dāsa (i) 47f., 63f., 96, 251, 321f.
Vṛndāvana-dāsa (ii) 317-320, 322
Vṛndāvana-dāsa (iii) 319, 321f.
Vṛṣabhānujā-nāṭikā 479
Vyāsa 378
Vyāsa Svāmi 378
Yādavābhyudaya 485
Yādavendra 273, 432f.
'Yadu' 52, 180, 220f., 330, 469f.
'Yadunandana' 52, 313, 469f., 495
Yadunandana-dāsa (i) 52-54, 69, 96, 219 fn.
Yadunandana-dāsa (ii) 52, 180-183, 219, 233, 237
Yadunandana-dāsa (iii) 219-230
'Yadunandana-dāsa' 231
Yadunandana-Ācārya 52, 96
Yadunandana-Cakravartī (see *Yadunandana-dāsa* i).
'Yadunātha' 52f., 180, 220f., 330, 469f.
Yadunātha-dāsa 8, 52, 67, 469f.
'Yadunātha-dāsa' 228, 330
Yadunātha Kavīcandra 54
Yasodā-nandana 458f.
Yasorāja-Khān 2, 8, 23f., 25.
Yugala-kṛṣṇa 199

Recd. on 15.3.89
 P. H. No. 1524
 A. B. No. 44481